Vol. V—No. 2

सत्यमेव जयते

Assembly Proceedings

Official Report

West Bengal Legislative Assembly

Fifth Session (Budget), 1949

(From 23rd February to 5th April, 1949)

The 17th, 18th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 28th, 29th, 30th March and 4th and 5th April, 1949.

Superintendent, Government Printing
West Bengal Government Press, Alipore, West Bengal
1950

GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL.

GOVERNOR.

His Excellency Dr. Kailas Nath Katju.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

1. The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Premier, Leader of the House and Minister-in-charge of the Home (excluding the Police Transport Branches and of the Department of Health and Loca Self-Government excluding the Jail Branch.
2. The Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Finance, Commerce and Industries (includin Cinchona).
3. The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhury, Minister-in-charg of the Education Department.
4. The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha, Minister-in-charge of th Department of Works, Buildings and Communications and Lan and Land Revenue.
5. The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar, Minister-in-charge o the Judicial and Legislative Departments.
6. The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada Mookherjee, Minister-in-charge of th Labour Department.
7. The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati Majumdar, Minister-in-charge of th Department of Irrigation and Waterways.
8. The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen, Minister-in-charge of th Department of Civil Supplies.
9. The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behary Maity, Minister-in-charge of th Department of Co-operation, Credit, Relief and Rehabilitation.
10. The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath Panja, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Agriculture and Veterinary.
11. The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra Naskar, Minister-in-charge of the Forests (excluding Cinchona) and Fisheries Department.
12. The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prosad Barman, Minister-in-charge of the Excise Department.

WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS.

Speaker.

The Hon'ble Sri Iswar Das Jalan.

Deputy Speaker.

Sri Ashutosh Mallick.

Secretary.

Sri Ajita Ranjan Mukherjea, M.Sc., B.L.

Special Officer.

Sri Charu Chandra Chowdhuri, B.L., Advocate.

Registrar.

Janab Rafiqur Rahman, M.A., B.L.

THE WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

Official Report of the Fifth Sessions.

Volume V—No. 2.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 17th March, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 55 members.

Statement on Kankinara incidents.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, may I have your permission to make a statement which I promised to make today about Kankinara?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I promised to make a statement regarding the incidents at Kankinara which happened day before yesterday for which I and members of my Government feel extremely sorry. Kankinara is a mill area where the majority of the residents are Muslims and up-country Hindus working in the mills. Periodically they fall out and disturbances ensue. Government had information that during the Holi festival such disturbances might occur and so they had taken certain precautionary measures by posting police pickets in different areas. But it appears that at about 3 p.m. on March 15, in a small area, there was a clash between Hindus and Muslims as a result of sprinkling of coloured water by a Hindu named Hari Charan Dhobi on a Muslim belonging to the Kankinara Jute Mills and residing in the Coolie lines of those mills. The Muslims retaliated and assaulted Hari Charan but before the clash could take a serious turn, the police arrived on the spot and settled the matter. The crowd was dispersed and the injured were attended to. A criminal case has been started.

A little while later rioting started in a residential area covered by Lanes Nos. 6 and 9. In this case a party of Hindu Holi revellers sprinkled coloured water on Muslim passers-by who naturally got enraged and assaulted some of the party, including one Bideshi Shaw who is a local Hindu leader. This assault on Bideshi Shaw was resented to by the local Hindus and five or six hundred of them collected and attacked the local Muslims causing bodily injuries to them, damages to their houses, trespass and looting some items of household articles. The local police and the men of the locality rushed to the affected area and dispersed the rioters before much damage could be done. As a result of this rioting, 11 *kutcha* houses were actually damaged and from four houses some properties were looted. The casualties were one dead, two severely wounded and 14 slightly injured amongst the Muslims, and two severely and three slightly wounded amongst the Hindus.

Police reinforcements from Barrackpore and Alipore and a Magistrate arrived soon after and promulgated section 144 and imposed a curfew for

twelve hours from 4 o'clock in the afternoon of March 15 to 4 o'clock in the morning of March 16. Armed police pickets were posted to different places and patrols were organised and within a short time, i.e., by 4-30 p.m. the situation was brought under control. One case of arson is reported, where a *kutcha* building belonging to a Muslim but occupied by three Hindu and two Muslim shop-keepers was set fire to, causing damage to properties inside the shops. One of these shops was owned by a Hindu who had a jewellery store. It was noticed that Hindus were responsible mainly for setting fire to the house. The Fire Brigade prevented the fire from spreading and the police took charge of the shops to prevent further looting. It is estimated that properties worth Rs. 4,000 were looted from Hindu and Muslim shops. Further enquiries are being made.

Ten criminal cases have been started, two of rioting instituted by Hindu complainants, and one case of rioting and murder, six cases of rioting and theft, and one case of arson by Muslim complainants. The police have taken up the investigation and so far 12 Muslims and 20 Hindus have been arrested.

At present the situation is normal and the mills have begun work and police vigilance is continuing. Steps are being taken to extern ring-leaders who are responsible for the rioting. The question of taking further steps to prevent a repetition of such incidents is being seriously considered by Government.

Budget for 1949-50

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

7—Land Revenue.

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 37,14,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue".

Sir, I would only make a few remarks at the beginning and reserve my reply after I hear the cut motions. But in making a few remarks in the beginning, I would like to mention a few facts about which the House is naturally anxious, and cut motions have been tabled.

Sir, before I refer to those points, I would first mention one point that has been much discussed on the floor of this House during the budget discussion. Sir, it has been said during the general discussion that the cost of administration is increasing rapidly. Therefore, I would like to point out that, so far as this department is concerned, the cost of administration is 18 per cent. of the total receipts. I think, Sir, the House will agree that 18 per cent. is a reasonable cost, and so far as this department is concerned the honourable members will not find fault with the cost ratio.

Sir, briefly reviewing last year's work, I would like to mention first the series of legislative measures that this House has passed at the request of this department. You will remember that a large number of Bills was brought by this department to this House in order to afford relief to the suffering people. I would like to mention, particularly, the West Bengal Premises Rent Control Act, the West Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy Bill and the Calcutta *Thika* Tenancy Act.

The West Bengal Premises Rent Control Act has become effective from December last. This Act seeks to adjust the relationship between the landlord and the tenant on a fair and equitable basis. Several difficulties have actually cropped up in the working of this Act but I may assure this House that we are very keenly watching the working of this Act and whenever difficulties will crop up the department will try to solve it as urgently as possible.

Sir, the Non-Agricultural Tenancy Bill has not yet received the assent His Excellency the Governor and, we hope, will shortly receive His llency's assent. Sir, this Bill affords protection to a very large body tenants who were left unprotected so long. And then, Sir, there is also Calcutta Thika Tenancy Act which gives protection to the Thika tenants Calcutta. Sir, I have seen a criticism in public as also in the press that s Thika Tenancy Act does not afford protection to those who deserve it l that some of the eviction clauses are suspicious. I may say, Sir, without y fear of contradiction that this Act gives protection to those who are nuine residents of the *bustees* but, Sir, it does not give protection to ddlemen who make a business out of the helpless condition of the poor *stee* tenants. Sir, this Act has been designed only with a view to afford otection to those who are actual residents of the *bustees*. I made it clear ring the discussion of the Bill in the Assembly that the *bustees* cannot main in their present condition and must be replaced by proper housing different income-groups because as at present they are blots on our social tem, they are blots on our health organisation, they are blots on our civic But so long as the *bustees* remain, there cannot be any point in ng the landlords and the middlemen to throw one set of people out bring a similar set in after payment of certain money Sir, with view the Government has given protection to those people who are ially residing in the *bustees* If I may say so, Sir, the Non-Agricultural Tenancy Bill and the Calcutta Thika Tenancy Act taken together will in my opinion rank in importance next only to the Bengal Tenancy Act because the Bengal Tenancy Act afforded protection only to agricultural tenants, but the whole range of non-agricultural tenants in Calcutta and outside were left unprotected. Sir, these two Acts have now given protection to this category of tenants and I hope, Sir, in future these tenants will enjoy the protection they deserve

Sir, I would like next to refer to two problems that have arisen out of partition As the honourable members are aware, Sir, one of the consequences of the partition was that some estates were split and their properties fell in West Bengal as also in East Bengal This led to considerable difficulty and the West Bengal Land Revenue Rent and Cess (Apportionment) Act was passed by this House in September last. I am happy to report, Sir, that that Act has materially helped the Government in splitting up the assets and I am happier still to announce that we are receiving the greatest co-operation from the East Bengal Government in this matter. Sir, similar difficulties also cropped up regarding the estates that are now under the Court of Wards Some estates under the Court of Wards have properties lying in East Bengal as also in West Bengal and I am also happy to announce, Sir, that agreement has now been arrived at between the Governments of West Bengal and East Bengal and accordingly each Court of Wards shall arrange to make over by the 31st day of March, 1949, to the other Court of Wards charge of the properties belonging to its group of wards estates and lying in the territorial jurisdiction of the other Court of Wards. Till then the arrangement for administration of these common wards estates that was agreed upon after the partition will continue.

Sir, I would next like to mention two matters which have come up for public criticism very often and about which the members may be anxious to know. The first is land acquisition. Government have very often received complaints that big firms and companies often acquire large plots of land ousting the people that reside there but after the land is acquired they do not put the land to the use for which the lands were acquired. A preliminary investigation was made some time ago and I must say, Sir, there have been brought to our notice not a very small number of cases where companies have been found to be guilty of breach of the terms on which lands were given to these companies. For that reason, Sir, Government have deputed an officer to go into each land acquisition case above 50 bighas since 1939

and to report whether the companies are utilising the land for the purpose for which they were acquired. And, Sir, I can assure the House that after receiving the report if we find that any company has proved delinquent Government are absolutely determined to take the strictest possible action against the company no matter whether the company is a big or a small one. Sir, the other matter that I would like to place before the House is about house requisitioning. In the last session of the Assembly I announced the setting up of a Requisitioned House Board and I must thank them for the good work they are doing and I hope the Committee will be able to assist us in effecting improvements in the working of this branch where I must say there is yet much scope for improvement. There have been cases where requisitioned houses were being used for purposes for which the houses were not given to them. There have been cases of trespass, cases of unauthorised use of requisitioned houses and so on and so forth. Our department and officers are conducting enquiries into such cases. Sir, I appeal to the House and through the House to the people in general that such cases must be brought to the notice of the Government at the earliest possible opportunity.

I would next turn to the most important question that has been agitating the minds of the honourable members of this House, namely, the question of abolishing the rent-receiving interests in the province. You are aware, Sir, that in the last budget provision was made for aboat Rs. 10,00,000 for conducting revision of records and the Hon'ble the Finance Minister in his last year's budget speech said that the said sum was provided only for preliminary arrangements and the whole question was being discussed with the Government of India and would be taken up further after hearing from the Government of India. Sir, since then we proceeded far in the matter. The Government of West Bengal set up a Cabinet sub-committee to draw up detailed proposals and to formulate a Bill for abolishing rent-receiving interests. This sub-committee proceeded with its work and drew up detailed proposals and also intimated the Government of India about the financial assistance that would be necessary from the Government of India. Not only there was the formulation of the proposals but, Sir, the Government of West Bengal proceeded further in order to expedite the work of abolishing rent-receiving interests. It was decided that the revision of the record of rights should not be confined to the Sunderbans area alone for which provision was made of a sum of Rs 10,00,000 in the last year's Budget but that there should be a second operation in another district in order to expedite this work of abolishing rent-receiving interests. Accordingly, Sir, the second operation was started in the district of Burdwan and it was started with vigour. When this work was in progress the Agrarian Reforms Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress and presided over by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa visited this Province. Sir, the Government of West Bengal made it known to the Agrarian Reforms Committee that the Government of West Bengal intended to proceed with this matter as quickly as possible and that the Agrarian Reforms Committee should send their advice about the setting up of the new land system that would help the peasantry and change their outlook. When these things were proceeding we were unfortunately warned by the Government of India in September, 1948, that the present financial position of the Government of India did not warrant any conclusion that the Government of India would be in a position to materially assist the province if this scheme involved financial assistance from the Centre.

It was made clear that there were so many urgent needs of borrowing and finances were necessary for so many emergent schemes that it may not be always possible for the Centre to borrow to the extent desired or help the Provincial Governments for paying compensation out of Central funds. Then another communication came from the Government of India to the Government of West Bengal on the eve of the Finance Ministers' Conference held in October, 1948. This communication not only reiterated the financial

difficulties but also pointed out legal difficulties. The main theme of that communication was that if the provinces wanted to proceed with the scheme of abolishing the rent-receiving interests, they shall have to do so preferably in selected areas, and compensation that has to be paid must be paid in cash and out of current revenues. You will appreciate that in the case of a deficit province like West Bengal it was really impossible to fulfil those conditions. We, therefore, proposed that in this province it was impossible to abolish rent-receiving interests after meeting those conditions. Sir, abolition of these interests has become a very necessary thing in this province not only for political reasons but also for the economic improvement of the province and we hope that the Government of India should find out its way to assist us out of this deadlock. Sir, correspondence is going on with the Government of India, but I am not in a position to say what its final outcome will be. In the present situation however the Government of West Bengal has decided to examine the question of introducing this scheme in certain selected areas, and it has been announced in the Press that in the Sundarbans area the record of rights has been completed and that it has been found on a preliminary examination that the scheme, if it is introduced there, has the *prima facie* possibility of being self-financed. That means that the conditions laid down by the Government of India can be satisfied and yet the scheme introduced in that area. When the Land Revenue Department concluded its preliminary examination of the scheme, other departments were asked to submit their proposals for the development of this area. It should be appreciated that in order to have development in a proper sense of the term it must be a co-ordinated and integrated plan for the development of the area as a whole. For that reason we asked the different departments to submit their proposals. Those proposals have come and have been placed before a committee for the co-ordination, integration and formulation of a master plan. We expect the Committee to submit its report within three months. The broad points on which the Committee has been asked to report have been announced in the Press and one of the points on which the Committee has been asked to report is the question of immediate introduction of this scheme for abolishing the rent-receiving interests. We are now awaiting the report of the Committee and we hope that it would be possible to introduce the abolition of rent-receiving interests in some areas in near future. If we can successfully introduce the scheme in those areas it will give us practical training and experience in setting up an improved land tenure system.

Sir, we are also determined to make our experiment in the khas mahal areas. In certain khas mahal areas we have decided to introduce collective and co-operative farming, because the question of removing the intermediary interests does not arise so far as khas mahal areas are concerned. This is the way the Government of West Bengal want to proceed in the matter. While we sincerely regret that we are unavoidably restrained from putting into effect all over West Bengal the scheme of abolishing the rent-receiving interests immediately, at the same time we do hope and believe that the difficulties which have cropped up for the time being will be removed soon. And the time will soon come when it will be possible to introduce the scheme in certain selected areas and then to extend it all over West Bengal, and not only will it be possible to abolish the intermediary interests which now exist but also to set up a new land tenure system without which abolition merely would be of no significance and would be almost meaningless.

Sir, it is a great experiment which we must face boldly, and the sooner it is done, the better. That is the considered opinion of the Government of West Bengal. And having regard to the financial and other difficulties that have been pointed out by the Government of India, I must say that in spite of these difficulties every effort should be made to put the scheme into effect as early as possible.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I beg to move that *the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100.*

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about Government's failure to introduce a comprehensive measure to abolish rent-receiving interest in land.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to abolish permanent settlement in West Bengal.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about insecurity of service of the lower grade employees of the Settlement Department.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to take any step for the abolition of zamindary system (Permanent Settlement) from West Bengal.

Janab MUHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to abolish the Permanent Settlement

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, before the speeches are delivered I would rise on a piece of information. We have noticed that honourable members of the Congress Party have not moved their cut motions. I should like to know whether they have done so in their individual discretion or it is in accordance with any convention that the cut motions should not be moved by members of that party.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Hashem, it is their option, and it is a question with which we are not concerned.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr Speaker, Sir, the question that I have raised in my cut motion is a hardy annual. It appears every year before the Assembly to remind us of the generous promises that we make to our people in this respect during election. But Sir, it is a pity that by these discussions year after year the country gains nothing but smooth excuses from us. In the first year of the provincial autonomy of the Government of India Act of 1935, a Commission was appointed to enquire and report on the various aspects of this question. A huge sum was expended on this Enquiry Committee which made extensive tour in various parts of India to gain direct knowledge of land revenue systems prevailing in all the provinces of India. The Commission submitted their report and then the then Government appointed a Special Officer to examine the practical and financial implications of the report of that Enquiry Committee. The Special Officer's report is also there. After that, several other preliminary steps were also taken and ultimately during the last Ministry of United Bengal a Bill was introduced for the abolition of rent-receiving interest in land, but unfortunately due to partition and its consequences the House could not take that Bill into consideration. I am glad to hear from the Hon'ble Revenue Minister today that the Government is really anxious to introduce measures

r abolition of rent-receiving interest in land at the earliest opportunity. From the speech of the Hon'ble Revenue Minister I am personally convinced that the Government's desire in this respect is genuine. I do not question their honesty, but, Sir, I have become extremely nervous when I heard from the Hon'ble Minister that our activities in this respect depend very much upon the pleasures of the Central Authorities. In the past the Central Authorities always stood in our way. In Bengal opinion seems to be unanimous that rent-receiving interest in land should be abolished. Even, Sir, the big landlords also feel that such a measure should be taken. They have decided to endure what they feel is inevitable. But, in spite of this unanimity we have not been able to achieve our objective for the interference of the Centre. Now that the grip of the Centre over this province is tighter and stronger, my fears are greater that we may not be able to implement our wishes as early as we would, if we could act according to our own wishes.

Originally, the demand was for the abolition of the Permanent Settlement. Then there was a demand for the abolition of the zamindary system. Then it developed into a demand for abolition of rent-receiving interest in land and I am glad, Sir, that even this comprehensive demand is also acceptable to this Ministry. I have, Sir, on many a previous occasion, talking on various matters made it clear that if Bengal was free to act according to her own desire, Bengal would have been in a position to lead the whole of India by her concrete examples. But, Sir, unfortunately placed as we are under the discretion and pleasure of the Centre, we cannot proceed as fast as we desire.

Sir, there was preliminary to the demand for abolition of landlordism a demand for nationalisation of land without compensation. Theoretically, so far as I am aware, this was not unacceptable to previous Governments, but on technical grounds they could not encourage this very much. In those days when we were under the direct domination of Great Britain, whenever any question of nationalisation of land without compensation was raised, we were told that that amounted to expropriation and the Government of India Act violently and effectively interfered with that. Now that we are supposed to have attained freedom, it is not the right of our people to demand compensation from Government, but it is a right of the people to demand honest and decent subsistence and existence from the Government. I would, therefore, suggest that the Government should very seriously consider the desirability of abolishing rent-receiving interest in land without compensation, making due provision for decent existence and employment of displaced proprietors of land who have no other means of such existence. We find from the Hon'ble Revenue Minister's speech that we are depending upon the Centre, if not for anything, for money for purchasing these interests. The resources of Bengal are not enough to abolish rent-receiving interest in land with proper compensation.

Sir, in this connection I would try to place before you one aspect of this question which would appear at the first sight a bit irrelevant, but, Sir, if you have patience, you will find its relevancy. We find that the Government of Bengal, the Government of India, the Government of Pakistan and, in fact, the Governments of Great Britain, America and Europe, are today very much perturbed by the phenomenal growth and expansion of Communism. They are making all kinds of preparations for combating that "ism". Sir, Karl Marx, the reputed founder of this "ism" was of opinion that communism was inevitable as a historical development of bourgeois capitalism, and according to his thesis communism was to thrive in those parts of the world where industry was highly developed. And in so many words Karl Marx expected the rise and growth of communism in countries like England and America, but contrary to his expectations communism found its cradle in countries of the East which are industrially the most

backward—not to speak of highly developed and organised bourgeois capitalism. There is no capitalism there. In those countries a strong feudalism reigns in one form or other. Capitalism is a development of feudalism and stands on the ruins of feudalism, and communism is expected to rise out of the ashes of *capitalism, but, Sir, in those countries capitalism is not there. People entertain bitter feelings against the feudal lords, big and small, and their exploitations* have made them poor, unhappy and miserable. In fact, Sir, what appears to us to be the phenomenal growth of communism is not a growth of communism as postulated by Karl Marx, but it is really a revolt against feudalism. So, Sir, here in Bengal if we really want to combat communism, if we want to see the end of feudalism, in that case we must proceed in a scientific method. I have no doubt in my mind that here also if you go round the country and enquire, you will find that the little support that communism gets is due not to any resentment of labour against capital, but it is due to the intense resentment of Krishaks against the feudal lords, that still prevails in Bengal in some form or other Now, Sir, if these rent-receiving interests of land be abolished, I have no doubt that that will mark as the greatest set-back of communism in this country. Here also as in the backward countries like China and Russia where communism was founded, capitalism has not developed—far less highly developed and properly organised. So, Sir, I would request the Hon'ble Minister and his honourable colleagues to consider these aspects of the thing very carefully. The sooner it is done, the better for us. If we wait for money, if we do not get money and if we are unable to give proper compensation to those landlords, then we will have to perpetuate this feudal system of land revenue which would invite communism here and any amount of machine guns, howitzers and bombers will not be able to help us You can yourself realise how fast grows the Krishak Proja movement in East Bengal and other parts of Bengal, and the Krishak platform is really the biggest platform for the forces of communism, here in India So instead of waiting for money, instead of waiting for giving compensation to them, in the name of justice and equity we should go ahead and forthwith abolish all rent-receiving interests in the land without compensation And in order that those dispossessed proprietors may not be stranded, Government should provide for them decent existence and employment—employment only for those who have no other means of decent existence. For instance, if a landlord having, for example, an annual income of Rs. 12,000 is an I.C.S. officer and as such draws a salary of Rs. 2,000, in that case it is not necessary to make any provision for his subsistence. His interest in the land can with justice be acquired by Government without compensation, but, Sir, if there is some other landlord who has neither any business, nor any Government service, nor any profession but depends solely on the income of his zamindary, then in their cases only after abolition of zamindary without compensation Government will have to make proper arrangement for their sustenance for some time. Sir, I am not suggesting these things to Government as a visionary or merely by way of a political stunt. I am very serious about it We have been hearing about financial difficulty for many, many years, and this difficulty, circumstanced as we are, is real and genuine.

Let me conclude, Sir, my discussion by repeating that with which I started. As citizens of a free state we have the right to get freedom and opportunity for rising up to the highest level of our genius. If Government can provide for us facilities for our employment according to our genius and talents, if Government makes provision for the education of our children, if Government can make provision for medical treatment of our family and ourselves, if Government can make provision for our insurance against invalidity and old age and similarly if Government comes forward and makes provisions for our complete security, then we have no right to demand any compensation from Government for what they may choose to acquire for our own interests.

Sir, I would place before you another difficulty, namely, that really the revenue of Bengal cannot be strewed up *ad infinitum*, if the background of the revenue remains as it is. So, Sir, we must take courage in both hands and introduce radical measures for a revolution in our revenue system also. *Then we shall find that money will be forthcoming.* If, Sir, Nawab Musharruff Hossain, my honourable friend, asks me, "How much money can you find from Bengal by expropriation of the interests of landlords", my answer to him is this. In all seriousness I will remind him not to forget what happened the other day at Jessop & Company's factory. Two persons were burnt alive. If we proceed slowly and if we do not proceed faster and take courage and create a revolution in our economic condition, in that case it is inevitable that some day will come and that time is fast approaching when our friends, big landlords like Nawab Musharruff Hossain and Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, will be actually destroyed by their domestic servants. They will be poisoned and murdered—I have no doubt about this.

In order to avoid that emergency, in order that we may remain men and not animals, I suggest that we go ahead with courage and at once take steps which may successfully combat that "ism" which has the tendency of animals in men.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, may I with your permission move the cut motions which stand in my name? I am very sorry, Sir, I had to go out of the House for some urgent reasons when you called my name.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the House has no objection, I will permit these cut motions to be moved by Janab Abdur Rahman, but I should add at the same time that the members should be present at the time when their motions are called. May I take it that the House has no objection to his moving the motions now?

(There was no objection.)

Therefore I permit Janab Abdur Rahman to move his motions.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7- Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this to raise a discussion about the policy of land acquisition in Baraset subdivision in the district of 24-Parganas.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this to raise a discussion about the policy of the Government regarding Sundarbans.

Sir, I also beg to move that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the present tendency to convert the agricultural land into fisheries.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, Janab Syed Badrudduja.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, after the brilliant and very clear exposition of the various aspects of the permanent settlement in Bengal by my esteemed and learned friend Mr. Abul Hashem, I do not feel very much inclined this afternoon to enter into great details.

Sir, this question has been hanging fire for several years. Sir, within two decades of the promulgation of Regulations for the permanent settlement there were serious riots all over Bengal, agitation was kicked up by the tenants because of the rigorous measures adopted by the zamindars for realisation of rents. That led to the passing of the Rent Act of 1793. Later on that was also not found satisfactory enough to satisfy the demands of the tenants and the growing discontent increased in volume and in intensity all the more. A Commission was appointed then to go into the entire question of the relations between the tenants and the landlords resulting in the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. Later on also, Sir, the Bengal Tenancy Act was amended to give suitable satisfaction and amends to the tenants in the year 1928. After that on the floor of this House certain provisions were introduced in the form of an amended Tenancy Act immediately after the introduction of Reforms under the Government of India Act, 1935. Sir, the volume of opinion was so great, so persistent, so vocal, so assertive, so irresistible that the Government of the day headed by Mr. Fazlul Huq had to appoint a Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Francis Floud. That Commission went into the entire question, its various implications, its various aspects, its various bearings upon the land tenure system in Bengal. That Commission submitted its report in 1940. In 1941 an experienced officer was appointed to examine the pros and cons of the various aspects of that Commission's report and in the year 1941, as you know, Sir, the Government of Mr. Fazlul Huq went out of office. After that also consistent with the pledge that we had given to the electorate, as my friends of the Congress persuasion had also given, we wanted to implement the assurances during the régime of the Coalition Ministry in the year 1943. In the Budget session of March, 1943, the then Revenue Minister, now the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, formulated certain tentative proposals which wanted to abolish the rent-receiving interests of a certain category and those tentative proposals are still on record. For refreshing the memories of those who were members of this Legislature in those days, I would refer to those tentative proposals which run as follows: (1) That Government accept the policy of bringing the actual cultivators into direct relations with the Government and of acquiring in the first instance the interest of all classes of rent receivers above the lowest rate of cash paying class. (2) That the rates of compensation should be between 10 and 15 times the net profit according to the nature and circumstances of each state and interest; that a tribunal of a judicial character should be set up for the assessment of compensation in each case and the tribunal's decision shall be final; that Government should undertake legislation in these matters on these lines as early as possible after going through the technical formalities enjoined under the Government of India Act, 1935. And after these proposals are considered by a committee of leaders of this House in view of the financial and other risks involved, the experiment should both be tried in a district where the revisional operations were almost in a state of completion.

Sir, the Land Revenue Commission had definitely observed that the majority of the Commission had reached the conclusion that "whatever may have been the justification for the *Permanent Settlement in 1793*, it is no longer suitable to the conditions of the present time." They observed further, "it should be replaced by one which will bring the actual cultivators into the position of tenants holding directly under the Government by acquiring the interests of all classes of rent receivers." If we look to page 17 of the Report, we find that the zamindars in Bengal had never had an absolute right to property in the soil, nor was it intended to give them such rights by the permanent settlement. If you go still further on page 41

you will find, Sir, that majority of the members of the Commission were definitely of the opinion that no other solution than state acquisition would be adequate to remedy the defects of the present land system.

Sir, they calculated the financial implications of the question as well. They went into this question, and gave a financial account of the state purchase on the basis of ready assets and compensation taken on the basis of 10 times the net income, showing an increase of 2·23 crores of revenue and on the basis of compensation at 12 or 15 times the net income, an increase of something between 1·47 and ·33 crores, respectively. When the entire land is to be liquidated in course of 60 years, and there will be no interest or sinking fund, it will amount to 4·78 crores. Sir, they went very deeply into the implications, financial and otherwise, of the whole question. Sir, during the debate, representatives of zamindary interests here including the biggest zamindar of united Bengal, the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, did not also object to the proposed implementation of the proposals formulated and adumbrated in the Report of the Floud Commission. They did not object. What the Maharaja of Burdwan objected to was that during the unsettled condition in the country on account of war, it was not possible to undertake a proposal of such magnitude involving such a huge financial liability and he wanted that it should be postponed till after the termination of the war. Now the war has ended. Sir, the zamindars' interest would have been better served if they took time by the forelock and anticipated the dangers ahead. Whatever may be our arguments, whatever may be our interpretation of the entire situation that prevails in the country at the present moment, the fact remains that the world is heading towards socialism: forces are operating in such a way that it is not possible for any vested interest to remain any longer. They are bound to be submerged today or tomorrow. The whole world is moving so fast towards that direction that even that question of compensation may not arise at all, the question of judicial determination of the rates of compensation may not occur at all in near future. It is time therefore that the zamindars came forward in the interest not only of themselves but of millions of people who are seriously affected by the permanent settlement of 1793. They should come forward and sponsor and support the proposal for abolition of permanent settlement which would redound to their credit and to the credit of the Government of the day. Sir, it has been trotted out in season and out of season, that war, famine, riots, disturbances, financial stringency—all these have been responsible for postponement of this beneficial scheme. But this question has been, Sir, inextricably bound up with the socio-economic structure of the entire province; this has been bound up with the agricultural economy of the province. Unless the land system is reshaped and re-integrated on a sound basis, unless agriculture is given larger and larger units, unless the sub-infeudation process is stopped, unless the tillers of the soil who have real interest in the soil come into direct contact with the Government of the day, there is no meaning in having all these beneficial legislations. If you have failed so far to improve the condition of the people, it is because you have neither the courage, nor the foresight, nor vision, nor imagination to look into the future and study the real condition that prevails at the present moment. I would not go into details. I would ask the Hon'ble Ministers of this unfortunate province only to consider that when the United Provinces and Bihar have undertaken this scheme consistent with the assurances that were given to the electorate at the time of election—perhaps they could do so because their interest was not to affect but to improve the condition of the people—what earthly reason is there that in West Bengal we should not undertake this proposal. Although the Floud Commission was appointed ten years ago, although expert committees were appointed long ago to enter into the details of its financial implications, although the question has been debated times without number on the floor of this House, I do not see any reason why West Bengal should be lagging behind in the socio-economic sphere specially when there have been

revolutionary changes all over India in the political sphere: The British Government have been liquidated and Bengal has been partitioned: we are free to move and act as we like; but even now it is not possible to improve the condition of the peasants, even now it is not possible to tackle this major problem with which the social economy of the province is so directly connected.

Sir, in our discussion of the Budget we have referred to unfair allocation of jute duty and income-tax to West Bengal by the Centre. Financial stringencies should not be urged any longer for postponing such a beneficial scheme. We request the Government—and we are prepared to co-operate with them—to press our demand on the Government of India to enhance our share of the jute tax and of the income-tax. Then again by a judicial distribution of revenues and by applying the pruning knife, we can reduce the expenditure to a great extent. Simply because we have got to pay compensation we cannot afford to postpone implementations of these most beneficial proposals incorporated in the Floud Commission's Report.

Sir, I will now come to another important factor, which I have already referred to, that if we liquidate the estates in course of another 50 or 60 years, we shall have an additional revenue of Rs. 4·47 lakhs. Of course this compensation will be paid on a graduated scale. Zamindars will also realise that their zamindaries are no longer a profitable concern since those who pay rent have become obstinate, and should not therefore object to abolition of permanent settlement on any account. It is time that the Government of the day and the representatives of people who sit on the other side of the House who owing to party discipline cannot come forward to move their motions on the floor of the House should honour their pledges given to the electorate. I would appeal to them in the name of the great organisation to which they belong, in the name of the pledges they gave to the electorates, in the name of the assurances given from time to time, in the name of the vast growing menace which is assuming a serious proportion all over the country, to implement their assurances and abolish the permanent settlement of Bengal in no time.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the object of my first cut motion is to bring to the notice of the Government the sense of insecurity, panic and uncertainty prevailing in the minds of the people of Baraset subdivision in the district of 24-Parganas due to the issue of a notification No. 3294L. P.C., dated 1st December, 1948, by the West Bengal Government. In the notification it was stated that the land in villages numbering about 20 would be needed for the settlement of immigrants who have migrated into the province of West Bengal on account of circumstances beyond their control. Sir, I need not take the time of the House by mentioning the names of these villages in detail but they are within Dum Dum, Khardah and Baraset police-stations. Sir, I would request the Hon'ble Minister through you to particularly note the wordings of the notification, namely, for the settlement of immigrants. Sir, I do not know whether the Hon'ble Minister has got information that the area mentioned in the notification not only includes arable and fertile lands but also residential houses, huts, mosques, idgas and graveyards. Sir, the inhabitants of these villages are mostly cultivators and their only means of livelihood is derived from the income from the sale-proceeds of the fruits of the orchards, bamboos, fish from the tank, vegetables grown on these lands and usual cultivation. Sir, we Muslims thought that the acceptance of the Mountbatten Award by the Congress and the Muslim League should set at rest the Hindu-Muslim question, and accordingly we decided not to raise such questions as might lead people to look at problems of every-day business of life from old communal standpoint and we persuaded ourselves to believe that the majority community would not be unfair to the minority. But, Sir, much against my desire I am constrained to bring to the notice of the

overnment that the net result of this action of Government is going to ust a very large number of peaceful Muslim citizens of that area from their omeland. Sir, it might not be Government's deliberate policy to remove ie Mussalmans of West Bengal by a well-planned scheme to accommodate ie refugees of East Bengal, but the manner in which the settlement and ehabilitation of the refugees are being conducted is by no means desirable. ir, if it be really the policy of Government that Mussalmans should not be llowed to stay in and around Calcutta, Government should have the courage nd honesty to be frank and outspoken so that Mussalmans might know where they actually stand. Sir, to a common man it makes a little or no lifference whether India is a secular or a theocratic state so long as he does not feel himself safe and secure.

Sir, with all humility I would like to submit before the House that my bservations should not be construed as an indication of unfriendly attitude owards the refugees. Sir, we have a real and genuine sympathy for them nd we claim that it is not always possible for majority community to feel or the refugees as deeply as we do for being a minority ourselves. We ully realise their difficulties from our every-day experience of life. Sir, imilar notification has been issued by Government in Habra police-station. he notification has affected 15 villages and I do not like to mention the ames of the villages here also. The number of people affected here is more han 10,000 and the number of houses affected over 2,000.

Sir, in a brochure on "Prospectus for Agriculture in West Bengal" ecently circulated to us we find that our province has got as much as 193,000 acres of fallow land and 1,426,000 acres of culturable waste land. Sir, why not acquire these lands and settle these refugees? It will not affect anybody, on the contrary it will bring additional food for our province. I would request the Hon'ble Minister through you, Sir, that he should personally visit the area and meet the affected people and hear their grievances and if he feels that their grievances are genuine, he should pass orders for the cancellation of the notification.

Sir, my second motion relates about the condition of Sundarbans. Sir, I am glad to find a press-note issued today by the West Bengal Government about the formation of an enquiry committee for the Development of Sundarbans. Sir, the question of improvement of Sundarbans has also loomed large in the past. Let us hope that Government is genuinely going to do something within a reasonable period of time. Sir, this reminds me of an oft-quoted phrase "Hope deferred make the heart sick".

Sir, my third motion relates to the growing tendency of private fishery owners to convert the agricultural lands into fisheries for larger profits and this is a common practice in Sundarbans area. I hope, Sir, this question will receive the attention of Sundarbans Development Enquiry Committee.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question of abolition of permanent settlement in Bengal is in the air for many years and it is an admitted fact that permanent settlement has long ceased to serve any national interest and it is no longer required to suit the interest of the country. But it is a sad irony of fate and it is unfortunate on our part to remind the Government that even after the attainment of freedom, this dreadful permanent settlement which is sucking the life-blood of the country, a settlement under which the people, the poor cultivators are groaning in poverty for the last 150 years, a system of land tenure which has taken away the peace, comfort and happiness of the people of Bengal, is still prevailing in the country, and it is more glaring and it is—I would say—rather shameful on our part that under the Congress régime this bad system of land tenure should still continue and continue for eternity without any change, without any break. Sir, the object of the Congress is to establish Krishak-Mazdoor Raj in the country and to create a society based on

equality and fraternity, a society in which there will be no distinctio between the rich and the poor. And here is a glaring example how for the interest of a particular section of the people, the interest of the rich peopl of society, whose proportion in comparison with the population of Benga is very scanty, the interest of the entire cultivators, the poor landles cultivators, has been sacrificed.

Sir, in the last year's Budget we find that 10 lakhs of rupees wer allocated to meet the preliminary expenses in connection with the aboliti of the permanent settlement, but, Sir, we find that nothing has been don to implement the promises given by the Government. On the contrary w find that this year nothing has been said in this respect and no amount h been provided in the Budget in order to abolish the hateful zamindai settlement. You know, Sir, that the Governments of Bihar, Unit Provinces and Madras have already made provisions for the abolition of th permanent settlement from their Provinces, but to our utter disappointme Bengal which claims to be a province which always leads other provinces in the political sphere in India today is lagging behind in this respect. S I will appeal to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Land and Land Revenu Department to express a clear-cut opinion about this issue of the abolition of permanent settlement, which is a vital issue for Bengal and to enlighten the House about the principle and the programme Government proposes to follow.

Sir, in order to improve the economic condition of the cultivators I would suggest that this zamindary system should be replaced by a raiyatwari system by which the Government will be able to come in direct touch with the cultivators by acquisition of all the agricultural lands and if this be given effect to it will bring a fundamental change in the rural economy of Bengal. Sir, when this permanent settlement was introduced we find that the zamindars' income was Rs. 20 lakhs, one-tenth of the revenue of 2 crores, and it is now about 12 to 15 crores, I am speaking of united Bengal, and after partition the income of the zamindars of West Bengal may be less proportionately. The income of the zamindars thus we see has increased from 20 lakhs to 1,200 lakhs, but on the other hand we find that the zamindars' revenue has not increased but in course of 150 years the rent level has increased many times. Thus a heavy burden of taxation has fallen upon the poor cultivators. Sir, I must say it is a peculiar system in a free and democratic country in which we find that a clear-cut division has been made between the rich and the poor, a division has been made to protect the interest of the rich at the sacrifice of the poor. It is a system in which we find that the cultivators have been turned into the position of serfs and slaves. Sir, it is a glaring disparity and difference of treatment between one section of people and the other, and I must say that it is a system in which provision has been made to make the rich remain richer for eternity and the poor remain poorer for eternity and ages to come. Thus we see a huge sum of 12 crores of rupees which is being produced by the toils and labours of the tillers of the soil, the cultivators, is going to the coffers of the rich. I would suggest that if this system of permanent settlement is abolished, then this amount we can utilise for the benefit of the tillers of the soil or we can utilise this huge amount for any other nation-building department. Sir, the abolition of permanent settlement will not only increase the revenue but will place the Government in a stronger position to develop agriculture, to utilise the national and material resources of the country for the general good of the people as a whole.

In conclusion, I must say, Sir, that the prosperity, well-being and upliftment of a nation depends not on the well-being and prosperity of selected few but it depends on the prosperity, well-being and upliftment o each and every member of the nation. So I will request the Governmen to think over the matter. The permanent settlement is really a bane on the part of the Government and they should think over the matter and try to abolish this system.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the ouse.

JANAB MUHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়! আমরা জমিদারী প্রথার ছেদ সম্বন্ধে আজ আলোচনা করছি। এই জমিদারী প্রথার দ্বারা আমাদের এই বাংলাদেশের যত সর্ব্বনাশ হয়েছে এর এই জমিদারী প্রথাকে উচ্ছেদ করতে আমাদের আর এখন দেরী করা উচিত নয়। আমাদের জনপ্রিয় রাষ্ট্রসচিব হোদয় আজ এই জমীদারী প্রথার উচ্ছেদ সম্পর্কে আমাদেরকে যে ভাষণ দিয়েছেন, আমরা তার আন্তরিকতা সন্দেহ করি না এবং তার জন্য তাঁকে আমরা অভিনন্দন জানাচ্ছি। কিন্তু তিনি বলেছেন যে এই জমীদারী থার উচ্ছেদ অনেকখানি ভারত Government এর অনুগ্রহের উপর নির্ভর করে। এ কথায় আমাদের মনে ভবতঃই একটু সন্দেহ এবং আশঙ্কার উদ্রেক করেছে। ভারত Government হয়ত জানেন না, কিম্বা তো ভুলে গিয়েছেন যে এই জমিদারী প্রথায় বাংলাদেশের সবচেয়ে বেশী অনিষ্ট এবং ক্ষতি হয়েছে। সুতরাং প্রদেশে জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ হতে বিলম্ব হতে পারে কিন্তু বাংলাদেশে আর একদিনও এই প্রথা উচ্ছেদ ত দেরী করা উচিত হবে না। ১৭৯৩ খৃষ্টাব্দে Lord Cornwallis এই জমিদারী প্রথা প্রবর্ত্তন রেন। ইংরেজ বণিক এদেশে বাণিজ্য করতে এসে এদেশের লোকের ভিতর গৃহ বিবাদ সৃষ্টি করে হঠাৎ একদিন প্রভাতে এক বিরাট সাম্রাজ্যের অধীশ্বর হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছিল। এই দেশকে সুশাসন করতে হবে এই উদ্দেশ্য তাদের ল না। এদেশের রক্ত শোষণ করে লণ্ডনের হর্ম্ম্যরাজি নির্ম্মাণ করা এবং লণ্ডনের ব্যাঙ্ক ভর্ত্তি করা, এই ছিল দের প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য। তাই তারা একটি অভিনব পন্থা সৃষ্টি করেছিল, সেটি হচ্ছে জমিদারী প্রথা। কতকগুলি মিদার সৃষ্টি করে, কতকগুলি আদায়কারী সৃষ্টি করে ইহাদের দ্বারা বাংলার প্রজা জনসাধারণের উপর যে নির্ম্মম ত্যাচার চালানো হয়েছিল দেড়শো বছর ধরে, তার তুলনা জগতের ইতিহাসে মিলবে না। এই প্রথার নাম ওয়া হয়েছিল চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত। এরকম একটি জঘন্য আইন, এরকম একটি ধ্বংসকর প্রথা পৃথিবীতে কোথাও কউ কখনও কল্পনার ভিতরও আনতে পারে না। এই চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের ভিতর দিয়ে ইংরেজ রাজার সঙ্গে মিদারের সম্পর্ক তৈরি হয়েছিল। কিন্তু প্রজার সঙ্গে রাজার কোন সম্পর্ক ছিল না। প্রজার উপর অত্যাচার রু করে তাদের রক্ত শোষণ করে জমিদারেরা প্রজার রক্তজলকরা টাকা। ধনসম্পদ সংগ্রহ করে বেশীর ভাগটাই হরে কলিকাতায় বসে বিলাস-ব্যসনে উড়িয়ে দিত এবং তার কিছু পরিমাণ দিত ইংরাজ Governmentকে। দেড়শো বছর এই সর্ব্বনাশকর প্রথার দরুণ বাংলার সবচেয়ে বড় অনিষ্ট হয়েছিল। বাংলার সমস্ত ধনসম্পদ মিদারেরা গ্রাম থেকে পল্লী থেকে লুণ্ঠন করে নিয়ে এসে উড়িয়ে দিত সহরের বুকে বিলাসব্যসনে। অন্যদিকে শের শিল্প-বাণিজ্য সম্পূর্ণ রূপে উপেক্ষিত হয়েছিল এবং এই শিল্প-বাণিজ্য চালাবার জন্য কোন পুঁজি, capital রা হয়নি। পুঁজির অভাবে এই শিল্প-বাণিজ্য বাঙ্গালীর উপেক্ষায়, বাঙ্গালীর অবহেলায় গড়ে না উঠায় অন্য শ থেকে লোক এসে পুঁজি দিয়ে এই বাংলাদেশের শিল্প বাণিজ্যকে হস্তগত করেছিল। বাঙ্গালী, কয়েকটি মিদার, কয়েকটি বড়লোক ব্যতীত, এইভাবে সম্পূর্ণ রূপে নিঃস্ব এবং দরিদ্র হয়ে যায়। আর রাজার সঙ্গে প্রজার ম্পর্ক বিষয়ে, আইনে কিছু না থাকায় Governmentও অনুগ্রহ করে সুনজর রাখেন নি প্রজার উপর, যাতে তার হিত হতে পারে। প্রজা তার রক্ত নিঃশেষ করে—তার সমস্ত শক্তি নিঃশেষ করে—জমিদারের ঘরে তাদের কা পয়সা সমস্ত পৌঁছে দিত। এই ভাবে জমিদার ১৬ কোটি টাকা আদায় করতেন। কিন্তু Governmentকে তেন মাত্র চার কোটি টাকা। যখন প্রজা দুর্ভিক্ষে পড়ে, বন্যায় ডুবে, মহামারীতে ধ্বংস হয়ে, Government এর ছে হাত পাততো তখন Government বলতেন যে Government এর তহবিলে টাকা নাই। overnment তাদেরকে এই ভাবেই ফাঁকি দিয়ে তাদের সর্ব্বনাশ সাধন করতেন। এই হ'লো ড়শো বছরের ইতিহাস। দেড়শো বছর হয়ে গিয়েছে তবু আজও এই জমিদারী প্রথার উচ্ছেদ হয় নি। আজও ই রকম টাল বাহানা করে সময় কাটিয়ে যাওয়া হচ্ছে। গত বৎসর এই জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদের প্রাথমিক রচের ব্যয়ের জন্য দশলক্ষ টাকা মঞ্জুর করা হয়েছিল। আগামী বৎসরের জন্য অর্থাৎ ১৯৫০ সালের জন্য ৫ লক্ষ কা মঞ্জুর করা হয়েছে। এখন আমরা শুনতে পাচ্ছি যে মুদ্রাস্ফীতির ভয়ে জমিদারী প্রথার উচ্ছেদ করা গিত রাখা হয়েছে। তারপরে আবার ভারত গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি অনুগ্রহ করেন তবেই এই প্রথার উচ্ছেদ হবে। লীর যে দুর্দ্দিন ঘনিয়ে এসেছে, বাঙ্গালী যেভাবে আজ মরণের পথে চলেছে তাহাতে এই জমিদারী প্রথাকে এক দিনের জন্যও আমরা চলতে দেওয়া নিরাপদ মনে করি না। সুতরাং আমি আমার প্রিয় রাজস্বসচিবকে রোধ করছি যে ভারত Governmentকে বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া হোক যে বাংলায় চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত দ্বারায় যত নাশ হয়েছে ভারতের অন্য কোথাও সেইরূপ হয়নি। সুতরাং এই জমিদারী প্রথাকে সর্ব্বপ্রথমে বাংলাদেশ কেই উচ্ছেদ করতে হবে। এবিষয়ে ভারত Government এর তীক্ষ্ণ দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে আমি আমাদের ষ্ট্রসচিবকে অনুরোধ করছি যেন এই প্রথা অচিরে দেশ থেকে বিলোপ করা হয়। এই বলে আমার ছাটাই ব আমি commend করছি।

SRI CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : माननीय স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমিও জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ সম্পর্কে কিছু বলতে চাচ্ছিলাম, কিন্তু আমার পূর্ববর্ত্তী বক্তারা জমিদারী প্রথা বিলোপের প্রয়োজনীয়তা সম্বন্ধে যেরূপ ভালভাবে বলে গেছেন, তাতে তার আর পুনরুক্তি করার কোন সার্থকতা নাই। আমি মাত্র দু-একটি মন্তব্য করতে চাই এবং দু-একটী গঠনমূলক প্রস্তাব আমি করতে চাই। একটী কথা হচ্ছে ব্যক্তিগত জীবনে যেমন রাষ্ট্রীয় ক্ষেত্রে সেই রকম কোন বিষয়ে লোকের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর যখন আমূল পরিবর্ত্তন হয় তখন সে বিষয়ে কি করতে হবে না হবে মানুষ স্থির ক'রে নিয়ে নেয়। যদি প্রকৃতই জমিদারী প্রথার উচ্ছেদকে আমরা একান্ত আবশ্যক বলে বিবেচনা করি তবে তা করতে দেরী হবে না। সাধারণতঃ এই প্রশ্নকে অর্থনৈতিক দৃষ্টিকেন্দ্র থেকে দেখা হয়। জমিদারী প্রথা তুলতে গেলে কত টাকা খরচ হবে, বর্ত্তমান রাজস্ব থেকে সেই টাকা দেওয়া যাবে কিনা, বা কেন্দ্র থেকে সাহায্য পেয়ে সে টাকা পাওয়া যাবে কিনা কিংবা এই জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদের পরে লোকসান হবে কি লাভ হবে, এই দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে যদি জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদের প্রশ্নটী বিবেচনা করা হয় তবে আমার মনে হয় জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদের জন্য বহুকাল অপেক্ষা করতে হবে। আমি ইতিপূর্বে একবার বলেছি, যে বর্ত্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ সম্পর্কে এই অর্থনৈতিক দৃষ্টির চাইতে নৈতিক ও রাজনৈতিক দিকটাই বড় করে দেখা উচিত। দেশ স্বাধীন থাকবে আর জমিদারী প্রথা চলতে থাকবে এই দুটো জিনিষ পরস্পরবিরোধী। জমিদারী প্রথা যতক্ষণ আছে, আমাদের কৃষিপ্রধান দেশে জমিদারী প্রথার আওতায় অধিকাংশই লোক আছে এবং সকলে অবগত আছেন যে জমিদারের বা জমিদারের কর্ম্মচারীদের অত্যাচার বর্ত্তমানে কিছু প্রশমিত হ'লেও এখনও বহু জায়গায় তা অব্যাহতভাবেই চলছে এবং সেখানে বিদেশী শোষণের সঙ্গে আর একটী শাসনতন্ত্র ছিল এবং বিদেশী শোষণের অবসান হ'লেও সেই শাসনতন্ত্র এখনো চলছে। এর যে নৈতিক কুফল তা সকলে অবগত আছেন।

দেশ স্বাধীন হয়েছে বটে কিন্তু দেশের অধিকাংশ লোক যারা কৃষকশ্রেণী তারা সেই স্বাধীনতার আবহাওয়া ভালভাবে উপভোগ বা অনুভব করতে পারছে না, স্বাধীনতার অনুভূতিই তাদের আসেনি। তার কারণ এই জমিদারী প্রথা জগদ্দল পাথরের মত তাদের বুকের উপর চেপে বসে আছে। কাজেই এই যে নৈতিক দিক এটা বড় দিক। এছাড়া আর একটা দিক আছে। সেটা হচ্ছে রাজনৈতিক দিক- কায়েমীস্বত্ব যাবে কি যাবে না। এই জিনিষটা আজকের বড় প্রশ্ন। যদি State থেকে Transport System গ্রহণ করা হয়, তবে জনসাধারণের কাছে তার ফল খুব বেশী ফলবে না। যতক্ষণ না ভূমি ব্যবস্থা আমূল পরিবর্ত্তন হয় এবং ভূমি ব্যবস্থা রাষ্ট্রীয়করণ করা না হয় (Hear, hear) এই নৈতিক ও রাজনৈতিক দিকটা বিশেষভাবে বিবেচনা করে দেখে গভর্ণমেণ্ট যেন এই বিষয়ে বিশেষ দৃষ্টি দেন। একমাত্র অর্থনৈতিক দিকটা দেখা ঠিক হবে না। টাকা অমনিই এসে যায়। বহুক্ষেত্র আছে যেখান থেকে টাকার সংস্থান করা যায়। অনেক ক্ষেত্র আছে যেখানে ব্যয় সংকোচ করে এই অত্যাবশ্যকীয় জিনিষ সম্পন্ন করা যায় যদি আমরা অনুভব করি এই জিনিষটার সঙ্গে অধিকাংশ লোকের কল্যাণ জড়ীভূত ও অধিকাংশ লোকের নৈতিক উন্নতি এবং রাষ্ট্রীয় আবহাওয়ার পরিবর্ত্তন এর উপর নির্ভর করছে। এটা যদি ভাল করে অনুভব করি, তবে মাত্র কেন্দ্র থেকে অর্থ সাহায্যের দিকে চেয়ে থাকবো না। (A VOICE: যদি টাকা না পাওয়া যায়, তাহলে কি হবে?) অন্য উপায় আপনারা স্থির করুন।

একটী কথা হচ্ছে ১৯৩৫ সালের ভারত শাসন আইনে একটী বিধান আছে বিনা ক্ষতিপূরণে কারও কোন সম্পত্তি গ্রহণ করা যাবে না এবং বর্ত্তমানে যে শাসনতন্ত্র প্রণয়ন করা হচ্ছে তাতেও অনুরূপ ব্যবস্থা আছে। মাননীয় রাজস্বসচিব মহাশয় বলেছেন, যে কেন্দ্র থেকে এরূপ নির্দ্দেশ এসেছে যে এই বিধানের অর্থ হচ্ছে এই যে cash টাকা ভিন্ন অন্যভাবে ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া যাবে না এবং এটা নগদ দিতে হবে। যদি তাই হয় তাহলে এটা শুধু এখানকার সমস্যা নয় সমস্ত প্রদেশের এই একই সমস্যা। তাহ'লে ১৯৩৫ সালের ভারত শাসন আইন এবং যে শাসনতন্ত্র এখন প্রণয়ন করা হচ্ছে তাদের উভয়েরই সংশ্লিষ্ট বিধানের সংশোধন করা অত্যাবশ্যক। এই সংশোধন করবার চেষ্টায় আমাদের প্রাদেশিক সরকার যেন চাপ দেন যাতে এই বিধানের একটী সংশোধন হয় যাতে করে নগদ টাকা দিতে না হয় এবং 'সেই টাকা এখনই দেয়' এমন অর্থ যেন সেই বিধানের অর্থ না হয়, তার চেষ্টা তাঁরা করুন। এছাড়া গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি সত্যিই জমিদারী প্রথা বিলোপের প্রয়োজনীয়তা উপলব্ধি করেন তাহ'লে একটী জমিদারী abolition fund (যেমন যুক্তপ্রদেশে করবার চেষ্টা হচ্ছে), সেই রকম একটী fund সৃষ্টি করুন। টাকা নাই বলে একটী পয়সাও সঞ্চয় করবো না এ ঠিক নয়। কোন রকম একটী fund সৃষ্টি করে প্রতি বৎসর অন্ততঃ এক কোটী টাকা তাতে রাখা যায় না কি? ৩৭ কোটী টাকা যেখানে ব্যয় হচ্ছে তার মধ্য থেকে দু-এক কোটী টাকা যদি সঞ্চয় করা যায় (ব্যয় সংকোচ করে) তাহ'লে লোকে আশা করতে পারে নিজের পায়ে দাঁড়িয়ে এ জিনিষটা আমরা করতে পারি। Agricultural Income Tax থেকেই হোক্ বা কোন কিছু থেকেই হোক জমিদারী abolition fundএর মত একটী fund সৃষ্টি করুন।

এ যদি না করেন ক্রমে ক্রমে, রাজস্বসচিব মহাশয় বলেছেন যে ক্ষতিপূরণ দিয়েই তো জমিদারীপ্রথা তুলতে হবে, কিন্তু সেই ক্ষতি পূরণের টাকা আসবে কোথা থেকে? আমি একটী সাবধানবাণী বিনয়ের সঙ্গে উচ্চারণ করতে চাই। ক্ষতিপূরণ দিতে পারি না বলে, কবে ক্ষতিপূরণ দেবার সামর্থ্য হবে তার জন্য চুপ করে বসে থাকতে থাকতে রাজনৈতিক অবস্থার এমন অবনতি না হয় যখন বিনা ক্ষতিপূরণে বিনা খেসারতে জমিদারীপ্রথা ছাড়তে বাধ্য না হই। এই অবস্থা যেন এসে না পড়ে। এখন থেকে সাবধান হন্। তিনি বলেছেন, জমিদারীপ্রথা উচ্ছেদের প্রারম্ভিক ব্যবস্থাস্বরূপ একটী কার্য্য করতে চাচ্ছেন—একটী কমিটী নিযুক্ত করেছেন। ভাল কথা। সেই কমিটীর মধ্যে আমিও আছি। সুন্দরবনের খাজনাপ্রাপক যে সমস্ত স্বত্ব সেগুলিকে বিলোপ করা যায় কি না, সুন্দরবনের উন্নতিকল্পে সেটা প্রয়োজন। একটী কথা তাঁকে স্মরণ করিয়ে দিতে চাই যে সুন্দরবনে জমিদারীপ্রথা নাই। সেখানে যে প্রথা আছে লাটদারীপ্রথা—তা অস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত।

Janab ABUL HASHEM : There is too much noise in the Treasury Benches that we cannot hear anything.

Mr. SPEAKER : There ought to be silence.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : সেটা চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত নয়, অস্থায়ী ব্যবস্থা। সুন্দরবনের সেই খাজনাপ্রাপক স্বত্ব যদি যায়, তাহ'লে তাতে কিছু হবে না, জমিদারীপ্রথার উচ্ছেদ হ'ল না। সেটাও একটা জেলার অংশ মাত্র। সুতরাং এই করে কিছু হবে না। তাঁরা চেষ্টা করুন। আমাদের গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাঁদের দৃষ্টিকোণ বদলান। তাঁরা এই রাজনৈতিক ও নৈতিক দৃষ্টিতে অত্যাবশ্যক জরুরী ও প্রয়োজনীয় বলে উপলব্ধি করুন। কায়েমীস্বত্ব গভর্ণমেণ্ট যে বন্ধ করতে চান, এই জিনিষটা তাঁরা জনসাধারণের কাছে প্রমাণ করুন। তা যদি না হয় তাহ'লে পুনরায় আমি বলবো এমন সময় আসবে যখন বিনা ক্ষতিপূরণে তাঁদের এই জিনিষটা দিতে হবে। জমিদারীপ্রথা বন্ধ করবার ব্যবস্থা তাঁরা করতে থাকুন এবং ইতিমধ্যে আর একটা ব্যবস্থা করুন— ভাগচাষীদের সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য অবিলম্বে আইন প্রণয়ন করা দরকার। জমিদারীপ্রথা সর্ব্বত্র চলে যেতে হয়তো একটু দেরী হবে। কিন্তু ভাগচাষীদের সমস্যা এত জরুরী যে এই জিনিষটার সমাধান না করে আর পারা যায় না। গভর্ণমেণ্ট একটা প্রেসনোট দিয়ে রেখেছেন মাত্র। অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রে মালিকেরা সেটা মানেন না। ভাগচাষীদিগকে অনুচ্ছেদ্য যোগ্য স্বত্ব এখনই দিতে হবে যাতে তারা তাদের জমি থেকে উচ্ছেদ করা না যায় সেটা হচ্ছে বড় কথা। তাদের শক্তি সাহস বৃদ্ধি করা প্রয়োজন। তার জন্য ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। সব চেয়ে বড় কথা এই যে ভাগচাষীর জন্য সুবিধার কোন ব্যবস্থা কার্য্যকরী করতে পারা যাবে না যদি ভাগচাষীদের জমিতে অনুচ্ছেদযোগ্য স্বত্ব অবিলম্বে না দেওয়া হয়। জমিদারীপ্রথা বিলোপের ব্যবস্থা করুন তাঁরা, আর ইতিমধ্যে ভাগচাষীদের সমস্যা সমাধানেরও তাঁরা চেষ্টা করুন। এই কথা রাজস্ব সচিব মহাশয় মনে রাখবেন এবং তাঁদের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর আমূল বিপ্লবাত্মক পরিবর্ত্তন যেন তাঁরা করেন। আমি অনুরোধ করছি তাঁরা রাজনৈতিক দিকটা বিবেচনা করুন। টাকার জন্য অপেক্ষা না করে অবিলম্বে এই জিনিষটা যেন তাঁরা করেন।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have heard with close attention the speeches which have been delivered by my friends here. It reminds me of the Bengali adage 'যত দোষ নন্দ ঘোষ' as if all the ills of the country are due to the permanent settlement and the panacea of all the ills from which the country is suffering is the abolition of the permanent settlement. This, Sir, has become a slogan just as "Freedom" has become a slogan, "Jai Hind" has become a slogan and "Bande Mataram" has become a slogan.

Sir, let us consider what is the real ill from which the country is suffering. If the ill from which the country is suffering is really the existence of permanent settlement, then abolish it by all means without payment of compensation. But, Sir, if, on the other hand, we come to the conclusion that the abolition of permanent settlement cannot be the panacea of all the evils, then keep it, regulate it or modify it in any way which may be suitable to the country. Sir, if we carefully consider the agricultural state of the country, we will find that mother earth has refused to spring up. It has been said a thousand times by one or other writer and economist that mother earth has now refused to spring up and the land has become exhausted by centuries of cultivation.

Now, Sir, what is the remedy for all these? It has been said that the remedy lies in scientific cultivation, in increasing production and in a thousand and other ways. If this permanent settlement stands in the way of increasing the production of land, carrying on intensive cultivation and taking to other means for increasing the productivity of the land, then abolish it by all means. But, on the other hand, if it is the apathy of the people, if it is the neglect of the people, if it is the ignorance of the people, which has led to this state of things, then change your people, organise your people, teach your people. Then and then only the problem will be solved.

Sir, I am reading from Wolff's "Co-operation in Agriculture": "We have gone on precisely in the same old humdrum way—complaining like the Jews at the Red Sea when our duty was to 'go forward' but not seeking to remedy what was amiss. It looked as if farmers thought that there was something derogatory and degrading in Co-operation or else they dreaded 'Socialism' of which Co-operation is in truth antipodes. Gregariousness and readiness to act in concert have indeed never been a leading feature in the character of our rural population. And in justice be it said it has taken even those whom we now look up to as our models in the matter long enough to buckle to Co-operation. In all countries farmers are difficult to move. Belgian and Italian Ministers have long openly bewailed the distrust for co-operative practices which was clearly observable among their peasantry. It has taken a long time even to rouse German farmers, now the largest agricultural co-operators in the world, for the quality of United States Co-operation is questionable ... ".

Now, Sir, in another place it has been said——

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir Is it permissible for an honourable member to read copiously from a printed book on the floor of this House?

Mr. SPEAKER: I believe, too much quotation is not allowed.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: It is not too much. I am not copiously quoting.

Then, Sir, at page 21, it has been said: "Agriculture by itself is still only an ordinary craft, but if it is to be practised with success, it is dependent upon the aid of several of the most recondite sciences as well as upon thoroughly commercial management The old-fashioned simple methods and easy calculations will no longer suffice. The farmer of today wants to be, in person or by substitute, a skilled trader. There must be a knowledge of trading principles, of markets, a power of scientific calculation, of chemical analysis and botanical examination such as an ordinary small farmer can neither be expected to possess nor can afford to purchase for himself."

These are the things, Sir. That is to say, improvement of agriculture, intensified cultivation, intensified production are the only remedy for all the ills from which we are suffering and not the abolition of permanent settlement. Sir, the permanent settlement in a way has already been abolished by the imposition of land cess, by the imposition of education cess, by the imposition of education tax and by the imposition of agricultural income-tax. By all these processes permanent settlement has nearly been abolished and I do not know what further imposition is going to be made upon agricultural income. So in a way the permanent settlement has already been abolished. It is only the skeleton, the frame, which remains. Even if for the good of the country, for the welfare of the country it be necessary to abolish the skeleton which is in existence, I cannot have any objection to that. But I am positively and sincerely of opinion that the abolition of permanent settlement would further deteriorate the condition of the peasantry, the condition of the raiyats. My friend here advocates that in

lace of permanent settlement the raiyatwari system should be enacted. Sir, what is meant by "raiyatwari system"? The raiyatwari system means that instead of paying rent to the private landlord the raiyat will pay rent direct to the State or to the Government. What difference can there be? The raiyat will have to pay in any case. Whether he pays rent to the State or whether he pays it to the zamindar, so far as the raiyat is concerned, he will not be benefited in any way. After all, the zamindars are human beings, they are not machines. If a tenant falls in arrear for three four or five years' rent, he may approach the landlord and pray for payment of the arrear rent in several instalments, and, generally a generous landlord always grants that prayer. But, Sir, if the permanent settlement is abolished and the raiyatwari system is introduced, the interests of the tenants will be further jeopardised. Look at a khas mahal and compare the private mahal of a zamindar with it, and you will find that the raiyats of a private mahal are in a much more prosperous condition than those of a khas mahal.

Mr. SPEAKER: Have you finished?

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: No, Sir. There is one other thing which I should like to place before the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: So you want to continue?

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Five minutes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: You may speak after adjournment.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(*After adjournment.*)

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I was speaking that the remedy of all the ills from which we are suffering lay in imparting education in the truest sense of the word. As I was reading from "Wolff", education does not mean the learning of words but the wider knowledge of nature of things which we can utilise. This can be known by real education, by carrying on cultivation in a scientific manner according to modern methods, but if we go on in the humdrum way, as has been said by "Wolff", we will be nowhere and we are sure to be destroyed.

Therefore, in my opinion, the remedy for all the ills from which we are suffering does lie not in the abolition of the permanent settlement but in taking to modern system of education, modern system of agriculture, and modern system of intensive cultivation. That is what I had to say, Sir, with regard to the abolition of permanent settlement.

My young friend Mr. Abul Hashem has given an exposition of the conceptions and theory of Marxism. So far as we are concerned, we Indians are concerned, we Bengalees are concerned, we have got nothing to do with Marxists. Bengal is purely an agricultural country. Ninety-five per cent. of its population or rather 100 per cent of its population are nourished and maintained by agriculture. My friend said that Marxism or Leninism or whatever "ism" he may call it is the product of the industrial disputes. Wherever there is industry, wherever there is the labour problem Marxism, Communism and other "isms" come into play. But, Sir, our country is an agricultural country and if we carry on intensive agriculture, if we carry on scientific agriculture and if we engage all persons who are really interested in agriculture Sir, then Communism can never come to this land. (A VOICE: Who will give money?) Mother Earth will produce money; I will produce money; you will produce money; everyone will produce money; Mother Earth will produce.

(At this stage the member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must support the abolition of the zamindary and not only zamindary but all rent-receiving interests in land, and I must also urge upon the Government that they should devise ways and means for their quick abolition. Sir, the Government have tried to make out a case that as the Centre are not interested and not sympathetic for reasons of their own and partly because they do not have the wherewithal for the acquirement of these rent-receiving interests and excuse of lack of funds has been put up to slow the process of nationalisation. But, Sir, to my mind the abolition of the zamindary system, in other words, nationalisation of land should be made without compensation. Sir, we may fight shy of these words "without compensation" to-day but the conditions are soon approaching when it will be imperative, when we will be impelled, when we shall be stampeded and hurried into abolition of this land system without compensation. Sir, let us not ignore the writing on the wall. The world has definitely taken a swing to the left and the "ism" that is being propounded by the Left has taken a very firm hold on the world mind and we are passing through a phase where we must take decisions; otherwise we shall be overwhelmed. Sir, in order that we may not be overwhelmed and in order that we may not be stampeded into doing something we must have plans and formulas ready. Therefore we must from now on, from this very moment apply our minds as to how we can nationalise land without paying any compensation. Sir, when this compensation question was being mooted on the floor of this House privately an interested gentleman said, why only make the zamindars your target, the capitalists also enjoy more wealth than is good for them but you are not trying to touch them. Sir, we will have to touch everybody; we shall have to nationalise everything; capitalism in all its forms must go. But to-day, Sir, because we have on the agenda the subject of the abolition of the rent-receiving interests that is why, Sir, we shall concentrate on the persons who receive rents and how best we can liquidate them. Sir, in passing I may remark and I may point out that these capitalists, other than landlords, at least enjoy their wealth by their own toil, by their work, but these zamindars they enjoy an unearned income to which they have no right and no title and the sooner they are got rid of the better it will be for the social as well as the political condition of the people. But, Sir, I must also utter a word of warning, a word of caution which is this that before we can even think of nationalising land we must first of all devise ways and means for administering the land system. Without setting up the machinery for administering this land system which is now being managed by the different zamindars we should not launch upon this nationalisation of land. Sir, we know whatever the land system be, whether raiyatwari or direct relationship between the tenant and the State, the condition of the poor peasant is the same. We have got the khas mahal lands but I shall have to confess, to my utter shame, that the lot of the peasantry in the khas mahal lands is in no way superior to or better than the lot of the tenants of the private landlords. In fact they are in many instances worse. So if it is our objective to nationalise land we must first of all apply ourselves to the setting up of the machinery to root out corruption, nepotism and jobbery and all the other bad things that have cropped up in the administrative system right from the top to the bottom. We shall have to get rid of that. Then we must cleanse our minds and prepare ourselves first before we can think of any of these noble objects. My friend Janab Sayeed Sahib traced the history of the emergence of this zamindary system. Lord Cornwallis created this permanent settlement. For creating this he had a certain objective. It was not for nothing that he granted concessions to a body of men who called them the agents of Government for the collection of land revenue. Certain privileges were attached to those men as also certain obligations. Now that we have got our National Government, now that we are free, Sir, we must oblige those zamindars to fulfil their part of the contract. Till such time as we nationalise land, as we liquidate finally and take over the control of all land and its administration in the hands of the

state we must oblige the zamindars to fulfil their part of the contract. Terms and conditions have been laid down when they were created. Instead of acting upon those terms they have all flocked to Calcutta. They have started spending money on new cars, and new women and new horses. Sir, by legislation they must be forced and obliged to go back to their land and perform the duties that devolved upon them as their being agents of the Government for the collection of land revenue. That, Sir, is the least we can do. And, at the same time, as I have said, we must have a comprehensive plan of setting up the machinery as well as setting up an organisation whereby we can liquidate the zamindars without paying them any compensation; they just do not deserve it.

(At this stage the Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha rose to reply to the debate.)

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I have moved another motion, Sir, but I have not yet spoken on it. Does the Hon'ble Minister rise to give reply only to those cut motions on which speeches were made or is he going to reply to all the cut motions which have already been moved by the members but on some of which the members have not yet made any speeches?

Mr. SPEAKER: Only one speech is allowed.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I have moved two cut motions but I have spoken on only one and may I know whether I shall not be entitled to speak again on the other motion of mine?

Mr. SPEAKER: Only one speech is allowed. Suppose a member moves ten motions, how can I allow him to deliver ten speeches if the day's business is to be finished within a certain time limit.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I was under the impression, Sir, that though all the cut motions were asked to be moved by the respective members at one stretch, they could be taken up one by one and every time a speech is made, may be by the same member if he has moved two motions.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is the reason why I said that all the cut motions should be moved in the first instance and then when the turn came to deliver speeches the members should deliver their speeches once only within the time-limit prescribed touching on the subject matter of all their cut motions.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: If it be so, Sir, I would request the Hon'ble Minister to reply to my cut motion reading, "To raise a discussion about insecurity of service of the lower grade employees of the Settlement Department" on which I could not deliver a speech in view of the Hon'ble Speaker's ruling.

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was listening with very great interest to the speeches delivered from both sides of the House. We have this afternoon covered a wide field beginning from the early days of the permanent settlement up to the future when Marxism will bear its fruit in this country through the process of history. Sir, I do not want to cover that wide field in my reply, but I would like to refer to one or two broad points that have been stressed by the honourable members in the course of their speeches. I was sorry that the honourable member from Birbhum who happens to be absent and who chose to stay away after delivering his speech has not propounded at all a Vedantic or any other philosophy in refuting the Marxist philosophy enunciated by other members of this House. That is the only regret that I can express. I shall now go on to reply to the points raised by other members.

Sir, it has been said that the abolition of the rent-receiving interest has become an immediate necessity. There is no doubt, Sir, it has become an

immediate necessity, and in my opening speech I did not mince matters that it was an immediate necessity, and if it is abolished sooner, no one would be more pleased than the present Government. But in the meantime Government would have to evolve a new land tenure system which will be a better system than the present khas mahal system of Government. Sir, it is after all the people who will have to settle their own affairs. It is the people into whose hands power has come, and it is our duty to give a new and fresh era of freedom to our people who are after all our masters today.

Sir, Janab Abul Hashem has referred to two things. He has said that Bengal appointed the Floud Commission about ten years ago and he has referred to the recommendations of the Floud Commission. But I must remind the House that those calculations have now become out of date. Since the partition of the province the situation that was possible for undivided Bengal has, as the honourable members are aware, completely changed. West Bengal districts are generally much higher assessed than the districts of East Bengal and as a result its land revenue has as high a percentage as 41·4 per cent. of the total raiyati assets of this province. I do not know whether such a high percentage of land assessment exists in any other province of India. It must be admitted that financially it is a gain to Government to have net 41·4 per cent. of the total assessment without practically any expenditure. Well, Sir, it is a very large income in the context of the cost involved, but, Sir, as some of our friends have said, I do not wish to look at the question from the financial aspect only. It has its political, social and economic implications and it has its effects also on human existence. Therefore, Sir, this question has got to be tackled from all points of view, and we are examining all the angles and trying to give as speedy an effect to the scheme as possible and as circumstances permit.

Now, Sir, I would refer to another point that has been made by Janab Abul Hashem. He has said that he is convinced about the *bona fides* of the Government of West Bengal. But he has expressed certain misapprehensions about the pretensions of the Centre. Sir, I do not want to drag the Central Government in this House because the Central Government knows how to defend itself, headed as it is by the most brilliant leader of the country, Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. I can only say, Sir, that the shadow of sovereign Bengal that is lurking behind his criticisms, the sooner it is buried the better. The Government of West Bengal are fully convinced that our destinies—the destinies of the millions of people of this country—lie safe in the hands of leaders like Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Hon'ble Sardar Patel. Sir, it has been mentioned that there should be nationalisation of land without compensation. I have pointed out the impossibility of such a course: it is not only a question of legal difficulty but it is a question of economic adjustment. Now, Sir, I will mention one fact that will clearly bring out the position of landlords in West Bengal. Sir, you know that those landlords who pay a rent or revenue of Rs. 2,000 and over or a road and public works cess of over Rs. 500 are entitled to be voters in a zamindary constituency, and the total number of such voters in West Bengal is only 339. That is to say, only 339 people pay a land revenue of Rs. 2,000 and over or a road and public works cess of over Rs. 500. Sir, when we are speaking of the abolition of the rent-receiving interests without compensation, we should bear in mind that we are taking away the assets of not only the big landlords but also of the vast multitude of middle class people. Therefore it is not easy nor is it desirable to rush to hasty conclusions in these matters. Rather it would be wise to go into the matter and find out what are the implications of the proposals suggested by the various persons. Sir, I would not dilate on this point any further.

I would now refer to the motion moved by Janab Abdur Rahman who referred to an incident in the Baraset subdivision. Some time ago a press-note was issued by the Government of West Bengal on this matter, and

it was made absolutely clear in that press-note that there has been only a notification under section 4 which entitles Government only to enter upon and survey a land. In that press-note it was made crystal clear that in respect of agricultural and homestead lands Government would naturally take into consideration their claims on the land and exclude so far as possible all those lands where people have erected houses or where people are carrying their agricultural activities. Section 4 empowers the Government to enter upon the land, but that does not mean at all acquisition of land and driving away the occupants therefrom. I am sorry that the honourable member has in this connection thought fit to raise a Hindu-Muslim controversy. I can assure him that the West Bengal Government as a secular Government do not want to be unfair to any section of the people. His misleading statement, therefore, Sir, I must sadly confess, proceeds out of a long inheritance of a mental complex which the honourable member has not yet been able to get rid of.

Sir, the time at my disposal is very short. I should therefore like to say that the Government of West Bengal would be really anxious to carry out the land reforms. Sir, I quite feel the vast hopes and expectations roused in the minds of the people since the achievement of our freedom and I also know that the people are impatient to wait any longer. We all feel that that impatience and passion for a change to be quite natural, and we admit that a change is necessary. But we must put our heads together and evolve a sound scheme to build a new future for Bengal, and that new and bright future can be built only by the joint efforts of us all. The responsibility now lies not only upon Government but upon every individual who must play his part and make his contribution towards building up that future. Sir, we must all join together in making this great venture a success. I must at the same time sound a note of warning to my friends opposite not to come and criticise Government in a destructive spirit. Sir, the achievement of freedom has been done by the efforts of the majority of the people but the task of making that freedom real has fallen not only on that majority of the people but on every individual who is a citizen of free India today.

Sir, I oppose all the cut motions and support my motion and commend it to the acceptance of the House.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Will the Hon'ble Minister speak a few words about my motion regarding the officers of the Settlement Department?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: We shall consider this question and look into their grievances and find out what relief can be given to them.

The motion of Janab Abul Hashem that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—8.

Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab
Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab

NOES—34.

Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar
Barman, Sri Syama Prasad
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada
Chatterjee, Sri Haripada

Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Dass, Sri Kanailal
De, Sri Kanai Lal
Doloi, Sri Harendra Nath
Gayen, Sri Arabinda
Ghose, Sri Bimal Comar
De, Sri Kanailal
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra
Maiti, The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari
Majhi, Sri Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra
Mandal, Sri Bankubehari
Mandal, Sri Krishna Prasad
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan
Murarka, Sri Basantlal
Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath
Ricketts, Mrs. E. M.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Sarker, The Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra
Wilks, Mr. G. C. D.

The Ayes being 8 and the Noes 34, the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Abul Hashem that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab S. M. Abdullah that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 37,14,000 for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha that a sum of **Rs.** 37,14,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "7—Land Revenue", was then put and agreed to.

8—Provincial Excise.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 34,69,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise".

Sir, as I see the various cut motions tabled, it seems to me that most, if not all, of the movers of such cut motions have got only one burden to speak of and one item to talk about. Sir, as a person who was born in a family whose tradition was "Taste not, smell not, touch not that which intoxicates the brain" it is one of the fundamental creeds of my very existence, and that is avoidance of anything which is regarded as an intoxicant. As a medical man it has been my misfortune to see people under the influence of various types of intoxicants, and I have often wondered how anyone could get into the habit of having been addicted to any drug which undermines him, which makes him less than a human being; and therefore the question of prohibition about which my friends, the members of the Assembly, are so eager is a matter in which I am a natural co-operator. A person gets addicted to an intoxicant, and now I refer not only to those who use country spirit or foreign liquor but also those who take *pachwai*, toddy and beer, those who take opium, *ganja* and *bhang*, all of which come under that one heading "Excise". Now, Sir, these intoxicants

—or shall we say these substances—are used by three classes of people or under three different kinds of circumstances. They are used by medical men for the purpose of relieving distress. I believe there could be no objection on the part of any individual to the employment of these drugs for such relief purposes. Some of these materials are also used for various commercial purposes. That again is a matter in which I should imagine there is a consensus of opinion that such use should be allowed. Then again there are substances which are used by particular communities and groups of people in this province, for instance, *pachwai* of which the Santals are so fond and *tari* of which another group of people are so fond; and then there is the third group of people who are the real addicts, those who have got the habit and cannot get rid of the habit. As I said before, they become really less than human beings and perform all acts in order to achieve the end, namely, to get hold of an intoxicant.

Sir, with regard to these three groups, I will take the second group first, that is to say, what is to be done with that group of people that comes home tired after the whole day's work and who for generations have been accustomed to drink a little *pachwai* or a little *tari*. As I said before, I have this advantage not having used liquor in any shape or form that I can take an objective view of these conditions. It is sometimes one of the shibboleths: "Let us have Prohibition". I am reminded of a story I heard sometime ago, where two boys were found fighting one with the other in the streets of London, and the big boy hit the small boy. Both were arrested and taken to the Law Courts, and the Magistrate asked the big boy "Did you hit the small boy?" He said: "Yes, Sir, I have." The Magistrate asked: "Why did you do it?" "Because," he said, "he called my sister squint." The Magistrate asked: "Is your sister squint?" "No, Sir," he said, "I have not got any sister." "Then why did you hit him?", asked the Magistrate. "Because," he said, "on principle." Therefore, Sir, on principle you must put forward prohibition, but let us take the reality. Is it possible for you to arrange for us matters in such a way that you can give a diversion or mode of amusement to these people, so that you can replace their want with something else. As a physician, I have to say this. It is no use leaving a void, because he would either go in for illicit distillation or he will import or smuggle these goods from outside.

Sir, in this province there are certain problems with regard to this matter of prohibition which you must not lose sight of. First of all, in this province of 13 districts, 11 districts are termed "Border districts". Some border districts against Pakistan; some are bordering on Bihar and Orissa, neither of which has taken any particular step towards prohibition. Secondly, Sir, most of the labourers in the industrial areas who indulge in large quantity of country liquor belong not to this province but come from outside, and until their social condition is such and their mental outlook is such that they are able to form the habit of temperance, it is impossible for you to do anything even forcibly, because these people are generally seasoned workers. They go back after six months or three months to their country homes where they get back to their old habits. A habit, once formed, is difficult to get rid of, unless there is a sustained effort on the part of those who feel for it—a sustained effort to get rid of this habit.

Sir, the next difficulty with regard to this province is that there is a place called Chandernagore which is French territory where as everybody is aware there is no duty on liquor.

I have known from my own experience what temptation that place gives to those who want to indulge in liquor if liquor is not found in this province. These are the difficulties which we must combat against.

Then, with regard to Calcutta where probably the largest amount of liquor is sold or other intoxicants are sold, particularly opium and *ganja*,

that this capital city has a floating population of immense magnitude coming from different countries and provinces with different habits and customs we cannot ignore. The reform of such a basic character as prohibition cannot succeed unless the people support it whole-heartedly. Public opinion has to be created in support of it before any successful and effective step could be taken. Sir, it is therefore necessary to proceed in a manner—in order that we might achieve our goal of prohibition—which may be effective. One method is to increase the prices of these commodities. I may tell you that we are already charging the highest prices for these intoxicants in Bengal compared to any other province; secondly, that we can stop and we have stopped issue of new licenses unless in very exceptional circumstances; thirdly, that we can reduce the number of working hours in these shops; and fourthly, that we can increase our drive against illicit practices. We have already introduced one day as a "Dry Day" in the town of Calcutta, and its surroundings. That may be increased in number. The Clubs have been brought under Excise control from February last. It is therefore the opinion of the Government of West Bengal that no step should be taken with regard to prohibition unless we are able to prevent illicit distillation on the one hand and smuggling on the other. Apart from the fact that any scheme of prohibition would mean loss of revenue, when there is a question of principle the loss of revenue is of insignificant moment. But apart from the loss of revenue you shall have to employ an Enforcement Branch which may cost you a good deal of money before you can realise your ideal. (Janab ABUL HASHEM: It is a vicious circle.) Yes, it is a vicious circle because the whole thing is vicious. Therefore the proposition that the West Bengal Government want is to take up this prohibition scheme in certain areas where it can be introduced. Sir, prohibition can be done in three different ways—either take the province as a whole and indict any form of offence against prohibition anywhere in the province with a large body of Enforcement Branch which would insist and see that no smuggling and no illicit procurement is allowed; or it may be that we may pick up one or two or three particular types of intoxicants and prevent them from being used; and thirdly, we may pick up a particular geographical area where it is possible for us to have a cordon to prevent either smuggling of goods from outside or allowing illicit distillation in that area. The Government of West Bengal are considering the last step in order to find out where and in what manner the prohibition can be introduced in this province. The Government of India had appointed a committee of experts and industrialists to consider the question of anti-inflation, and one of the measures suggested was that at the present moment it was not desirable to go in for prohibition because that would mean cutting of the revenues and also increasing your cost for the purpose of protecting the country from either illicit distillation on one hand or smuggling on the other. In these circumstances I feel that while prohibition as an ideal and a goal and as an achievement to be desired for is a matter which admits of no doubt whatsoever, as an administrative measure we have got to consider how and to what extent it may be safely introduced in this province.

Sir, at the present moment I do not desire to go further into any of the problems raised by different members who may move their cut motions. I shall give replies after I have heard them.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 34,69,000 for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about Government's failure to formulate and put into operation any scheme or policy for total prohibition in West Bengal.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 34,69,000 for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about Government's failure to introduce measure for prohibition.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, after hearing the beautiful explanation of the Hon'ble the Leader of the House, I do not want to move my motion.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 34,69,000 for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to introduce prohibition throughout the province.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would not detain the House for more than a few minutes.

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to tell the House that enough time had been taken in disposing of the cut motions under the head "Land Revenue" and we have got to finish the day's work, if possible. Therefore speeches will have to be curtailed.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I shall not detain the House for more than a few minutes. The House was just now regaled with a dissertation from the Hon'ble Revenue Minister on various angles of vision—political, socio-economic and ideological, but our angle is never changed: it may be acute or obtuse—it may be this or that, but it is never the right angle. The angle of vision of the Hon'ble the Premier of West Bengal does not appear to me to be a right angle. He has come forward with apology for relaxation and exhilaration and in some shape or form for drunkards and fights shy of introducing prohibition. It is really so inconsistent with the pledges and assurances that have been given times without number not merely by the Government of every province but by the Congress organisation itself. Sir, not only the political organisation like the Congress but also various other organisations, religious persuations and creeds and systems of civilisation in the world have advocated prohibition in no uncertain terms.

Sir, this pernicious evil of drinking eats into the vitals of human society, destroys human material and ultimately leads to decline in production as well. From the economic point of view, from the economic angle of vision also prohibition has got to be advocated. Prohibition has got to be advocated and supported with all the enthusiasm and seriousness at our disposal.

Sir, I would not enter into details, but I may only remind the Hon'ble Premier of West Bengal that another Government in Bombay never was troubled about this question. They are prepared to drop their revenue of 17 crores and odds for the sake of prohibition. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: That is Madras.) I beg your pardon. It is Madras. Even for the purpose of financing a scheme for total prohibition, they are prepared to spend a further sum of 2 crores and odds. If the Government of Madras have got the courage to introduce prohibition in the face of the fact that they have got to lose a revenue of 20 crores, I do not see any reason why Bengal will fight shy of it, why Bengal will subscribe to a defeatist mentality, knowing fully well that this evil has been responsible for various miseries and complications in human society. As I was pointing out the other day, from the statistics it appears that three-fourths of the crimes of the world can be traced to the habit of drinking. Fourteen hundred years ago, the followers of the great Prophet never subscribed to the defeatist mentality. One word from that great reformer in human society was enough. Drinking, gambling and games of chances were eradicated in a few years from the whole country of Arabia. If it has been possible in any other country of the world, in any other province in India, I do not see why

the Premier of West Bengal—or for the matter of that, the Government of West Bengal—should subscribe to the defeatist mentality, and try to regale and amuse the people only by dissertation about this or that, only with assurances about formation of a committee of investigation of industrialists' and economists. Sir, it is not wise. It is neither political expediency nor it is justified by any canon or standard of decency to try to amuse people or hoodwink them by saying that prohibition is very difficult to introduce in the province. If you have to lose 5 or 6 crores of your revenue, you can meet your deficit in other ways. If it has been possible in other provinces, it will be possible here. Therefore, I will appeal to the Government that if total prohibition is not possible, let them proceed gradually, step by step, district by district. After all, human material is the most important consideration that must weigh with the authorities concerned. Human material is the most important factor. That must come first into consideration in any scheme of social, economic or political construction of human society.

Sir, with these few words I move my cut motion.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am really happy and proud to know this evening that our Premier has the honour to belong to a family whose motto is "touch not, drink not, smell not any intoxicating liquor". Sir, so I would like to ask the Hon'ble Premier why he does not consider himself as the fittest person to introduce the same motto for the entire people over whom he is now presiding. Let the people of Bengal have the same motto and the same advantage of that motto "Drink not, touch not, smell not intoxicating liquor and other intoxicants".

Sir, the Hon'ble Premier anticipated all the arguments that we proposed to advance in favour of our proposition and he has in his way answered them before they were raised. I am further glad to know, Sir, that he has pleaded his immediate inability to implement them into action. His main argument against the introduction of immediate prohibition in Bengal is that of the 13 districts of West Bengal 11 are border districts, and since he has no control over the borders therefore the problem seems to be difficult of solution. Here again if I want to say anything I am afraid my friend the Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha will jump on me and say that some idea of United Sovereign Bengal is lurking in my mind and he would say, the sooner the shadow of Sovereign Bengal is removed, the better. I would say in retort, after hearing the speech of the Hon'ble Premier and the difficulties of the border lines, that the sooner the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha realises that the Sovereign Bengal is the only solution to mould our destiny according to our desire, the better.

The next thing that the Hon'ble Premier says is that since it is impossible to enforce prohibition, since people would continue to indulge in drinking, it is no use losing so much of our revenue. I would ask him point blank—and by this question I will conclude my speech—is drinking the only vice to which the people of Bengal are addicted, or there are other vices too? I would ask straightaway, is it not a fact that millions of our people are addicted to many other vices? Supposing if it be our habit to indulge in immoral traffic in women, does the Government propose to formulate some scheme for squeezing some money out of that vice to increase the revenue of Bengal on the ground that this is prevalent in Bengal? Sir, there should not be any difference between means and end. Ill-earned money, be it of an individual or of a society, is bad. Therefore, Sir, it makes no difference whatsoever if a society or a nation indulges in vices and earns immoral money and if individuals are forced to be moral. There should be one single moral code for the individual as well as for the society. Therefore, Sir, I would urge upon the Hon'ble the Premier who fortunately for me belongs to a family which hates drinking as also represents a party which is supposed to be the greatest advocate of prohibition, to enforce prohibition. Sir, if

we cannot have prohibition having this Premier and this Party in power, we should simply wonder how Dry Congress is so fast becoming so much wet.

Janab Md. SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমাদের দেশের লোক মদ, তাড়ি, আফিং, গাঁজা ও ভাং খেয়ে দিন দিন রসাতলে যাচ্ছে, আর, আমাদের পশ্চিম বঙ্গ সরকার তহবিলের ক্ষতির ভয়ে মাদকতা নিবারণের জন্য কোন ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করছেন না। এই মাদকতা ও তার আনুসঙ্গিক পাপাচরণের ফলে জনসাধারণের যে কি পরিমাণ নৈতিক, শারীরিক, মানসিক ও আর্থিক সর্ব্বনাশ সাধন হচ্ছে তা আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী ডাঃ বিধানচন্দ্র রায় মহোদয়ের জানা থাকলেও তিনি এদেশে তাহা জারি রেখেছেন, মাদকতা নিবারণ ত দূরের কথা বিদেশ থেকে মদ, গাঁজা, ভাং আমদানীর দ্বারা দেশবাসীকে আরো মাতাল ও নেশাখোর হওয়ার জন্য উৎসাহ দিচ্ছেন। এই ভাবে মদ, গাঁজা, ভাং প্রভৃতি থেকে আবগারী বিভাগের আয় এমন ভাবে বাড়িয়ে চলেছেন যাতে ভবিষ্যতে কোন সরকারের পক্ষেই আয়ের ঘাট্‌তির ভয়ে মদ্যপান নিবারণ সম্ভব না হতে পারে। নেশা ও মাদকতার মহাপাপ সমাজদেহের আপাদমস্তক মারাত্মকভাবে কলুষিত ও বিষাক্ত করে দিচ্ছে, জাতির নৈতিক জীবন ধ্বংস করে উপার্জ্জিত টাকা দ্বারা দেশের চরম অকল্যাণই সাধিত হচ্ছে।

মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, গান্ধিজীর একটা প্রধান ও মৌলিক আদর্শ হচ্ছে মাদকতা নিবারণ। গান্ধিজী যে মহান আদর্শ সম্মুখে রেখে ভারতের ৪০ কোটি নরনারীকে স্বাধীন করেছেন, যে বিরাট আদর্শের নিকট প্রবল প্রতাপান্বিত বৃটিশ সিংহ পরাজয় বরণ করে ভারত ছেড়ে যেতে বাধ্য হয়েছে, গান্ধিজীর প্রদর্শিত সেই মহান আদর্শের পথেই স্বাধীন ভারতকে কল্যাণ ও সৌভাগ্যের চরম শিখরে আরোহণ করতে হবে। এবং এই পথেই বিশ্বের দরবারে তার সর্ব্বোচ্চ আসন অধিকার করা সম্ভব হবে। যদি ক্ষণিকের ভুলে, ক্ষণিকের লোভে ও মোহে ভারত এই পথভ্রষ্ট হয় তবে তার চিরতরে ধ্বংস অনিবার্য্য। "আজ সারা পৃথিবী মাদকতার স্রোতে ভেসে চলেছে। অনাচার, অত্যাচার ও ব্যভিচারে দুনিয়া পরিপূর্ণ হয়ে উঠেছে; এই ভাবে নিখিল বিশ্ব আজ ধ্বংসের পথে চলেছে। জগৎকে এই ধ্বংসের কবল থেকে রক্ষা করতে হলে গান্ধিবাদের আশ্রয় লওয়া ছাড়া আর কোন উপায় নাই"—এই কথা গান্ধিজীর শিষ্যগণ জোর গলায় বিশ্বের দরবারে অবিরত প্রচার করছেন, কিন্তু গান্ধিজীর স্বাধীনকরা এই ভারতবর্ষের বুকে বসে তাঁরা নিজেরাই সেই মহান আদর্শের বিরুদ্ধে ও বিপক্ষে চলতে একটুও দ্বিধাবোধ করছেন না; এবং দেশে অবাধ মাদকতার প্রশ্রয় ও প্রচলন বাড়িয়ে চলেছেন। এর চেয়ে দেশের বড় দুর্ভাগ্য আর কি হতে পারে?

অন্ততঃ পক্ষে গান্ধিজীর মহান্ শিক্ষা ও আদর্শের খাতিরেও অবিলম্বে সমস্ত দেশে মাদকতা নিবারণের ব্যবস্থা করা হোক এবং দেশবাসীকে মাদকতার পাপ ও অভিশাপ থেকে রক্ষা করা হোক পশ্চিম বঙ্গের কংগ্রেসী প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহোদয়কে এই সনির্ব্বন্ধ অনুরোধ জানিয়ে আমি আমার ছাটাই প্রস্তাবটা সমর্থন করছি।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I for one was extremely surprised that the Hon'ble Premier who is in charge of Excise blew hot and cold in the same breath. While he admitted that total prohibition is their ultimate aim and objective he, Sir, tried to plead many excuses for his inability to introduce prohibition. Sir, this will not do. If we accept a certain thing we must go the whole hog with it. If we say to the country that we shall have prohibition we should try to implement prohibition. Sir, it is no time now for us to try and hoodwink the public and keep their hopes deferred. That is what we have been doing and this is the warning that I want to give to the Government to-day that please do not play with words. Please state your objective; please be sure in your own mind what you are going to do. If it is really prohibition that you are going to achieve tell the world so and achieve. If for some reason or other prohibition cannot be enforced please say so. Do not mince matters. You will tell them that prohibition is your ultimate objective but you will prove something else by acting otherwise. To me, Sir, it has been a series of surprises this evening. I was again surprised by another friend of mine who had to take recourse to Gandhibad for support of prohibition. Sir, I am afraid Mahatma Gandhi himself took recourse to the ideals of Islam and to ideals of other Dharmas for the propagation of prohibition. Sir, I do not want to minimise the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi but as a Muslim, Sir, I certainly refuse to invoke Gandhibad in support of prohibition. M

own religion is sufficient unto me. My Prophet, Sir, introduced prohibition, as an honourable member to my left had occasion to mention in this House, in one minute. As soon as it was revealed unto him that prohibition should be introduced he introduced prohibition. No difficulty was experienced because at that time they were a receptive people. What is the trouble with us now? Our minds perhaps are not receptive. That is another matter. We shall have to educate our own minds and then talk about it. I take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the Hon'ble Premier to one thing since we are on the subject, Sir. Last year when the Excise Amendment Bill was being passed in this House I had occasion to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister who was then piloting the Bill to the Masonic Lodges. Sir, Masonic Lodges have been brought under the purview of the Amendment Act and the lodges are now being treated as places where drinks are being sold. Sir, I again want to impress on the Hon'ble Minister in charge that the lodges are on a footing entirely different from the drinking houses. In the lodges drinks are not sold. The members pay consolidated subscription to their lodges and there are members who perhaps drink and drinks are consumed in those places. I would request the Hon'ble Minister in charge to exempt Masonic Lodges.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: But you are now blowing hot and cold!

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Why are you confusing the issues? I plead for the exemption because there is not yet prohibition. Prohibition ought to come. But in the meantime there should not be injustice done to a particular institution. When prohibition comes the whole country will go dry as also the Masonic Lodges but when the country is not yet going dry, when the gentlemen interested in breweries are there to advise Government to see that the country does not go dry, you see I am helpless. But as long as there is no prohibition I want to impress upon the Hon'ble Premier who is in charge of the Excise portfolio to see that justice is done to a particular institution. That is why I want to draw his particular attention. Reverting to this I would expect that the Hon'ble Minister would go into the question of the masonry rights. I am sure, Sir, there are many members of the Government Benches who are Masons. (Cries of "No, No" from the Congress Benches.) What is the point in shouting "No, No". Shall I with the permission of the Speaker name the individual members who are members of the Masonic Lodges? (Mr. SPEAKER: No.) I do not want to enter into any controversy but I know the members because I meet them in the same place. Why should they shout "No, No"? By shouting they want to hide the real fact; I have nothing to hide.

(At this stage the member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

Sri J. C. GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, no doubt the province's deficit budget and the inability to provide the bare necessities of life is an obstacle in the way of the Government. There is also no doubt that the difficulties of enforcing prohibition are great; preventing illicit distillation is probably a greater difficulty. This question cannot be judged in terms of loss of revenue alone and the difficulties cannot outweigh the consideration of the great loss in human materials and the miseries in the families of drunkards. We cannot possibly prove false also to the Father of the Indian nation. We need not try to be wiser than Mahatma Gandhi who had an unerring vision and who could spot out the defects. How I wish he was spared a few years to drag us out of the rut and to put us on new ways which we are not able to do by ourselves. I know, Sir, mere legislation or swearing by the policy of prohibition will do no good. But at the same time we must not get defeated on the question of loss of income. My constructive suggestion, therefore, would be: let us, the people, take upon ourselves the responsibility to overcome the difficulties which certainly confront the Government. Let

he people organise themselves either in particular areas or district-wise or, if possible, province-wise, and then insist upon the Government to stop the sale of liquor. Until this is done, we shall lack the moral strength no doubt, but what I am going to suggest is this: The Hon'ble the Premier was right in pointing out the difficulties about enforcement and all that, but I do not agree that in border areas the difficulty would be greater. To me it seems that in border areas we will have many enforcement people; in border areas we have a staff who will prevent smuggling and I would suggest that border areas should be taken up first. If areas like the districts of Malda and Dinajpur are taken up, we have got to maintain a staff there, we have got to incur expenses for enforcement purposes for prevention of smuggling. Perhaps the Hon'ble Minister will consider it feasible to take up areas like that. My friend representing the Contai subdivision was telling me that he was prepared to take up the responsibility in that area. I also assure the Hon'ble Minister that if he tries to introduce prohibition in the Park Circus area, I am prepared to take the responsibility. (Applause from the Opposition Benches.)

Sir, this is what I have thought of. I will only say we owe a duty to the family of the drunkard, to his children and we owe a duty according to our allegiance to the Congress to overcome the difficulties which certainly exist and not to be outweighed by the loss of income which we must also overcome. Let us, the people, help the Government and after organising let us insist upon the Government for introduction of prohibition area-wise or district-wise though not province-wise at the present moment.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, it seems to me that there is a wrong impression in the House that it is only the income from Excise that we are looking into. When I was talking I made it perfectly plain that in order to achieve the ideals there are difficulties and I also suggested that the West Bengal Government had decided to take this matter up piece by piece and take up, as Mr. J. C. Gupta has suggested, certain areas where it could be implemented. Sir, it is all very well saying "hoodwinking people". Who hoodwinks? The man who promises too much, does nothing. I challenge the gentlemen over there: What was done for the last five or six years when they had been in power in the Assembly and when for sometime he was also an adviser of the great leader of his, Mr. Fazlul Huq? What steps did they take? It is no use saying "hoodwinking" when they could not do what they promised. (Uproar from the Opposition Benches.) Sir, I am not going to take this lying down. He talks about amusement. I do feel amused when he talks in a big way but does not know how to implement his promise. I challenge him to point out to me how to do it. It is no use simply saying, "I have got to do this; I have got to do that". Everybody knows that. We have heard those sermons over and over again. It is no use sermonising us. Let us be practical. Mr. J. C. Gupta has given a practical suggestion.

As regards my friend Khuda Bukhsh he blows hot and cold at the same time. He has lost his steam and poured ice-cold water on his scheme of prohibition. That is how he wants to bring about prohibition in this country! Sir, I am feeling very sad for these men who make professions but do not know how to implement them.

With these words I oppose all the cut motions and I move the motion that stands in my name.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 34,69,000 for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—9.

Abdullah, Janab S. M.	Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.	Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Abul Hashem, Janab	Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab.
Badrudduja, Janab Syed	Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Husan Ara Begum, Janab	

NOES—31.

Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar	Maiti, The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari
Barman, Sri Syama Prasad	Majhi, Sri Nishapati
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar	Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra	Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada	Mandal, Sri Bankubehari
Chatterjee, Sri Haripada	Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.	Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan
Dass, Sri Kanailal	Murarka, Sri Basantlal
Dolui, Sri Harendra Nath	Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar
Gayen, Sri Arabinda	Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra
Ghose, Sri Bimal Comar	Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath
Gomes, Mr. D.	Ricketts, Mrs. E. M.
Gupta, Sri J. C.	Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand	Sarker, The Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra	Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra
	Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra

The Ayes being 9 and the Noes 31, the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Abul Hashem that the demand of Rs. 34,69,000 for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 34,69,000 for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that a sum of Rs. 34,69,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "8—Provincial Excise" was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before taking up the next item, may I know whether the members want to deliver long speeches on the next demand for "Other Taxes and Duties"?

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, let this item be postponed till tomorrow as this subject has caused great heart-burning in the province and we want to speak on this item.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the members want to speak on the subject at any length, I believe, this item will have to be postponed till tomorrow. In this connection, I wish to tell the House one thing. In order to regulate the debate, formerly the practice was that the Government whips and the opposition whips used to chalk out a time-table in consultation with one another so that the matter before the House on any day could be disposed of on the same day according to that time-table. In the absence of any Opposition whip I am sorry I have to take up the responsibility upon myself of fixing up the time for tomorrow's business. Unless there is a time-table we cannot finish the day's agenda in time. I understand the time will be printed in the order paper for the guidance of the members.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-40 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Friday, the 18th March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 18th March, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 55 members.

Budget for 1949-50

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

13—Other Taxes and Duties.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 12,47,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "13—Other Taxes and Duties", during the year 1949-50.

Sir, the estimate of revenue from this head is 7 crores 47 lakhs. The cost of collection is therefore very low. I think the House will surely appreciate the fact that the collection charges are so low, in fact the lowest in the country. From page 13 of the publication already circulated to honourable members entitled "The West Bengal Provincial Rupee—from where it comes and where it goes", it will appear that even including all indirect cost, the cost of collection works out at 1·8 per cent. only.

I may state for the information of the House that our estimated receipts from the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act for the current year alone are 1 crore 30 lakhs more than the estimates and 40 lakhs more than the actuals of undivided Bengal for 1946-47.

This indicates that evasions are being effectively checked and we have provided for improving the machinery further for effectively checking such evasions. For example, we have started a Central Section for this purpose and will strengthen it further this year. I shall surely make note of the various suggestions which the honourable members may be pleased to make, to check evasion and I can assure them that, wherever found practicable, I shall try to work upon them. I need hardly stress that although evasion may benefit one individually, for the collective good of the nation its effects are indeed harmful. The public has, therefore, a part to play in checking such evasions and I hope and trust that in our endeavour we shall have the advantage of receiving increasing public co-operation.

It appears to me, Sir, that there is some misconception in public mind about the structure and mechanism of Sales Tax. Lest some honourable members of the House may share in that misconception, I feel called upon, in the interest of a proper appreciation of the question, to explain briefly the operations of the tax in this province.

Ours is a single point tax, which means that it is a tax levied at one and a single stage and not, like Madras, levied at many points. We register dealers if their annual turnover exceeds Rs. 50,000, and importers and manufacturers if their annual turnover exceeds Rs. 10,000. The registered dealers are, as it were, fenced off within a tax-ring. Honourable members are aware that the larger part of our economy is outside this ring.

The bulk of the goods in use, particularly in the countryside, do not enter into this ring at all but are produced, dealt in and consumed outside this tax-ring. Such goods, particularly those produced by the villagers, do not pay the tax, even if they are not on the exemption list.

It will thus appear that by far the larger part of usable goods in this Province is outside the scope of the tax. The restriction is severest in this province. For, no province has such a high registrable turn-over. In some provinces, it is as low as Rs. 5,000 so that almost everybody is roped in. Even in Bombay it is Rs. 30,000 for ordinary dealers as against Rs. 50,000 in this Province.

All transactions within the ring are also exempted from the operations of the Act. Sale by one registered dealer to another is not subject to tax, though returns are ordinarily to be submitted in respect of such transactions. Government keep full information of transactions within the ring but such transactions are tax-free.

The tax is levied only when a commodity passes out of the ring, *i.e.*, when a registered dealer sells to a person outside the ring who may be a dealer or a consumer. Now this fact must be taken into consideration in comparing our rate with that of Madras. In Madras they charge the tax at every stage. The tax is levied when a manufacturer sells to a wholesaler, when a wholesaler sells to another wholesaler or to a retailer, and when the retailer sells to a consumer. We tax it only when the last registered dealer in the chain sells it. So our tax of 3 pice is not generally more severe than the Madras rate of one pice only, which is being raised to 1¼ pice in some cases this year.

Apart from the severely restricted scope of the scheme itself, we have a long exemption list. Madras exempts almost nothing. They tax rice, paddy, chillies, tamarind and almost everything. We have an exemption list which contains all food-grains besides many other commodities which make a fairly long list. Then we exempt sales of raw materials, machineries, etc., to the manufacturers. Madras does not. We exempt sales of goods by dealers who themselves despatch them outside the province. Some other provinces do not grant such exemptions.

I hope the House will now realise what great care has been taken to devise our system so that its impact on our economy may not involve much hardship.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 12,47,000 for expenditure under the head "13—Other Taxes and Duties" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of the Government with regard to tax on newspapers, coal, wood and fuel.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, all sections of this House including the members of the Treasury Benches have recorded their disapproval and discontent regarding the imposition of Sales Tax by the Government of Bengal. In imposing this tax it will appear from the budget speech of the Hon'ble Finance Minister that the Government have been guided by the only principle—the principle of balancing the budget. Government have not been guided by any other principle but the only principle of balancing the budget. In order to fulfil their own object, the popular Government—the National Government—it seems, never cared to look up to the interests of the common people and I will say that in order to balance their budget, they have sacrificed—they have already forgotten—the interests of the common man. They have never thought in their minds the pledges which the Congress members have given to their constituency, to their countrymen. They have come to this Assembly, they have attained freedom—for whom? For the masses, for the downtrodden and miserable masses. But today if you look at this provision, it seems that this is a glaring example

of how these people, these Congressmen, those who came here to champion the cause of the masses, the downtrodden, those who came here to establish the *Krishak-Majdoor Raj*, are going to establish the *Krishak-Majdoor Raj* by imposing taxes on the very necessities of life, by imposing taxes even on newspapers. We know that newspaper is an instrument to help the growth of healthy public opinion and it plays a very important role in dispelling the ignorance of the countrymen. It is the newspapers which only can guide people in these days of turmoil, in the days when the country is really passing through a crisis, when the National Government is faced with not only outside dangers but with internal dangers, such as mass movements. It is the newspapers which can dispel the darkness and misunderstanding of the public. But, to our utter surprise, we find that the newspapers which can carry the message of the National Government to the hearths and homes of the people are going to be deprived of their legitimate rights.

Sir, I do not know how this Government can forget the sacrifices which some of the nationalist newspapers have undergone in their struggle for national freedom. Today the time has come when we must give more facilities to the newspapers in order to spread mass education, in order to make the people political-minded, in order to guide the people in the proper channel. To my mind the tax which the Government is going to impose upon the newspapers is very unwise on the part of the Government because newspapers can play a very important part in moulding the political destiny and shape of the country. I do not find any justification how we can tax the newspapers. With tax upon the newspapers, the price will be high and so the poor people will be compelled to go without the newspaper. So, I think that instead of taxing the newspaper it is the duty of the National Government to help the newspapers by way of subsidy if they want real service of the country, if they want to uplift the masses, to do something good, something beneficial to the country. As administrators, whatever the Minister will do, they will do with some motive of patriotism. Let our Government be guided not by the principle of balancing the budget. This stereotyped budget which was prepared under the British Government has still the same shape. No change, no revolutionary change, we find in the budget. The budget is going to curb the right of the newspaper. So, I would request the Hon'ble Minister not to impose this tax upon the newspaper at all.

Sir, regarding taxes on necessaries of life—wood and fuel—you know our country is poor and today whatever we do, we must see whether our poor people, the poor cultivators, are capable of paying that tax. The taxable capacity of the poor man has already been exhausted and they are not in a position to pay more taxes, but, to our utter disappointment, we find that taxes have been imposed even on wood and fuel which today are very difficult to get. As regards the price of wood, you will find that in the black market coal and fuel are selling at very high rates and there is scarcity in the country and if you put taxes on them, they will vanish from the market all at once. If the Government want to impose tax, they must see that after the imposition, they do not vanish away from the market. They must see that more supply is given to the public. They are going to introduce tax, but they have the responsibility to keep the proper supply.

Sir, with these words I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গ সরকার দেশের দরিদ্র জনসাধারণের নিত্যব্যবহার্য্য ও অত্যাবশ্যক জিনিষপত্রের উপর যথা—কাঠ, কয়লা, দেশলাই, খবরের কাগজ, ধর্ম্ম-পুস্তকাদি ও খাদ্যবস্তু যথা—নানাপ্রকার ফলের উপর বিক্রয়কর ধার্য্য করে যে সর্বনাশ করেছেন তা বর্ণনাতীত। *এই সম্পর্কে আমি জনাব আবদুল্লা সাহেবের ছাঁটাই প্রস্তাব সমর্থন করছি এবং এই বিক্রয়কর ধার্য্যের বিরুদ্ধে তীব্র প্রতিবাদ জানাচ্ছি। দেশের বর্তমান অশেষ দুর্দিনে যখন লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক অন্ন-বস্ত্র ও অন্যান্য

অপরিহার্য্য জিনিষপত্রের অভাবের তাড়নায় পাগল হয়ে ত্রাহি ত্রাহি করছে, সেই সময় তাদেরকে এই প্রকার বিক্রয়কর ভারে জর্জরিত করা সরকারের মারাত্মক ভুল হচ্ছে। বড় বড় পুঁজিপতি ধনিক বণিকদের স্বার্থরক্ষার জন্য অর্থসচিব মহোদয় দরিদ্র জনসাধারণের উপর বিক্রয়কর চাপিয়ে দেশকে ধ্বংসের পথে লয়ে যাচ্ছেন। তিনি বাজেটে এক কোটী এগার লক্ষ টাকা ঘাটতি দেখিয়ে সেই ঘাটতি পূরণের উদ্দেশ্যে জনসাধারণের বুকের উপর এই বিক্রয়করের জগদ্দল পাথর চাপিয়ে তাদেরকে পিষে মারবার ব্যবস্থা করছেন। প্রত্যেক গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রের মূল নীতি হচ্ছে—"Greatest good to the greatest number." দেশের জনসাধারণকে যথাসম্ভব ট্যাক্সের পীড়ন থেকে রেহাই দেওয়াই প্রত্যেক সরকারের লক্ষ হওয়া উচিৎ। কিন্তু আমাদের অর্থসচিব একজন নামজাদা অর্থবিশারদ হয়েও রাষ্ট্রের এই মূলসূত্রটী ভুল করে দরিদ্র দেশবাসীকে বিক্রয়করের লগুড়াঘাতে তাদের মুমূর্ষু প্রাণকে নিঃশেষ করতে চলেছেন। দেশলাই, কাঠ, কয়লা যতখানি একজন লক্ষপতির দরকার, একটী পথের ভিক্ষুকেরও ততখানি দরকার। খবরের কাগজ একটী উচ্চশিক্ষিত ধনী সন্তানের জ্ঞানপিপাসা মেটাবার জন্য যেরূপ প্রয়োজন—একটি পর্ণ কুটীরবাসী শিক্ষিত সন্তানের জন্যও সেইরূপ প্রয়োজন। ভারতের নবলব্ধ স্বাধীনতার বিরাট দায়িত্ব ও কর্তব্য সম্বন্ধে চিরপশ্চাদপদ দেশবাসীকে সচেতন ও সক্রিয় করে তুলবার জন্য খবরের কাগজের বহুল প্রচার যখন অপরিহার্য্য হয়ে পড়েছে, তখন ইহার উপর বিক্রয়কর ধার্য্যের দ্বারা সস্তায় খবরের কাগজ পড়ার সুবিধা থেকে দরিদ্র জনসাধারণকে বঞ্চিত করা কি উচিৎ হচ্ছে? মফঃস্বলের জেলাগুলিতে খবরের কাগজের স্থানীয় প্রেসগুলি অনেক ক্ষেত্রেই নানা প্রতিকুল আব্‌হাওয়ার মধ্যে প্রায় অচল হয়ে রয়েছে এবং যথেষ্ট গ্রাহক না থাকায় তাদের দুরবস্থার শেষ নাই। এই অবস্থায় খবরের কাগজের উপর বিক্রয়কর ধার্য্য করা সম্পূর্ণ অন্যায় হচ্ছে। জনসাধারণের মধ্যে ধর্মতত্ত্ব প্রচার ও ধর্মশিক্ষা বিস্তারের জন্য কোন লাভ না নিয়ে বা নামমাত্র লাভ নিয়ে ধর্মপুস্তকগুলি বহু অসুবিধার মধ্যে ছাপান ও বিক্রয় হয়। মুসলমানদের কোরাণ, হাদিস্ ও অন্যান্য আরবি, পার্সী, উর্দ্দু ও বাংলা ভাষায় লিখিত মুসলমানদের অত্যাবশ্যক ধর্মপুস্তক এবং অমুসলমানদের ধর্মশাস্ত্র যথা—গীতা, বেদ-বেদান্ত, রামায়ণ, মহাভারত ও বাইবেল ইত্যাদির উপর বিক্রয়কর ধার্য্য করায় ধর্মপ্রাণ ব্যক্তিদেরকে ধর্মতত্ত্ব শিক্ষা থেকে বঞ্চিত ও ধর্মবিবর্জিত করার ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। পুলিস বিভাগের খরচ কমিয়ে এই সমস্ত ধর্ম-শাস্ত্রকে বিক্রয়করের আওতা থেকে রেহাই দিলে দেশের প্রকৃত মঙ্গল সাধন করা হবে। কারণ—A Church is better than hundred police-stations.

অর্থসচিব মহোদয় বিভিন্ন ফলের উপরও বিক্রয়কর ধার্য্য করেছেন। অনেক সময়ে বাগান থেকে ফলগুলি সংগ্রহ করতে ও বিভিন্ন বাজারে চালান দিতে পথেঘাটেই পচে নষ্ট হয়ে যায় বলে লোকসান হওয়ার সম্ভাবনা বেশী। মালদহ জেলায় আমের চাষ-আবাদ ও ব্যবসায়ের উপর অনেক লোকের জীবিকা নির্ভর করে। এই জেলার উৎপন্ন আমের অধিকাংশই বঙ্গ বিভাগের পূর্বে ঢাকা, ফরিদপুর, বরিশাল প্রভৃতি জেলায় চালান হ'ত। কিন্তু বঙ্গ বিভাগের দরুন এবং বিশেষভাবে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ থেকে সম্পূর্ণ বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে যাবার কারণে মালদহের এই আম বিক্রয়ের ব্যবসা প্রায় অচল হয়ে উঠেছে এবং মালদহবাসী তদ্দরুন বড়ই বিব্রত ও ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হচ্ছে। এই অবস্থায় মড়ার উপর খাড়ার ঘা না দিয়ে সাধারণভাবে ফলের উপর ও বিশেষভাবে মালদহের আমের উপর থেকে এই বিক্রয়কর উঠিয়ে না দিলে লোকের সর্বনাশ করা হবে।

গত কয়েক বৎসর ধরে বাংলার চাষী-প্রজাদের উপর কৃষি আয়কর আইনের চরম অপব্যবহার দ্বারা তাদের উপর যে নির্মম অত্যাচার করা হচ্ছে, আমাদের রাজস্ব সচিব তাহা বোধ হয় জানেন না। জমির সঠিক হিসাব না ধরে এবং জমির উৎপন্ন ফসলের ন্যায্য পরিমান সঠিকভাবে না জেনেই প্রজাদের নিকট হতে যথেচ্ছাচারভাবে কৃষি আয়কর আদায় করে তাদেরকে সর্বস্বান্ত করা হচ্ছে। কৃষি আয়কর আইনের সদ্ব্যবহার করা যদি গভর্ণমেণ্টের পক্ষে সম্ভব না হয় তবে এই আইন গভর্ণমেণ্টের চালু রাখার কোন অধিকার নাই। এই আইনের ব্যবহার সম্পর্কে প্রয়োজনীয় তথ্যানুসন্ধানের জন্য দায়িত্বপূর্ণ উচ্চপদস্থ রাজকর্মচারী দ্বারা সরজমিনে তদন্ত না হওয়া পর্য্যন্ত কৃষি-আয়কর আদায় স্থগিত রাখিতে আমি অর্থসচিবকে অনুরোধ জানাচ্ছি।

স্পীকার মহোদয়! অবশেষে আমি আপনার মারফতে অর্থসচিব মহোদয়কে আবার অনুরোধ করছি যে কাঠ, কয়লা, দেশলাই, খবরের কাগজ ও ফলের উপর থেকে বিক্রয়কর উঠিয়ে দিয়ে দেশবাসীর মঙ্গল সাধন করুন।

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, like my friends I will not narrate the details of harassments of the sales tax officer, nor cite instances of cases where parties have been assessed to sales tax; parties which have ceased to exist and parties who have surrendered their registration

certificates years and years ago. After 15th August 1947 when new Ministers were installed and after the introduction of so many repressive measures people have become callous to criticise the Government and bring to the notice of Government any of their grievances, because, Sir, here in this House and outside this House the Government does not listen to the grievances of the people. I would like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister to one fact which being a businessman himself he will really appreciate. When a firm or individual is heavily assessed by income-tax authority the party appeals to the Assistant Commissioner for justice. The stamp which the party has to affix on the appeal is only annas 8. In case he is successful, he gets back all the money which he had to pay on account of unfair assessment. But if you want to appeal against the order of the assessing sales tax officer you have to affix stamp of the value of 5 per cent. of the amount against which an appeal is to be made and also you have to spend about Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 to get a copy of the assessment order. The income-tax assessment order can be had by affixing a stamp of only annas 2 on an application and the copy is sent to your house. In the case of a sales tax appeal you are to rot for days and days to get copies from the office of the Sales Tax Commissioner. You have also to spend a pretty good amount by way of fees to the pleaders. If after all these expenses, you are successful in winning your appeal, you get back your money but 5 per cent. on stamps is not refunded to you. Whether you win or lose Government always profits to the extent of 5 to 10 per cent. Besides that you are to pay your pleader's fees and other expenses. I hope the Hon'ble the Finance Minister will personally look into the matter and fix the appeal fees at the same rate as is usually charged by the Income-tax Department. Sir, I do not think it is fair that in an appeal against an order of the assessing sales tax officer the party should be made to pay 5 per cent. on stamps. After all, business, now-a-days, does not yield more than 1 to 2 per cent. profit on the capital outlay and 5 per cent. on stamps for appeal, together with pleaders' fees, etc., is very excessive charge. Therefore, Sir, I hope the Hon'ble the Finance Minister will agree to my suggestion and reduce the appeal stamps to annas eight.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, I find it perplexing what replies to give. I explained in detail the system of our sales tax in this Province but at least 2 or 3 speeches were made which had no connection with the scheme, and which show little appreciation of the structure of the sales tax. Because some of my friends on the opposite side said that we have taxed religious books, but you know, Sir, religious books are exempted. Then Mr. Abdulla pleaded for newspapers. I also appreciate the services rendered by the newspapers in our freedom movement and in educating public opinion. Tax is not a thing which is either levied or not levied as a sort of punishment or reward. There are many people who have gone to jail 5 times or 6 times in connection with the freedom movement, yet they are paying taxes in some form or other. Even the newspapers themselves are not demanding total exemption. The Newspaper Association has approached me and they want to change the sales tax on the sale of newspapers to a tax on the sale of space for advertisements and we are considering this whether we can change it or not. Then Mr. Abdulla spoke of sales tax in his anxiety for the welfare of the Krishak but he does not seem to know that in respect of the sales tax, the Krishaks are really benefited in the sense that their goods are mostly outside the purview of the goods subject to sales tax. And, so far as collection of sales tax is concerned, I believe about 3 crores 35 lakhs is in Calcutta and the rest, some 65 or 70 lakhs from the whole of the districts. He also said that there is no policy behind the sales tax. To that I will reply later. He said that the budget is being framed in the same way as the Britishers used to do. That is partially true; so we have got to frame the estimates in some form just as the Britishers used to do. But, Sir, if the budget has been

framed in the same way, I find also that the budget criticisms also have not improved but have been just in the same old way. The same old stories are being repeated always.

Sir, Mr. Rafique has asked me to enquire into the stamp duties on deeds of sales. I will look into the matter and if any rebate is due it will be given——(Janab MD. SAYEED MIA: What about agricultural income-tax?)——Agricultural income-tax is not covered by this item.

I would now ask Mr. Abdullah to forget this also that freedom means no tax, that freedom means that only the topmost few men are to be taxed. He says that there is no policy behind the sales tax. I do not want to argue that point because it is no use demonstrating the theoretical justifications of the sales tax——(Janab MD. SAYEED MIA: What about the sales of Malda mangoes?) I hope my friend should understand the structure of sales tax before asking me questions. In Malda mango is sold by auction. Auction sales of 50,000 mangoes are taxed but the tax does not go to the consumer. It was represented to the Suhrawardy Government that the tax had to be paid by the sellers as it could not be passed over to the consumers.

It is not necessary to seek a theoretical justification of the sales tax; for, all the world over this tax has come to stay owing to growing demands on the resources of the State and forms one of the most important sources of revenue, even rivalling sometimes Customs duties and income-tax. The most important feature of the sales tax is its productivity and most of the modern nations like England, United States of America, France, Russia and others have resorted to it and it is found that its revenue-yielding capacity is gradually going up. I may particularly mention the case of Russia where sales tax is the main source of their revenue, being as much as 80 per cent. of the total revenue of the State. Apart from its yield it is also fairly easy and convenient to collect and the mechanism of collection is not as cumbrous as in other forms of taxes. It is unavoidable that such a tax should sometimes touch even the poorer section of the community, but as I have already indicated, the structure of this tax has been so framed in this Province and the exemptions so devised as to leave out of its purview most of the daily necessaries of the common man. If despite these exemptions it somewhat affects the poorer section of the community, I do not consider this to be entirely a disadvantage from the political point of view; for in my opinion there can be no political consciousness in the people unless all, irrespective of their positions in life, can share in the burden of administration. Indirect taxation, such as the sales tax, affords a means of reaching those classes which, mainly because of administrative difficulties, are not liable to the more direct form of taxation. There is the further point that if only a section of the community is to be taxed, its yield, by the very nature of it, is bound to be limited. In the process of such a tax the people develop a lively interest in the affairs of Government and their natural inquisitiveness to know how the money they provide is spent, is in itself a political education which is so valuable in a growing democracy. With all its merits and demerits the sales tax has to be pressed on the understanding of the people; for an intelligent democracy cannot be created on the basis of a long-continued ignorance with respect to tax obligations.

I quite appreciate the feelings of the House that whatever may be the theoretical and even practical justification for including some items in the necessaries of life within the purview of the sales tax, it may not accord with our political sentiments. I know, Sir, sometimes sentiments are to be respected and I have therefore already indicated the intention of the Government to exempt mustard oil from the operation of the tax. We have also decided to exempt matches from the operation of the tax. I may also say that the Government desire to examine the exemption list further with a view to finding out the items which may cause real hardship to the poor people, and find out if a few more exemptions are also possible. I

hope the House will appreciate our difficulties to make drastic revision of the exemption list here and now, without having reasonably sufficient time to examine the position in all its details and bearings. I would also humbly request the House to consider whether it will be prudent for us to so drastically revise the taxable list of the Act passed only three months ago after due deliberation.

With these words, Sir, I oppose the cut motion and commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Janab S. M. Abdullah that the demand of Rs. 12,47,000 for expenditure under the head "13—Other Taxes and Duties" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker that a sum of Rs. 12,47,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "13—Other Taxes and Duties" was then put and agreed to.

28—Jails and Convict Settlements.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 71,38,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements".

Moving for this grant I shall refrain from making a detailed reference to the different heads of the budget, but I think I should give an account of the main problems of the department for the information of the House and give an idea of the different schemes that the department has taken up for consideration. The most important subject that has been engaging the attention of the department is the revision of the Bengal Jail Code in the light of the new set up. A Special Officer who was appointed last year has already submitted a report and his basic proposals for jail reforms, and now he is busy scrutinizing the Jail Code rules to suggest amendments, where necessary. As soon as his proposals are completed, we shall place them before a Committee to be appointed for the purpose. Those of his recommendations which the Government could accept straightaway are being given effect to. Members are perhaps aware that since 1947 the post of Inspector-General of Prisons was being held by the Director of Health Services in addition to his other duties, and he is assisted by a Deputy Inspector-General of Prisons. The Government have now decided that there should be, in view of the various problems that are coming up before the department, appointed a whole-time Inspector-General of Prisons who would be helped by an advisory committee for the formulation of measures of jail reforms.

There is another important decision taken by the Government, that is, to start a blanket factory in the Dum Dum Central Jail for the manufacture of blankets and shawls for the use of prisoners, police and warder forces, hospitals, orphanages, etc. If the requisite machineries are available the factory will start working within a short period. It has been felt that the life of the warder of a jail is rather hard and strenuous and therefore it has been proposed that each warder should get a day and a night off in a week. Therefore the warder staff has been strengthened by the addition of 192 permanent posts.

Eleven additional teachers have also been sanctioned for imparting primary education to prisoners of all classes in the District and the Central Jails. Arrangements have been made for replacing the hand-driven ghanis by electric oil mills as far and as soon as possible.

The Berhampore District Jail has been amalgamated with the Berhampore Special Jail. This will mean that there will be a Central Jail for the northern districts. The utilisation of the Berhampore District Jail buildings for the extension and improvement of the Borstal treatment of adolescent offenders is also under contemplation. It is desired to reopen the

reformatory and industrial schools at Alipore which were closed during the last war. The schools had a capacity of 145 offenders dealt with under the Children Act. A new industrial and reformatory school with a capacity for 800 boys is urgently necessary for the extension of the Children Act throughout the Province. Pending examination of the scheme an industrial school has been opened temporarily in the premises of the Borstal school at Bankura.

The reorganisation of After-Care in this Province with district associations for all districts under the control of the Central Provincial After-Care Association is also a scheme which is being implemented.

The opening of a training school for jail warders and other staff on the lines of the Police Training School is also being examined. The Outram Institution in Dum Dum has been acquired for such a purpose.

It has been suggested to us that in the jails arrangements should be made for vocational training as well as for providing amenities as far as possible and all these proposals are being examined.

Sir, I do not want to refer to the cut motions that are before the House except to say that the cut motion proposed by Janab Md. Syeed Mia to raise a discussion about the policy is a subject so vague that it is not possible for me at this stage to give any information to him with regard to the points he may have to say to us.

With these words, Sir, I move that the motion for the grant be accepted.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, the Hon'ble Premier has assured us that he is doing his best to have the Bengal Jail Code revised and to have it brought into line with conditions now existing. Sir, I am a visitor of two jails, the two jails now amalgamated into one which he has had occasion to mention, the Berhampore District and the Special Jails. Sir, I have seen the kind of food that the jail authorities have to give to the convicts. Much as they would like to improve the quality of the food they cannot do so because of the allotment made for convicts in the Jail Code. Sir, the Hon'ble Premier being an eminent physician ought to know better than we do what is necessary for even a convict.

Then, Sir, the emphasis should be on the reclamation of the convict and not so much on his punishment. We send a man to jail because he has offended against society. In some cases, Sir, it is on the spur of the moment and he is genuinely regretful of what he has done. Last year, Sir, if you would remember, I had suggested that the Government should set up a body to keep a track of the convicts who are let out from jails and to see how they are behaving in society. My object was that, in order that the Government were able to fulfil their obligations to society as a whole, they should not forget this body of men who come out from jails and are naturally despised as having been jail birds. Sir, many of them, as I said, are genuinely penitent in jail and they make an honest effort to reclaim themselves, but when they come out after having spent the best years of their life in jail, they are usually in penury and in poverty and society not being educated to that extent usually does not come forward to help them. Therefore I suggested and I suggest again to the Hon'ble Premier that he should set up a body with officials as well as non-officials to help these convicts with suitable loans or grants and help them in other ways to stand again on their feet, to stand again on their legs, so that they may again become useful members of the society. Sir, we shall also have to take upon ourselves the responsibility to educate public opinion and we shall also have to teach the public not to despise a man who had been in jail once. As a visitor I know that the persons whom the public outside call convicts or jail-birds, people who have come to jail after having murdered or having committed any other offence are so good that I have at times felt overwhelmed with their genuine goodness of heart. Such is

the stuff, Sir, that inhabit the jails, the penetentiaries and convict settlements. Sir, we must make up our mind that we should give them all opportunities when they come out of jail.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, জেলের কয়েদীদের মানসিক উন্নতি করবার জন্য যে সব বক্তৃতা করেছেন, তা ভাল কিন্তু তাদের দৈহিক যে সমস্ত দুরবস্থা আছে, সে সম্বন্ধে দুই একটি কথা বলা দরকার।

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH : খেতে না পেলে কি রকম করে দৈহিক উন্নতি হবে?

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED : খেতে না পাওয়ার কথা না বলাই ভাল। আমাদের জেলে হাজতী আর কয়েদী convict আর undertrial বন্দী থাকে। এদের সংখ্যার কোন স্থিরতা নেই। ধরুন একটা জেলে আছে হয়ত ৪০ জনের স্থান, সেখানে হাজতে গিয়ে উপস্থিত হ'ল ৫০।৬০ জন; এর মধ্যেই তাদের থাকতে হবে। জায়গার কোন পরিমাপ নেই। জেল যখন, তখন স্থানে কুলাক বা না কুলাক, সমস্তকেই তার ভিতর আটক করতে হবে। এই গেল একটা কথা।

দ্বিতীয় কথা হ'ল, জেলের পায়খানার বন্দোবস্ত। আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানেন যে কত জন লোকের জন্য একটা পায়খানা দরকার। প্রত্যেক জেলে একটি কি দুইটি পায়খানা আছে। তৃতীয়তঃ স্ত্রীলোকদের আলাদা থাকবার জায়গা কোন কোন জায়গায় আছে কোন কোন জায়গায় নেই। চতুর্থতঃ বালিশ-টালিশ তারা কখনো দেখেনি, সব ঐ ইটের পাওনার উপর শুয়ে আছে। যখন জায়গায় কুলায় না তখন কেউ বা চাতালের উপর শুয়ে থাকে, কেউ বা নীচে। পাঁচ নম্বর—মশারীর কোনও বন্দোবস্ত নেই। জেলে গেলে শরীরের উন্নতি ত নেই, অবনতির একশেষ।

আরও কতকগুলি ছোটখাটো কথা বলি: হাজতী যে সমস্ত আসামী, তাদের জন্য কাপড়ের বন্দোবস্ত নেই। তারা ২ মাস, ৪ মাস, ৬ মাস যতদিনই থাকুক না কেন, যে কাপড়ে গিয়েছে সেই কাপড়েই তাদের থাকতে হবে। সরকারের দিক দিয়ে কাপড়ের বন্দোবস্ত করা হয় না। অনেক সময় বললে কইলে কিছু কাপড় দেওয়া হয় এবং বলা হয় যে হাজতীদের জন্য কাপড়ের কোন বন্দোবস্ত নেই, কয়েদীরা মাত্র সরকারী কাপড় পাবে।

Sri J. C. GUPTA : Partyরা চেয়েছে কি?

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED : Partyদের সেখানে ঘেঁষতেই দেওয়া হয় না। উকীল মোক্তার ব্যারিষ্টার চাইলেই তা পাওয়া যায় না। তারপরে আমাদের বাঙ্গালীদের একটা নিয়ম আছে, তেল মাখা। বাঙ্গালী তেলে জলে মানুষ। তাদের স্নান করবার জন্য একটুখানি তেলের দরকার। এতটুকু তেল কিন্তু তাদের মেলে না। তারপর, তাদের নখ কাটার ও চুল কাটার দরকার, কয়েদী বলেই যে তাদের এসব দরকার নেই, এ হতে পারে না। আমি সাধারণ কয়েদীদের কথা বলছি। মুদাস্সির হোসেন সাহেবের কথিত নির্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মীদের কথা বলছি না। এই সমস্ত ছোটখাট অবস্থাগুলির প্রতি যদি আপনারা লক্ষ্য করেন তাহলে ভাল হয়। তাদের মানসিক উন্নতি করে হবে বা না হবে জানি না কিন্তু দৈহিক উন্নতির দিকটা এখনই দেখা উচিৎ।

অনেক জেল visitors আছেন, কিন্তু সেই জেল visitorদের একটা committee সময় সময় ব'সে যদি এই সমস্ত বিষয় চিন্তা করেন তাতে কিছু ফল হয় না। যদি কখন কোন committee বসেন এবং এদিকে প্রতিকার প্রার্থনা করেন, তখন S. D. O. কি Magistrate বলেন 'আমরা লিখছি।' লিখলেই তার কোন উত্তর পাওয়া যায় না। এখনও পর্যন্ত খালি লেখা, আর উত্তর না পাওয়া। এর মাঝখানে যা আছে, তা প্রতিকার বা প্রতিরোধ বা কোন কিছু। যদি ডাক্তার সাহেব তার বিধান কিছু করেন, তাহলেই আমাদের দেশে জেলের অধিবাসীদের খানিকটা উন্নতি হবে বলে মনে হয়।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I congratulate our Hon'ble Premier for what he has done and what he proposes to do for the amelioration of the condition of prisoners. I think, Sir, I have got nothing to say against what he has already done or what he proposes to do, but one thing I suggest to him. I had been a visitor to the jail for a very long time and I have seen, Sir, during my visit that criminals get hardened. After conviction a man who has served a long-term imprisonment gets hardened, and if another prisoner gets simple imprisonment for one, two or three months he calls him names. I mentioned these things before, and my friend over there objected to my exactly referring to the bad names

which hardened criminals utter in respect of other prisoners. If you like, if you have no objection, Sir, I can mention what they say. Hardened criminals say to short-term prisoners "মুরগী চোর, হাঁস চোর" and such like things.

Now, Sir, what I propose to say is this and you have not mentioned it. In order to ameliorate the moral condition if the object and motive of punishing a criminal is to reform him and if by punishing and keeping him in the custody of the State we can reform him, it should be our aim to reform him in every way, and for this purpose, Sir, of course you have made provision for teachers for teaching the convicts up to the primary standard. But, Sir, you have not made any provision whatever for giving them moral education and religious education. (Cries of "No, no" from Opposition benches. The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Maulvis, Padres go there.) Then it is all right. I have got nothing more to say.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, some years ago I met one of the Khasi Chiefs in Shillong, and I went to the Court where he presided. It is an ancient system which prevailed for 2,000 years, and you will be surprised to know, those who have not been to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills will be surprised to know that there the tenant is the sole possessor of land and pays no rental to anybody, and he is a free man. When I went to the Court I was told that the Chief could impose punishment for up to ten years' imprisonment. I asked the Chief where the jail was. He said, we don't have any jail. The very fact that I restrict the freedom of a particular individual in not cultivating his own land but to get himself attached as a servant to a particular house in the clan is quite enough punishment for the individual. That should be an eye-opener to us and I can assure you that when I entered the jail, as soon as the jail gate clapped me in, the first reaction was that I felt that I had become a different individual to what I was before I entered the gate. This feeling I have never been able to get out of me and although this particular subject is not mine as you are all aware—my friend the late lamented Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy was in charge, I am only carrying on until somebody else takes it up—but, so far as I am concerned, I have not the slightest doubt that the suggestion which my friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh has made with regard to having a new idea of penology is absolutely a sound one. It may take a little time before we can lay down the scheme but the ideal is certainly there. As regards my friend here who has suggested that there should be some arrangements made for making these men feel that they are human beings, and are not so many cattle, that suggestion also is one which the Government is bound to give full consideration to. My friend Mr. Mudassir Hossain is an old jail visitor and his opinion we respect and I hope and trust that it would be possible for us so far as our efforts are concerned that we would be able to make some difference at any rate in the way in which the convicts both under-trial prisoners as well as convicted prisoners are kept in our jails and convict settlements. With these words, Sir, I beg to move, for the acceptance of the House, the demand that I have made before the House.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that a sum of Rs. 71,38,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "28—Jails and Convict Settlements" was then put and agreed to.

29—Police.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 4,61,91,000 be granted for expenditure under the head 29—Police.

As I got up to speak on this motion my friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh said "ঐরাবত" I will quote Mr. Hashem's own words and say this is a

hardy annual. The main cut motions that have been put before the House indicate that there are six or seven points on which friends want to discuss this problem. First and foremost is the question of "expenditure on police". Secondly, "inefficiency of the police department in maintaining peace and order in the country". Thirdly, "corruption in the police". Fourthly, "tyranny and high-handedness of the police in the rural areas". Fifthly, "not granting and cancellation of licences for firearms of the Muslims"; sixthly, "not adhering to communal composition of the police"; and, lastly, there is one question that has been put forward whose proper meaning I have failed yet to realise but I hope the speaker will make it clear what he means by "Ministers' anti-social interference with the activities of the Enforcement Department".

Sir, I am not surprised at the amount of excitement which members of this House express when the demand for "Police" comes in. I can well recall the position 25 years ago when I first entered the Legislature and I also can remember how we felt that it was almost imperative on us to oppose the Police grant. If we analyse the reasons particularly after 25 years one cannot fail to appreciate the reasons which then led us to object to the Police grant, not that any member of the Legislature then thought that people did not need protection, not that any member of the Legislature or of the Congress thought that production and industrial life should not be allowed to go on unhampered, not that people did not feel the necessity to call in the support of the police when an attempt is made to rob a person or commit burglary in a particular house but the reason for the opposition is not far to seek. In those days it was the authorities, the Britishers, who possessed and the others who did not possess. The police who normally should protect the possessor came to be regarded as an arm, as a limb of the Imperialistic régime and this feeling was not to be suppressed because of the evidence that I and others have of the way in which Police in those days were employed for the purpose of suppressing the natural demands of the people of this country for freedom and independence. As the Congress struggled on towards its goal, whoever opposed the progress, from whatever quarter this opposition came, they became the taboo of the party. The original objective of any police force is and should be the protection of the individual irrespective of the person or the group or the quarter who seeks protection.

Sir, this is the fundamental charge of the police. Under the new situation, under the new environments the police have to conform to the new set of things. They have to realise that they are not serving an Imperialist master; they have to realise that they are the servants of the people. As soon as you take up that position, whether in actual day to day affairs the present police force follow this rule is another proposition, I shall have something to say when the question of efficiency and corruption of the police comes in. But I shall give you a formal proposition, and that is this that with the advent of freedom when we have got to face the numerous problems both within the province and outside it, the need for protection has become greater; and if that is the proposition for the whole of the country it is more so for West Bengal. Bengal has been divided, there is a border line of 600 miles across which smuggling has taken place and is taking place, across which fights and communal factions have taken place, perhaps begun on a very insignificant matter. The usual story is that a person who had owned land on one side of the country and owns another bigha or two on the other side—the moment he goes to cut the paddy—if he belongs to one area and goes to the other area, at once a dispute arises and clashes occur. Everyday I receive series of telegrams from different parts of rural areas—not from towns only—asking for protection, protection against the oppressors generally, protection against organised groups and anti-social elements whom the villagers now call Communists. Therefore, with the advent of freedom, with the onset of partition the need

for strengthening the police—not merely keeping the police as it was before but I speak with a firm conviction that the need for a police efficient and strong—is being felt and will be felt more and more. I am second to none in my desire for non-violence and truth. Again, that is an ideal which has been put before us by the Master, but neither I nor the whole lot of us together can conceive of any method of translating that ideal into practice. We will struggle after it, we will try to achieve it; and it is one of my firm convictions that when you have an ideal before you towards which you are anxious to move forward, you are a live motion and if you have got vitality in you the more you proceed towards that ideal the further the ideal recedes from you. That is one of the fundamental creeds of my conviction. Therefore, I am not afraid, I am not ashamed that the ideal has not been achieved today, that the Ram Rajya has not still been there; but I say this that with all the circumstances that have followed the Partition the need for protection is being increasingly felt—whether it is protection of one community against another, whether it is protection against the anti-social activities, or whether it is protection of one worker against another worker, as we are witnessing every day. It would be futile, it would be folly for any Government to say, "we shall not give protection".

Sir, having said that I will now pass on to the expenditure on Police. I have a hobby when I speak on matters such as this. I have collected the budget figures from the year 1940-41 up till the budget estimates for the year 1949-50, and the result of my enquiry is revealing. In 1940-41 the proportion of the figure for the Police budget to the total expenditure was 16 *per cent.*; in 1941-42, 16 *per cent.*; in 1942-43, the War year, it went up to 20 *per cent.* because along with the Police budget there was a grant from the Centre for Civil Defence purposes; in 1943-44 it went up to 20 *per cent.*; in 1944-45, towards the termination of the War, it came down to 16 *per cent.*; in 1945-56 the Civil Defence expenditure of the Government of India was stopped and the figure came down to 14 *per cent.*, in 1946-47 it was 13 *per cent.*; in 1948-49 it was 15 *per cent.*; and in 1949-50 it is again 15 *per cent.* Members will therefore observe that except for the War years when the figure was above 15 *per cent.*, the total expenditure on Police corresponding to the total revenue expenditure of a year remained almost the same, whether you take Bengal as a whole or whether you take West Bengal into account. I have compared these figures with the figures of two other Provinces, namely, Bombay and East Punjab. I have taken Bombay because Bombay resembles West Bengal in many particulars. Bombay has a large cosmopolitan city which requires extra police arrangement such as Calcutta does. Bombay has a population of 21 millions and West Bengal has a population of a little over 21 millions. Yet Bombay spends Rs. 685 lakhs in the year 1948-49 for the Police and it is budgeted in 1949-50 for 702 lakhs. I have taken East Punjab again because that is also a partitioned province requiring various arrangements being made for protection, and I find that with a population of 10½ millions they spend nearly 3 crores. If you take the per capita figure, it works out at 2·3 rupees for West Bengal and 3·4 rupees for Bombay. There is a brochure which has been circulated by the Finance Department which gives us some very startling figures. The brochure is called "The Provincial Rupee—from where it comes and where it goes". I wonder if my friends here have studied the book. Sir, you would see on page 3 of the brochure that the percentage of expenditure on Police to the total cost of departments other than revenue earning departments, has been 15 *per cent.* in 1946-47. But if you take the figure of the total expenditure of that year and compare it with that on the Police, the percentage was lower. In any case the percentage of police exapenditure varied between 17·1 and 17·4 in the year 1948-49, taking the expenditure of those items which are not revenue earning, but if you take all the items of expenditure as I have done, the percentage of expenditure on police is 15 per cent., the figure that I have arrived at.

The question has been asked, need we have such a large police force. Sir, I would not at this moment confuse the issue by trying to find out whether the police force that we employ today are efficient or inefficient, corrupt or honest, because that is another proposition. The amount of corruption or honesty, the amount of efficiency or inefficiency to be found in the police force, I declare, has a corresponding bearing to the amount of honesty and corruption that we have in our own midst, to the amount of efficiency and inefficiency that we possess, because after all they have to be taken from the society as a whole. Therefore, it is no use simply putting out your finger of scorn and point to the policemen and say "Thou art the brute". In this connection I would repeat the suggestion which my friend Mr. Gupta made the other day in another connection that if we were to take upon ourselves the honorary and the honorific task of creating a better atmosphere round us, if we decided on not giving bribe to anybody even though by giving bribe we get a little preference, if we are prepared to suffer inconvenience rather than go in a round about way, I am perfectly sure the effect on the police force would be more or less phenomenal.

Some people seem to think that the number of police force employed in an area or a province can be regulated on the basis of geography. A little consideration will show that that is not possible. Calcutta has a small area compared to, let us say, Birbhum or Bankura, and yet Calcutta with its varied population, with its numerous industrial concerns, with the various types of people that come in and go out of Calcutta, with the refugee problem, with its distress and want in all directions, forms a problem of its own. Howrah is probably one-sixth of Midnapore and yet we are to provide for Howrah the same police force as we are providing for Midnapore, because Howrah again is an industrial area. That is why immediately after the partition we had a directive from the Centre to increase our police force because the Centre then said that it would not be possible for the provinces to call in the Army in aid of the civil power. The provinces were also directed to modernise the arms and equipments of the police force and the Home Guards wherever they were. They were also told to put in quicker means of communication between one centre and another by installing wireless sets. They provided arms and ammunitions for the purpose to the police in West Bengal. The Government of India also insisted upon the police performing certain agency functions, for example, security control work and registration of foreigners for which even now Government pays a small percentage. Protection of vital points and installations, telephones, electric stations, gas stations, water supply and drainage stations and so on has to be provided for. I have already mentioned the long stretch of border covering 600 odd miles where we have to provide hundred police pickets in order to prevent incidents occurring along the border and across it. We had to start an anti-robbery section as a special branch of the Calcutta Police. We had to put on a separate organisation for Watch and Ward duties at the Calcutta Port area. We had to have additional Tear Smoke Squads in the Calcutta Police. We have created a women's section in the Calcutta Police. And the police stations, particularly those in the border areas have to be connected with the centre by means of wireless because road communication with these areas is very difficult and often news regarding riots do not reach the centre except through wireless apparatus and it is only through this means that Calcutta could know what was happening in Basirhat within half an hour of the raid. We had to provide houses for the border forces for which we had either to construct buildings or hire buildings.

Sir, if you will permit me for a little while I shall go quickly over the incidents which have taken place in this province since January 1948, particularly after the death of Mahatmaji. There was an upsurge of communal frenzy all over India as a result of which communal organisations

like the R.S.S., the Muslim National Guards and the Khaksars were banned by the Government of India. In view of the distressing situation, both as regards food as well as want of accommodation for the large volume of refugees who poured in from East Bengal and whose distress was being exploited by the Communists, the West Bengal Government found it necessary to take action against the Communist Party. All these actions would have remained dead letters unless effective force was available for the purpose of implementing the policy behind such actions. You will recall that soon after in March, 1948, there was a strike among the Central Government employees and we had to take elaborate police precautions of preventing the spread of the strike or of the confused condition. We had a tram workers' strike on the 1st of June, 1948. I am not taking the smaller incidents into account. We had an Ordnance Depot Clerks' strike in July, the Central Bank employees' and later on the Lloyds Bank employees' strike came on in August, 1948. Then I skip over other smaller incidents—the incidents which happened during the Maharrum festival in November last, the attack on the police party in Howrah by the Communist Party in November; the Satyagraha of the R.S.S. people in December; the tram strike on the 15th of December for which we had to reimpose section 144. The students tried to defy it and took out a procession on the 11th of January of this year followed by the great demonstration by the students on the 17th of January. The latest incidents I need only refer to are these, namely, the raid on the 26th of February and the threatened strike that was to materialise on the 9th of March last, and last but not the least the disturbed condition that appeared only three days ago in one of the mill areas, Kankinara.

Sir, every one of these incidents reminds us that if you want to administer, you must strengthen your Intelligence Department, you must strengthen your Preventive Officers' Department, you must have enough force not merely to take action when action is necessary but also to prevent action when there is evidence that an action is going to be taken. Within the last two years we had to pay to the staff for increased salaries, along with the increase in salaries of other departments, a sum of Rs. 60 lakhs. Sir, if you take the figures of the expenditure for the year 1946-47 and compare them with the figures of the year 1949-50, you will find that the figure for 1946-47 for the whole Bengal was 4 crores 77 lakhs. In 1949-50 we propose 4 crores 61 lakhs. This figure has been adversely criticised by some of our friends. Now let me give you an analysis which has caused this difference. (Janab ABUL HASHEM: How long will the Premier take?) If my friend is so tried, he may take a little rest outside.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir. I take exception to what the Hon'ble the Premier has said. I asked how long the Hon'ble Premier would go on.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: As long as I think it necessary.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, he has no right, no business to ask me to go outside. I return to him the advice he has given.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the Hon'ble the Premier will take it into due consideration that he should not ask any member of the House to go outside.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I thought that he was feeling tired and I wanted him to take some rest. I am sorry if that has upset him. I withdraw it.

Sir, this increase in cost is accounted for in this way. Enhanced rate of dearness allowance sanctioned with effect from the 1st of April, 1948—Rs. 30 lakhs; *Ad-interim* increase of pay sanctioned from 1st January, 1947—Rs. 16 lakhs; Normal increment in time-scale of pay—Rs. 6 lakhs;

Development scheme—Rs. 5 lakhs; and a lump provision for a new set-up—Rs. 39 lakhs. If you take away these new items of expenditure in which appear subjects such as these:—

Formation of three battalions of armed police beginning from October, 1947—Rs. 44 lakhs,

Linking of border police stations by wireless—Rs. 5 lakhs,

Employment of additional police force for control of movement of food-grains—Rs. 5 lakhs,

Employment of additional police force for industrial areas—Rs. 6 lakhs,

Temporary staff for anti-robbery section—Rs. 8 lakhs,

Strengthening of armed branch of the Calcutta Police—Rs. 7 lakhs;

if you take these additional payments that have been made on account of the conditions that I have referred to before you will find that—the actual compared to the items that were in the Budget in 1946-47—the figure would be 279 lakhs for the next year compared to the figure of 4 crores 77 lakhs for the year 1946-47.

Sir, along with the other conditions that Government mentioned before which have followed in the wake of the partition, the Communist menace which I do not see any chance of being mitigated in the near future will give us no respite so far as expenditure on Police is concerned. But even with that I will again draw the attention of the members of the House to a significant fact which has been published in a brochure issued by the Finance Department "The West Bengal Provincial Rupee" in which you will find that whereas throughout the last 10 years the Police occupied the first place in the expenditure, then came the Civil Supplies, then came General Administration, then came Medical Relief and then came Education, but in the year 1949-50 you will find two significant facts. One is that after Police comes Civil Supplies, then comes Medical Relief, then comes Education. General Administration has gone to the fifth place. That shows that the trend of the budget is to provide for those subjects in which people are interested and by which people are affected, namely, food, medical relief and education and further if you look at the Development grant budget you will find that here the Police is not at the top; the place of honour is occupied by the Medical Relief Department, Public Health Department, which has consumed or proposes to consume 55 per cent. of the total Development Grant given by the Government of India and next comes Education. The Police occupies the lowest place.

Sir, with regard to the proposition which has been raised by those members who have given notice of their cut motions, I prefer to leave the matter at this stage, because I will have an opportunity of explaining to the members the reason for the items in the budget particularly because I do not know exactly what the ideas of the members are with regard to these items for which they have put in these cut motions.

With these words, Sir, I move the motion standing in my name.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to protect minorities in West Bengal specially in the border areas of Murshidabad from the tyranny and highhandedness of the rural police and Government's inability to deal firmly with the real culprits.

I also move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the communal composition of the police and the imperative need for changing its purely communal character by introduction of fresh blood from the other community.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

'I move this to raise a discussion about Ministers' anti-social interference with the activities of the Enforcement Department in its drive for detection and punishment of crimes and criminals.

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to abolish the office of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police.

I also beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the corruption and inefficiency of the Police.

I also beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the policy of the Government for granting and cancellation of licences of firearms of the Muslims.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the policy of the Government regarding possession of arms by the major minority community.

I also move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about smuggling in border area of 24-Parganas.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the policy of Government.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the inefficiency of Police Department in maintaining peace and order in the country.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the inefficiency of Police and the atrocities and oppression which they perpetrate upon the Muslims and thus creating a sense of insecurity and helplessness in the minds of the Muslim population of West Bengal.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is really with a heavy heart that I have to raise a discussion about the failure of this

Government to protect the Muslim minority in West Bengal from the highhandedness and tyranny of the rural police. Sir, I want to make a distinction at the outset and make it abundantly clear that my indictment and allegation is not against the entire police force as such. There are police officers in the Province who have conducted themselves admirably well even in the midst of riots. There have been police officers who even risked their own lives for the maintenance of law and order in the Province. All honour and credit to them. But my complaint centres round that section of the police force which in the name of maintenance of law and order has carried on devastation in the countryside. The Hon'ble the Premier of West Bengal in his learned dissertation upon the necessity of increasing the police force comparing the amount of expenditure that had to be provided for Howrah with that provided for the district of Midnapore, justifies this additional expenditure on the ground that this particular town has got much bigger problems to tackle. Naturally therefore larger expenditure is necessary to cope with the demands of the towns, possibly because larger police force has to be stationed in the towns so that disturbances may be promptly brought under control. But behind the scene, Sir, in the countryside, acts of tyranny and oppression go on unchecked, undeterred, unthwarted, undetected and that with absolute impunity all to the cost of the poor, unfortunate Muslims of Bengal. Sir, the time at my disposal will not perhaps permit me to refer to such incidents in detail. They have occurred since the Partition of Bengal: not one, not two, but hundreds of such incidents have occurred in which Muslims have been subjected to tortures, to cruelties, to barbarous savageries. I pointed out in the course of the debate on the Security Bill that my constituency alone would be sufficient to condemn the police force of West Bengal. Shazadpur, Bahutali, Dayarampur, Mirpur, Jalangi, Domkal, Katwa, Patuapara, Krishnagar and last but not the least, Kankinara, and the Mohurrum disturbances in Calcutta—do they not conclusively prove that the Muslims of West Bengal stand on the brink of a volcano. I would ask the Hon'ble the Premier of West Bengal to realise the nature and extent of this oppression, to realise the sufferings and miseries of the Mussalmans of West Bengal in the border areas. I would request him to go into the matter deeply. Some time ago at Jalangi in Sagarpara union, the armed police sitting upon the breasts of Mussalmans mercilessly tortured them shouting merrily and saying that they were retaliating for what had happened to the Hindus in Noakhali. When I could get no help from the police, I approached the military authorities at Barrackpore and thanks to their intervention the situation was brought under control and that section of the armed police was transferred at once. If that was the situation in Jalangi, the condition in my constituency was still worse, where the unfortunate Muslims were mercilessly tortured. Their hands were squeeezed against railings and constables and sepoys one after another practically trampled on them. Such has been the inhuman tortures and sufferings of the Mussalmans and in spite of all that we could do by contacting the authorities there, nothing could be done for these unfortunate victims of police vandalism; no redress was forthcoming. What is more exasperating, what is more distressing, what is more discouraging, what is more disappointing and what is more hopeless and miserable in this system of administration is that in spite of all our effort they could hardly get any relief. Even magisterial investigations bore no fruit and in the end these unfortunate people were clapped in custody. Many had to rot in *hajat* for considerable length of time, awaiting in suspense their fate while some escaped with severe chastisement.

In spite of the fact that these unfortunate Muslims had to suffer all these indignities, all these tortures, in spite of the fact that they had to undergo these miseries and sufferings, they have now to face further difficulties and dangers ahead and who knows what more is in store for them.

Sir, one such incident happened at Patuapara and what was the situation there? A procession was attacked and houses were set on fire and some

persons were also burnt in the flames. But what did the Government do? They simply sanctioned a few thousand rupees by way of compensation. So, Sir, our sufferings are in this way computed in terms of a few thousand rupees. Sir, the Hon'ble the Premier referring to Kankinara yesterday said that a compensation of Rs. 4,000 had been given, and with this amount of compensation and with their Press-Notes Government try to minimise the gravity of the situation. Sir, it is not loss of property alone with which the minority community are vitally concerned; it is not even the question of prestige and honour of the Mussalmans of West Bengal; it is not even the question of their business alone which is concerned; but it is a sense of frustration, of insecurity and danger that looms large in the horizon that practically creeps into the hearts of the unfortunate Muslim masses of West Bengal and makes it impossible for them to live in peace and security. Sir, the Hon'ble Sardar Patel, India's Deputy Prime Minister observes with characteristic bluntness that there is internal security all over India. Yes, internal security indeed so far as the majority community are concerned, so far as these who are presiding over the destinies of India are concerned, but there is no internal security for the unfortunate Mussalmans of India.

Sir, I shall not refer to those incidents which occurred in Delhi, in East Punjab, or in Bihar which practically decimated our population to the extent of several lakhs. I would not refer to those unfortunate scenes enacted in the heart of the capital city of Delhi of outrage of modesty of our mothers and sisters. But those unfortunate disturbances conclusively prove that all over India we have no protection whatsoever, we have no shelter anywhere, we have no position, no recognition, no quarter whatsoever in this so-called secular administration of this country.

Sir, the Hon'ble the Premier took exception to my remark, "Do not hoodwink the people". But I would repeat once again with all the emphasis at my command, "Do not hoodwink the people. Do not create spurious and unreal assurances in the minds of Mussalmans. Have the courage and candour to declare that yours is not a secular State when the Mussalmans of India have been shorn of their power and position, when they are nowhere in the administration, when you have not the courage and vision to see that without the introduction of Muslim blood in the police administration you cannot guarantee any protection to them, and when in spite of all the assurances held out by you from time to time you have not been able to protect them.

Sir, I will cite instances, if you permit me, from Murshidabad alone—not one, or two, but hundreds of cases showing how Muslims have fared under this system of administration in this land. Sir, during the Muslim League régime when any disturbances occurred—such disturbances did occur all over the country—it created commotion in the countryside. The Muslims of Bengal are today tortured and some protagonists of the Government come forward and say "All quiet on the eastern front; Muslims are quiet; Muslims are safe and secure; there are no troubles, no disturbances—thanks to the secular character of the Government obtaining in this country and we have the authority of a R. Ahmed who is perhaps having his jubilee celebration, of a Nausher Ali who is getting perhaps further preferment, being perhaps translated to the Bench of the High Court—all for their irresponsible statements about Moslems. They do not realise the gravity of the situation in the countryside. A bare faced mendacity and shameless hypocrisy of this nature seeks to hide and conceal the real facts behind. This shows that they do not represent the Muslims. They are not conversant with the actual condition of the Muslims. They do not realise the gravity of the situation. They do not know where the Muslims stand. They do not know how the police forces have run amuck in broad daylight and tortured the Muslims and perpetrated every shade of indecency and every shade of barbarity which human imagination can conceive of. You are laughing, do not laugh, because he laughs best who laughs last. I reserve

that fund of laughter for that year of grace, when I shall see you toppling down from that height. The mills of God, I can assure you, Sir, grind slowly but they grind exceedingly small. We have seen mightier Governments than this Government of West Bengal. They disappeared in the thin air and crumbled to pieces like the baseless fabric of a vision. We have seen Hitler, we have seen Mussolini, we have seen Napoleon, we have seen the mighty British Government being liquidated. We have seen the Muslim League Government here which had impregnable position also disappear in the thin air. So, do not laugh us to scorn. I would request you to declare that yours is a theocratic Government, that it is a communal Government, that it is a religious Government, that it is a Government for domination of one community over another or one party over another. I have no objection to that. It is unfortunate that my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Premier of West Bengal dragged in the name of my revered leader yesterday. I will not answer that. The relations of Mr. Fazlul Huq with Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy are very cordial and affectionate. I think that name should not have been introduced in this discussion. Mr. Fazlul Huq is far too intelligent, far too high, far too wise, for this baseless allegation. Dr. Roy, will have to emulate his example and introduce some beneficial legislations for the unfortunate countrymen before he is in a position to criticize or attack him in that way.

May I know, Sir, how long I will be permitted to speak?

Mr. SPEAKER: There are many speakers and you must curtail your speech as much as you can.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I was referring to another fact. The ugly incidents have been characterised by loot, plunder, arson, murder, assassination and even by outrage of modesty of women. Instances I can multiply. Instances I have got in my possession. I had been to the spots myself. I had been to Krishnagar, I had been to Batanagar, I had been to Bohutali and I had been to almost all the places. I have direct evidence in my possession to conclusively show that there has been an organised conspiracy behind and the whole chain of events culminating in loot, plunder and burning of houses at Kaitha and Pali respectively and loot assaults, tortures and assassinations at various other places, has been conceived, directed and executed in pursuance of a well-laid plan and policy. But what has been received? Compensation—compensation again. Twenty-three houses have been burnt to ashes in Pali causing damage of not less than Rs. 50,000. Seventeen houses have been completely looted at Kaitha in the Kandi subdivision of Murshidabad and yet that officer-in-charge of the Barua police-station who is alleged to have been instigating the operations from behind the scene is still at large. Those ring leaders who have been fomenting troubles from behind are all at large. No amount of vigilance, on our part has been able to protect the Muslims. Cases have been instituted in which some of the most innocent men have been implicated. Perhaps tomorrow they will be sent up to Sessions. Fortunately for us, there is a District Magistrate in Murshidabad today and a Subdivisional Officer now in Jangipur subdivision who are sufficiently alive to the situation. But, I understand, attempts are being made to bundle the fair-minded District Magistrate out of the district, as his predecessor was bundled out because he was not prepared to carry out the tall orders of the Government of the day.

Sir, the Hon'ble Premier has referred to smuggling in the border areas. Please check smuggling, check hoarding, check anti-social elements. Check, by all means, all anti-social activities, check, by all means, smuggling across the border, check all the nefarious activities that are going on, but check the vagaries, vandalism, tyrannies and oppressions of the police as well. Sir, when honourable members on the other side read

to criticise the British administration in season and out of season when their own friends of the Congress persuasion were unnecessarily tortured, we voiced our opinion in their favour. We had great regard for the ideals of the Congress, we had great regard for the Congress organisation, because by a record of sufferings, by a record of service and contribution to the political and social reform of the country, they saved India from the tyrannies and oppression of the foreigners. But today what do we find? The same thing is being repeated on a much bigger scale and that in the name of free India, that in the name of a secular State, that in the name of a State which guarantees protection to both majorities and minorities. Sir, we minorities feel that we have now no share in the administration. But minorities must be treated as persons. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not seek any protection from the people of Eastern Bengal, I do not believe that these people will come forward for my protection because I belong to a different Dominion altogether. I am an integral part of this Dominion. I am entitled to the same privileges, the same rights, the same status, the same position, the same opportunities, the same cultural, political, social and moral rights as any other human being, whether belonging to the majority or the minority that inhabit this land of ours. The members of the minority must be treated as persons and they must not be treated as helots, as interlopers in there own homelands. They must be treated as having a position of their own, a status of their own, a character of their own. They must be allowed to contribute according to their own lights and conviction to the political, to the social, to the cultural and to the moral advancement of the country and the community.

The Hon'ble Premier in season and out of season urged upon the members that complexities of the situation brought about unrest, and terrible ferment that was going on all over the country and so expenses under this head must be on the increase. I shall not touch this point. Is it not necessary in view of this communal bitterness and in view of the inefficiency and inability of your police force to inspire greater confidence in the public mind? Is it not necessary to introduce some element of Muslims over here? Eastern Bengal, at any rate, has taken the initiative in this matter. They are trying to give at least 30 per cent. of posts in the Judiciary and Executive to non-Moslem minorities in East Bengal. Why not try that here? I requested His Excellency the Governor-General—when he was Governor of West Bengal—to press upon the Ministry to introduce certain Muslim element not for the sake of any position but for the sake of guaranteeing some protection to minorities. I will personally ask no Moslem in the Assembly to press for any position in the Cabinet. For God's sake, you carry on the administration; you carry on the whole show, but, at any rate, in the Police, in the Executive, in the Judiciary, where the life and liberty of the people, the honour and prestige of the people, have got to be protected, you must provide for some adequate representation of Muslims so that they might guarantee protection to Muslim minority. However fair-minded, however just, however honest, however well-meaning a Hindu officer may be in Bengal, he does not inspire that amount of confidence at the present moment in the Muslim mind as a Muslim officer would have done. The same consideration applies to Eastern Bengal as well, Sir, when there is a talk of exploring the avenues for settlement, when there is a talk of even having a joint defence to fight the common menace, when there is a talk of levelling down all angularities. when there is a talk of sweeping away all difficulties, when there is a talk of resolving all the tangles. Why not accept my proposal which can effectively ease the communal tension in no time.

After all, minorities are also a part of the nation, minorities also belong to the country. For God's sake, have check upon the vagaries of the police. The only effective way of checking the vagaries of the police, the only effective way of restoring confidence in the Muslim community, is to have

some sort of representation in the services of Muslims, specially in the Police, in the Executive and in the Judiciary. Gun licences of Muslims have all been cancelled mostly in the border areas. It is necessary all the more that in the border areas they should have these guns to protect themselves from the vandalism not merely of the police alone but also from the vandalism of infuriated mobs who think that they are free citizens of a free State, who think that they have got all the powers in their hands, who think that they can manage, mismanage and bungle things and that they have the power to do whatever they like. For the sake of the helpless millions, in the name of humanity, in the name of the ideals that you have preached, you should implement the assurances that you have held out. For God's sake, do not indulge in bombast, for God's sake do not indulge in spurious assurances any longer. Come forward and implement the assurances that you have held out to protect the minorities. If you want our allegiance, I am prepared to give our allegiance not once but times without number, over and over again, but on this condition that you have to guarantee protection to the minorities' culture, to their civilization, to their traditions, to their political, social, cultural and economic rights in every possible way. (Applause from Opposition benches.)

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I come to my motion I feel it my duty to endorse word by word, clause by clause and sentence by sentence what my esteemed friend Janab Syed Badrudduja has just said. After the Partition, Sir, we Mussalmans generally advised our people to stand apart and aloof from active politics, so that our Congress friends might get fair and undisturbed opportunities to enjoy the fruits of their labour and suffering for some time. Very unfortunately, Sir, the oppression of the Muslims, particularly in the border districts in the name of security of the State has increased so much that today my friend Janab Syed Badrudduja who has always been a nationalist in his whole political persuasion could not restrain himself from giving expression to his feelings. Sir, we are today confronted with numerous problems, and we are unable to take to nation-building activities, because of those troubles and difficulties. It is a pity that the Government after 18 months have not been able yet to create a sense of security in the minds of the minority. Sir, I have a recent experience, a personal experience that the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy who is now in charge of the Police Department has, so far as he himself is concerned, a genuine and sincere desire to see that the police do not commit excesses and do not do injustice to innocent persons. For that I congratulate him and thank him, but, Sir, it is not possible for him to detect and see personally all that is happening far behind the scene in the distant rural areas. I therefore urge upon him to set up some sort of an organisation which can successfully detect these crimes.

Now, Sir, I come to my own motion. I want to raise by my motion a discussion about Ministers' anti-social activities in connection with their enforcement branch of the Police Department. Sir, we hear so much of anti-social activities of the enemies of State. Every sensible man will agree with the Hon'ble the Premier and his Hon'ble colleagues that an all-out effort should be made to protect the people and the State from the anti-social activities of anti-social persons. But, Sir, our efforts in this direction cannot achieve the desired success unless we ourselves by our own actions and not merely utterances show to the world that our desire is genuine, that we are not shouting the slogans only in order to suppress our own political and personal rivals but we actually mean business. It is very unfortunate, Sir, that Ministers themselves are responsible for and guilty of anti-social activities. A very well informed friend of mine a few months back informed me that when very big persons are involved and come under the mischief of the Enforcement Branch of the Police then their cases are considered on a ministerial level and more often than not they are

allowed to go free, because they occupy a very high position in the social and political field in the world. As a concrete instance, I may tell you that Mr. Dalmia was found guilty by the Enforcement Branch of selling his manufactured cement at a price higher than the fixed controlled price as imported goods. His case was considered on a ministerial level with the result that he was allowed to go free. Sir, I want to substantiate my charge against the Ministry by placing before it a concrete case. You may be aware, Sir, that during the war when the Americans and Britons had their base here in Calcutta they used to transport their consumption goods like cigarettes, wine, etc., from Calcutta to Chandernagore by boats. A conspiracy immediately started, and a gang of influential persons organised and intercepted these boats at various spots. In this manner, they used to rob the Americans of their goods and sell them in the market, and made huge profits. This was detected by American Police who detected the crime and criminals and brought it to the notice of the local authorities with the result that large number of influential persons, big financiers, big people were hauled up before the Barrackpore Court of the Alipore district. This case is now known as Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan and others. The case was tried in Barrackpore Court and some of them were convicted. As soon as this case was taken by the Bengal Government, Sir, you will be surprised to hear that a second conspiracy started. This conspiracy was organised by the police authorities and officers who were in charge of the investigation of this case, by the Public Prosecutor, the Assistant Public Prosecutor, some other lawyers of the Alipore Court and other influential persons who were associated with this case on behalf of Government.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Which year was it?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Very recently.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Give me the date.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I do not exactly remember the date.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Year and month?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I will supply you afterwards from records. Sir, these people organised a party for extorting money from these accused persons, the persons who were made accused in this case. Their activities went so far that they actually tampered with evidence, interpolated and removed records.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I ought to ask my honourable friend to give us the date and time, the period he is referring to, otherwise how can I give my answer.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: If he will patiently wait ultimately he will know.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am also of the opinion that the honourable member should at least give the time and say whether during this period this Ministry has been functioning or not.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: That I can say. This Ministry has nothing to do with this case but I am coming to the last thing. I will tell you when I conclude, Sir, where this Ministry is concerned. Just now I am tracing the background of the charges against this Ministry. Some of the accused persons who should have been put in the dock were made Crown witnesses. When Dr. Ghosh's Ministry came into power after Partition, Dr. Ghosh, the then Premier of West Bengal received an anonymous letter wherein all these things were mentioned and the letter requested the Hon'ble the Premier of West Bengal to make an enquiry into the matter. At Dr. Ghosh's initiative the Enforcement Branch took up the investigation with the result that the investigation went on for months and over 50

witnesses were examined and this Enforcement Branch submitted an *interim* report to the Government. (The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: who examined the witnesses?) The Collector of Alipore District, Mr. R. K. Mitra, I.C.S. When the *interim* report was submitted this Ministry came into power and that *interim* report revealed that some of the friends of some of the Ministers were involved in this case. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Who are the Ministers? I want to know the names.) To everyone's surprise when only half a dozen witnesses remained to be examined, for some reason unknown to us this Ministry suspended the enquiry and that file is now safe under the cold storage of the Hon'ble Judicial Minister's chamber in the Secretariat. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I hope my honourable friend will take responsibility for what he is stating here.) Why not? Certainly. The *interim* report has made scathing remarks against a police officer who was one of the suspects. The Assistant Public Prosecutor is the first who gave an opinion in the case of Washil Khan *versus* Emperor against whom also in the *interim* report there is a remark like this. Refering to his opinion when he recommended some accused persons to be treated as Crown witnesses the *interim* report says that the trend of the opinion of the Assistant Public Prosecutor who was described by the police as Additional Public Prosecutor appeared to have been influenced by other persons than the merits of the case. With regard to the then Public Prosecutor the *interim* report said that he should not be allowed to go out honourably.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I know from the honourable member whether this *interim* report is confidential. If it is so, then I think it ought not to be referred to in this House.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Anyway, Sir, since they want to know the reason I may tell them that I am informed by persons who have authoritative knowledge of all that has happened behind the screen, that the present Public Prosecutor of Alipore who was then the senior Assistant Public Prosecutor of Alipore was a party to the conspiracy when the case Wasil Khan and others *versus* Emperor was tried. He was the legal adviser of the brothers-in-law of the brother of the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister. He is not present here. Therefore I do not want to mention anything in his absence. They were involved and were accused in a bank fraud case involving nearly 70 to 75 lakhs of rupees. For that, Sir, the whole case, the enquiry was hushed up, was suspended and the Assistant Public Prosecutor has been promoted to the rank of Public Prosecutor superseding the claims of the Additional Public Prosecutor and the then Public Prosecutor was allowed to go honourably and forced to tender his resignation. I raise this question only to draw the Hon'ble the Premier's particular attention to this and this matter has been agitated in the press. I have seen articles in the *Swaraj*, in the monthly *Prabashi*, and many other journals on this very case. Not content merely by suspending this enquiry what is saddest of all is this that those persons who in the name of the Congress came forward to assist the investigating officers of the Enforcement Branch in detecting these crimes are now being ruthlessly persecuted and oppressed and those persons against whom the enquiry was started, namely, the Assistant Public Prosecutor and the officer-in-charge they are all promoted and they are quite safe and are moving at large and those who appeared and made statements as witnesses to prove the charges before the investigating officer of the Enforcement Branch they are now being severely oppressed. It may be, Sir, most likely that these things have happened behind the Prime Minister's knowledge. I have raised this question not so much to condemn or criticise any particular Minister or branch of the Police Department as such but I have raised this question precisely with the object of drawing the pointed attention of the Hon'ble the Premier and his Hon'ble colleagues and to request them to look into the matter. The records are there. If

the Hon'ble Prime Minister cares to consult his present Judicial Secretary Mr. Hajara he will know everything. Now, Sir, if he kindly looks into the matter and takes up the case, orders fresh enquiry and brings the guilty persons to book and thus protects those who appeared as witnesses before the investigating authorities protecting them from oppression then my bringing this motion would have been amply rewarded. If the Hon'ble the Premier wants details I can tell him that as to when the Barrackpore case was started, when it was decided and when the enquiry was made—I can furnish all these things outside the House after consulting the records. But I think he himself knows all these things and if he consults the Judicial Secretary I think my information will not be necessary. The Barrackpore case was started under United Bengal but the enquiry was started under Dr. Ghosh's Ministry and this Ministry is guilty of suspending that enquiry in order to protect some of their influential friends who occupy high positions in society. If from the top we go to protect under our wings these big criminals, in that case we shall never get spontaneous support of the poorer sections of the people in the maintenance of law and order. So we must begin from the top.

With these words, Sir, I move that the demand under the head "Police" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Janab ABDUL WAHEED SARKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the demand of the Police budget is in all conscience a heavy demand on the finances of a poor Province like that of ours. It is only meet and proper that this abnormally heavy drain on our revenue is fully justified. Can we lay our hands on our hearts and honestly say that the police we maintain at such a heavy cost is efficient and free from corruption? How I wish we could do so. Much has been said in the Press and from the platform that since 15th August, 1947, there has been a tremendous change in the mentality of the police force. But the frequent reports of firing on crowds belie all those statements. Only a few days ago a Sub-Inspector of Police in the district of Hooghly has been dismissed from service for unjustifiable firing on a crowd of men and women resulting in the death and serious injujry to some women. Such instances can be multiplied. These go to show that our fond hopes are far from being realised. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel often preaches sermons to the members of the police force to change their outlook but the question is, have these sermons produced the desired effect? The answer is to be found in their behaviour and their dealings with the public. The morale of the force has got to be improved and the feeling that they are not the masters but the servants of the public should be ingrained in each and every member of the Force. Bribery, corruption and nepotism should be rooted out and exemplary punishments should be dealt out to the delinquents, so as to serve as a warning to those who are inclined to swerve from the path of duty and rectitude. Once the impression gains ground among them that dereliction of duty on their part will be severely dealt with, the men will soon be able to adjust themselves to the changed conditions and there will be a distinct improvement in all directions. At the same time their emoluments will have to be increased suitably so that there will be less temptation on their part to resort to corrupt practices.

As a measure of economy the posts of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police like those of the Divisional Commissioners should be forthwith abolished. The matter has been discussed and deliberated upon and there is general agreement that these posts can be safely abolished without impairing efficiency. A large amount of money can thus be saved which can be utilised in increasing the pay of low paid servants.

Sir, it appears that the Government has launched a campaign for cancellations of firearms in certain localities. In this campaign the Muslims have fared very badly. There are several instances. In the district of 24-Parganas, for example, the total number of licences was 1,578

of which 457 licences were cancelled mostly on non-political grounds. Of the licences 658 were Muslims', and out of them the licences of 429 persons were cancelled. From these figures it will not at all be unreasonable to infer that the Government desire to leave the question of protection of the minorities to themselves. This has struck terror in the minds of the Muslims residents of the locality and unless the Government by their action restore the confidence of the minorities, the panic thus created will go on spreading. I leave it to the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge to decide in what way the lost confidence may be restored. Care should also be taken that similar treatment is not repeated.

Sir, with regard to the granting of licences also the Muslims, I have come to know from a reliable source, are at a great disadvantage. Applications for licences for firearms from Muslims are not being considered at all and are filed, while all applications for licences from Muslims received six months back are also being held in abeyance. This is a very serious matter and I desire to invite the attention of the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge to investigate into the matter and take necessary steps so that these grievances may be remedied without delay.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motions for the acceptance of the House.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset I must tell the House that I was very much hesitant to table my cut motion lest some of my honourable friends from Government benches might question that I have not yet been able to shake off my communal complexion, but still I am helpless because people come to me and ask questions regarding the subject-matter of my cut motion.

Sir, the object of my moving the cut motion is to know from the Government what is their present policy regarding possession of fire-arms by major minority community, viz., the Muslims. Sir, one could understand the policy of suspicion and distrust immediately after partition about the people who were of a different political persuasion. But, Sir, now when the whole thing has settled down, why should the policy of suspicion and distrust continue?

Sir, I have not got the figure of the whole of West Bengal with me but from the answers of the starred question of my esteemed friend Janab Jasimuddin Ahmed, dated 17th of January, 1949, it appeared that as many as 429 gun licences belonging to the major minority community in the district of 24-Parganas have been cancelled and their fire-arms have been taken possession of by the Government. Sir, the then Hon'ble Home Minister gave as many as seven reasons why licences were cancelled and two of them were anti-social activities and activities inimical to the State. Sir, I do not know under what category these licensees whose licences were cancelled come. Sir, I think it will not be out of place, if I quote here a passage from a recent speech made by the Hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister in the Indian Parliament regarding Indian Muslims—"They have on the whole kept the peace of the country and have settled down somewhat disillusioned but more or less willingly to their new loyalties." Sir, the Muslims of West Bengal come under the category of Muslims of Indian Union and as such the remarks of the Hon'ble the Deputy Prime Minister is also applicable to them. Sir, the time for suspicion and distrust is over and the Muslims of West Bengal stood the test of loyalty to the State and therefore I request the Hon'ble Premier to issue orders for the restoration of the licences of the Muslims of West Bengal whose licences have been cancelled and return their fire-arms. Sir, the Hon'ble Premier knows it very well that trust begets trust.

Sir, my second motion relates to the smuggling in border areas of the district of 24-Parganas. Sir, although Government has set up an elaborate

machinery to stop smuggling from border area but they have failed to deal with it adequately. Sir, during the general discussion on the Supplementary Budget, I criticised the policy of the Government to employ temporary staff for anti-smuggling and I do not like to repeat the arguments here. Sir, failure on the part of the Government to stop smuggling has caused incalculable hardship and misery to the innocent people of that area. They are not getting their due quota of supplies of essential controlled commodities and they are made to suffer for no fault of theirs. Sir, root out the anti-social elements from the border area and if necessary shoot them down but for the failure of officers and men to discharge their duties properly and effectively, let the innocent people not suffer.

Janab MD. SAYEED MIA: माननीय Speaker মহোদয়, আমাদের সম্মানিত সদস্য জনাব বদরুদ্দুজা সাহেব মুসলমানদের বর্ত্তমান অবস্থা সম্পর্কে যে সমস্ত কথা বলেছেন তারপরে সেই সম্পর্কে আর নূতন করে কিছু বলতে যাওয়াটা আমি প্রয়োজন মনে করি না। আমি সংক্ষেপে দু-একটি কথা বলে আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করব। Partitionএর পরে, বঙ্গ বিভাগের পরে আমরা সংখ্যা-লঘিষ্ট সম্প্রদায় পশ্চিম বাংলার বিভিন্ন জেলায় এবং স্থানে বিভিন্ন ঘটনার মধ্য দিয়ে যে ভাবে অত্যাচারিত হয়েছিলাম এবং যেভাবে অনেক জায়গায় সংখ্যা-লঘিষ্টদের উপর গুলি চলে ছিল সেই সম্পর্কে গত বৎসর আমাদের স্বর্গীয় স্বরাষ্ট্র সচিব মাননীয় কিরণশঙ্কর রায়ের নিকট এই পরিষদ ভবনে আমরা সমস্ত ঘটনার উল্লেখ ও বর্ণনা করেছিলাম; এবং তিনি অনুগ্রহ করে এই প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছিলেন যে বড় বড় গভর্ণমেণ্টের ভুল হয় আমাদেরও ভুল হতে পারে। ভুল যখন হবে তখন আমাদের সেই কথা জানালে আমরা তার প্রতিকার করব। তার কথা শুনে বাস্তবিক আমরা নিতান্ত আশান্বিত ও আনন্দিত বোধ করেছিলাম। কিন্তু এই বৎসরের মধ্যে বিভিন্ন স্থানে যে সমস্ত ঘটনা ঘটে গিয়েছে, যেভাবে লোককে ধরপাকড় করা হয়েছে, যেভাবে বহুদিন যাবৎ তাহাদের জেলখানায় আবদ্ধ রাখা হয়েছে এবং তাদের অনেককে ছেড়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে, কতককে এখনও জেলখানায় আটক রাখা হয়েছে, এবং যেভাবে তাদের বন্দুক লাইসেন্স ক্যানসেল করা হয়েছে ও বন্দুক ডিপোজিট রাখা হয়েছে সেই সম্পর্কে বহু চেষ্টা করা সত্ত্বেও এবং আমাদের জেলা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট থেকে আরম্ভ করে মন্ত্রী মহোদয়গণ পর্য্যন্ত বারবার দরবার করা সত্ত্বেও আজ পর্য্যন্ত সেই সম্পর্কে কোন প্রতিকার করা বা বন্দুকাদি সমস্ত ফেরৎ দেওয়া হয়নি। মফঃস্বলে পুলিশরা লোকের সঙ্গে বিশেষ করে সংখ্যা-লঘিষ্ট লোকের সঙ্গে যে রকম ব্যবহার করে এই ব্যবহারের জন্য সমস্ত পুলিশকে দোষী বা দায়ী করতে পারা যায় না। কারণ একথা সত্যি যে আমাদের পুলিশের মধ্যে এমন বহু পুলিস অফিসার আছেন যাঁদের প্রশংসা করে শেষ করা যায় না। তাঁরা ন্যায়নিষ্ঠ ব্যবহার করে লোকের শ্রদ্ধা অর্জন করেছেন। কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও অনেক পুলিস এমন ভাবে লোকের উপর অন্যায় অত্যাচারমূলক ব্যবহার করে যে তাহা বর্ণনাতীত এবং তার প্রতিকার কোথাও খুঁজে পাওয়া যায় না। আমাদের সম্মানিত প্রধান মন্ত্রী ডাঃ বিধান চন্দ্র রায় গত নিরাপত্তা আইনের আলোচনা কালে অত্যন্ত সুমিষ্ট ভাষায় আমাদিগকে অনেক কিছু আশ্বাস দিয়ে বলেছেন যে কোন প্রকার অন্যায় কাজ যদি তার গোচরীভূত হয়, তবে তিনি তার আবশ্যক প্রতিকার নিশ্চয়ই করবেন। তাঁর এই আন্তরিকতাপূর্ণ বাণীতে আমরা সম্পূর্ণ বিশ্বাস করি। এবং এই পরিষদ ভবনে গভর্ণমেণ্ট পার্টিতে এমন বহু এবং বেশীর ভাগ সদস্য আছেন যাঁরা বাস্তবিকই চান না যে সংখ্যা-লঘু সম্প্রদায়ের প্রতি পুলিস কোন অন্যায় করে। কিন্তু সুদূর পল্লীতে যে সমস্ত ঘটনা ঘটছে সেই সমস্তের কোন প্রতিকারই হচ্ছে না। তাদের ভেতর যে আতঙ্কের ভাব সৃষ্টি হয়ে আছে এবং তারা যেভাবে নিজেকে বিপন্ন বোধ করছে, তাদের এই আতঙ্কের ভাব এবং বিপদের ভাব তাদের মন থেকে কিসে দূর হবে এ বিষয়ে আমি আমাদের গভর্ণমেণ্ট পার্টির সদস্যগণকে ভেবে দেখতে অনুরোধ করছি। পুলিস আমাদের ভাই, আমাদের ভেতর থেকেই তারা নিযুক্ত হয়েছে, তাদের ভেতর অন্যায় আছে এবং সাধারণ পাবলিকের মধ্যেও অন্যায়কারী আছে এবিষয়ে কোন সন্দেহ নাই। সমস্ত পাবলিককে আমরা পাঠশালায় নিয়ে গিয়ে সুশিক্ষিত করতে পারি না, কিন্তু জানি না সমস্ত পুলিসকে পাঠশালায় পাঠিয়ে তাদেরকে আমাদের জাতীয় আদর্শে অনুপ্রাণিত করা যায় কিনা এবং দেশের লোকের প্রতি মানুষের মত ব্যবহার করতে শিখান যায় কি না এবং তাদের ভেতর পুলিশের দায়িত্ব ও কর্ত্তব্য সম্বন্ধে জাতীয় বোধ ও চেতনা সৃষ্টি করা যায় কি না এটা ভেবে দেখবেন আমাদের গভর্ণমেণ্টের যাঁরা কর্ণধার তাঁরাই।

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is strange to find that among all the individual items of expenditure the largest slice goes to the Police. West Bengal has one-third area of United Bengal and its revenue dwindles to about one-third, but, Sir, the cost of maintenance of the police

force is equal to that of joint Bengal. The Hon'ble Minister never ponders in his mind as to how much it costs to the poor people of his country. It seems that it is the impression of the Hon'ble Minister that if the police force is increased, peace and tranquillity will be maintained in this country which is the principal duty of the police. On that principle in framing the Budget the expenditure has been increased. To my mind it is not the increase in police force that can bring peace and order in this country. If Government really wants peace and tranquillity in the country, it must see that the character of the police be changed, the outlook of the Police be changed. Government should take necessary steps in this direction. But, Sir, to our utter disappointment we find that though we have increased the number of police, in time of emergency, in time of difficulties, the police have failed to maintain law and order in the country. The police are very much apt to fire upon the innocent students and women even. The other day when the raiders attacked Dum Dum aerodrome and Basirhat police-station we have seen the worth of the police. They failed to check the raiders. Government has increased the police force in order to save the country from the hands of the raiders and robbers, but it is a strange thing that today the police force have failed to show their ability. The real remedy is not increasing the police force. The real thing is that the police under two hundred years of foreign rule have lost their vitality, their partriotism and they have turned into a machine of the British Bureaucratic system of Government. What we demand from Government today is that if they want to bring real peace to the country, they should bring real transformation in the minds of the policemen, because they are our countrymen. If we can import patriotism, if we can import new enthusiasm in the minds of the police force, in that case only peace can be maintained. I must congratulate the Hon'ble Premier for what he has said in course of his speech yesterday on the floor of the house. He has said that the police are nothing but the servants of the people, and, in fact, they are going to be the loyal servants of the people. The sooner the police understand this the better for the country. Sir, the examples which have been given by my honourable friend Mr. Badrudduja show that the police have failed to protect the minority communities in the country. The Hon'ble the Premier has said that the police should protect every individual irrespective of group, section and colour. That is a very good thing, but the police have failed to follow that lesson of the Premier. It is the duty of the majority community, not only it is their political duty, but it is their moral duty, it is their social duty to protect the minorities.

Much has been said about oppression of the Muslims by the police by my previous speakers. It seems to me that the entire police force has been applied to suppress the Muslims. Sir, it is not the policy of the Government to suppress the Muslims; it is rather the tendency of the policemen and by their action they have shown that. Can anybody point out a single instance where the Muslim in general revolted against Government, Muslim masses committed a crime against Government? On the other hand, we find that the Hindus are preparing arms, they are preparing bombs, but the police do not take care of that, because they are Hindus and the police have got a communal colour. This communal colour, this narrowness of mind of the police must be changed. You have declared it to be a secular State and you will give protection to all irrespective of caste or creed. The day when the police will be able to give protection to all irrespective of caste, creed or colour, I must say that day peace will return. Let the police change their mind. Let them instead of being a terror to the country be harbinger of peace and goodwill; let the police contact people irrespective of caste or creed, let them not be guided by narrow principles, let them be guided by patriotism, love and brotherhood, because they are people of this country. One thing that I must place before the Government is that they must import new blood into police. The old people who served under the British Government all do routine work; their work is not inspired

by patriotism. If new blood is imported into the police force irrespective of caste or creed instead of increasing their number, I think we shall be able to maintain peace and order in the country with a minimum number of police.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have heard from some housewife that her husband is a devil at home but he is an angel outside. That is the general remark which I hear from a devoted housewife. Such is the case with our Government. They are devils at home but angels outside. Sir, let me explain what I mean. They are threatening the minority as if the minority of West Bengal is not the responsibility of my friends over there. The minority of Pakistan, *i.e.*, the Hindus of Eastern Pakistan, are their responsibility. That is the form of mind, that is the mentality by which they are guided and action is taken. Therefore, Sir, it is a constitutional anomaly of the highest order that a free country or a free Dominion would claim protection of the minority of the other Dominion. If you claim protection for the minorities of the Pakistan Dominion, and they in their turn, *i.e.*, the Pakistan Government in their turn, claim protection of the minorities in this Union, what will be the fate? Then the sovereignity of the people, the sovereignity of the State recedes to the background, and there can be no freedom, no sovereignity. This is the state of things to which you gentlemen have converted this State of West Bengal. I address them through you, Sir, Mr. Speaker. The minorities of Pakistan, *i.e.*, the Hindus of Pakistan come forward and claim that it is their homeland, because they say—I have met many Pakistan Hindus who have come forward; they are first class gentlemen—they say that they would never have come but they have been lured by prospects of leadership, by prospects of employment, by prospects of carrying on professions, and you lured them. Mr. Speaker, it is these gentlemen (pointing to Congress benches) who lured them to West Bengal and then a hue and cry was raised that the East Bengal Government or the Pakistan Government was not looking after the interests of the minorities and that it is the indifference of the Pakistan Government to the interests of the minorities that has driven them from Pakistan to your place. That is not a fact. It is you who lured them. They say "we voted for Partition at your instance and West Bengal is also our place and so we have come to West Bengal." The result is that this exodus from East Bengal to West Bengal is demoralising and devastating. These gentlemen from East Bengal came to West Bengal with a certain grudge and malice against the Muslims of Pakistan. The police officers who have come from East Bengal, the Judicial Officers who have come from East Bengal, the East Bengal District Magistrates who have opted for West Bengal from East Bengal, they all have malice against the Muslims. It is a fact. I can prove this conclusively by the production of documents, if necessary and I say this with full responsibility. So far as the East Bengal Hindus generally are concerned they have all come here excepting the *Nirjatita Congress karmis* who are still there. I have travelled all through West Bengal from my district of Birbhum, to the border districts of Murshidabad, Hooghly and other places and throughout I found the minds of the Hindus generally quite sound but it is sometimes the নির্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী who, Mr. Speaker, abetted them, instigated them to commit the crimes against the Muslims (The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Question!) and not only that, Sir, they are instigated and abetted by the police officers who have come from East Bengal to put the Muslims to serious trouble. Sir, I can also cite instances. What my friend Janab Badruddujа has said is quite true and his speech, I think, holds the field.

Now, Sir, the atrocities are being committed upon the Muslims; the Muslims of West Bengal are suffering from innumerable disabilities at your hands. What is the remedy? If you are a civilised Government, if you are a democratic Government, there shall be no difference between one set of persons and another set of persons. But, Sir, you have deprived the Muslims of West Bengal of everything. I can also cite an instance of atrocities of recent occurrence. One Md. Musa——

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, may I have a few minutes more and I have finished. Now, Sir, one Md. Musa, a leading Muslim of Katwa in the district of Burdwan, was murdered in cold blood in the presence of the Subdivisional Officer, in the presence of the Circle Inspector and in the presence of the armed police who were all formerly in East Bengal. The Subdivisional Officer had a revolver in his waist and 18 armed constables were there and Md. Musa was *lathied* and murdered. Then a case was started and the Subdivisional Officer who abetted the murder has been enquiring into the matter and I just now got the information that yesterday a certain woman was examined in connection with the case and that woman said "Well, in the presence of you he had been murdered and if you wished you could save him." Then the Subdivisional Officer got enraged and said "You will be put to jail". The woman said "I do not care to go to jail and even be hanged, when you have murdered him." Sir, such occurrences are taking place daily.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I am just now finishing. Now, Sir, what is the remedy? With folded hands I beseech you, you who are the leaders of the country, who are leaders of our people, to protect us. We have dissolved the Muslim League. There is no leadership amongst us. We have accepted and adopted you as our leaders and we are loyal to the core and if any person can save you from trouble it is the Muslims of West Bengal who will save you. No other person of any other community has the strength or the will to save you. It is we who can save you——

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up. Please resume your seat.

Mr. C. E. CLARKE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose all the cut motions. I have listened with considerable attention and very close interest to all the observations made by the honourable members in moving the cut motions to the Police grant. Whether the criticisms which have been made, some of them serious condemnations, are valid, I confess that I am hardly in a position to say. The fact remains however that it cannot be denied that an efficient police force is necessary, and because it is necessary the expenditure connected therewith should not be opposd.

I do suggst, however, that to build up or maintain a competent police force imposes a double responsibility. There is without question the responsibility of Government to check and control the licence which results in corruption or oppressive practices and the individuals who commit them, but there is an equal obligation on the community composed of private individuals as distinct from officials. A State begets the police force its people deserve, and the only satisfactory way of curtailing expenditure under this head is for the public in every sphere of life to conduct itself as to render this form of control unnecessary. The standards of the force reflect in fact, the standards of the people, for the individuals which form the force are recruited from the people and their basic morals are those acquired in youth before coming under the influence of morale-building training and discipline in the Force.

On the question of recruitment it is perhaps a small criticism to make in saying that selections should be made with the greatest possible care

so that the elimination of certain elements lacking in a sense of their responsibilities as servants of the public can be effected. Be that as it may the servant of the public, as with all servants, is worthy of his hire. He must be paid and paid adequately. He must be properly equipped to perform the duties expected of him. The equipment must be up to date for we have had recent evidence that the adversaries of the State employ modern methods, and this brings me back to the question of the budget allotment. Government admittedly has to meet numerous conflicting demands on available revenue, and in the modern ethics of democracy, to which India rightly subscribes, there is the responsibility to furnish the necessities and fundamental amenities of life, such as, medical services, food supplies and kindered other functions which were not in centuries past essentially acknowledged as an obligation of governance. But the development of these activities for the people's welfare is dependent on peaceful conditions. The police are the first line of defence in maintaining that peace which undoubtedly leads to conditions of plenty and prosperity. I therefore maintain that the preservation of law and order is the first charge on the peoples' money and to treat it as such is undoubtedly in the best public interest and I support the Hon'ble the Chief Minister's motion for the police grant.

Before closing, Sir, I should like to raise again the question to which my colleague spoke on this occasion last year. I believe that there has been a marked improvement in police control over criminal perpetrators of burglaries, robberies and similar violent activities in Calcutta and great credit therefore is due. I congratulate the police and the Government behind it on this improvement. I welcome also the indications of better control at the Holi festival this year, and I am encouraged to hope that these are signs of increasing competence in the widest field of control, responsible for the prevention of such incidents as have been recently witnessed in Dum Dum,—incidents which in themselves warrant the expenditure in the widest possible methods of protection for all classes and communities seeking to preserve their peaceful ways of life.

I therefore oppose all the cut motions.

Janab MOLLA MOHAMMAD ABDUL HALIM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the budget demand under the head "Police" is 461 lakhs which, to say the least, is staggering, and this appears all the more so when we compare these figures with those of the foreign Government when they ruled over us. If we refer to the budget allotments for the years 1940-41, 1941-42 and 1942-43 of united Bengal, we will see that the figures then did not go beyond three crores but now we are spending so much as 461 lakhs for West Bengal only, and even that with what result? Has it improved the tone of the police in the least? I am constrained to say that the police today is as rotten as it was before, and in this connection I would refer to what has been happening in my district of Nadia. Since the dawn of freedom crops belonging to the Muslims are being damaged and looted, and Muslims totally demoralised as they are, cannot even where they are eighty against five move their little finger in self-defence for fear lest that might involve them in further trouble. I know, Sir, that many unfortunate Muslims in their vain attempt to save their crops have been murdered and killed, and yet the police took no notice of it. This has been happening for more than one year. The District Magistrate is there: the police is there: we run from post to pillar and pillar to post but we get no help from anywhere. My friend from Nadia over there on the opposite side knows everything. I am perfectly sure that he will bear me out in everything that I am saying here. He also feels equally like myself helpless in this matter. I appeal to you, Mr. Premier, to come to our help and succour. Tell us bluntly if you cannot give us protection and in that case order a mass massacre of fifty lakhs of us. On the other hand if you really so desire, give us full protection. We have seen that when an officer is non-communal he is

suddenly bundled off. I know of a case when an officer who had been sympathetic to the Muslims had had to go away, and an officer who made a hell in one thana was transferred there to make a hell there. There things are going on merrily Sir. So what my friend Janab Syed Badrudduja has said is perfectly true. He has reflected the real state of affairs prevailing in every part of West Bengal. You are, Mr. Premier, the custodian of our honour, of our property and everything, and I am sure you cannot have your conscience clear if you fail to give us protection that we are now so badly in need of. I therefore appeal to the Hon'ble Premier to take this matter in hand personally and come to our succour.

Janab MUHAMMAD IDRIS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, at this fag end of this evening's sitting after so many valuable speeches that have been delivered, I think there is hardly any need for me to say much. Yet I will only mention one thing in which I cannot but express my deep concern, I mean the large scale seizure of firearms from Muslim holders including those in my district of Howrah. This has created a sense of insecurity and helplessness in the minds of the Muslims. So far as I know I am fully sure that there is no reason or justification for this unjust and uncalled for attitude of the Government.

Sir, I am at a loss to understand the policy of the Government behind this unjust measure. But whatever had been the idea of the Government and some of their leaders about the Muslims and however much they might have doubted the loyalty of the Muslims, they should now change their minds and should be sorry for their misunderstanding the Muslims. Despite all sorts of provocation, oppression, hardship and torture by some section of the people and the police, and the insult inflicted upon them by questioning their loyalty even by some top-ranking Government spokesmen, the Mussalmans, thanks to Providence and thanks to their own sound judgment and sound statesmanship of their leaders, have come out successful in their greatest trial that occurred immediately after the partition of India. The Mussalmans all along remained loyal to their country. They have shown to the world that their loyalty and patriotism is not a thing to be snatched away by provocation or oppression, that the loyalty is not the monopoly of some particular section of the people that the country is as much theirs as others'. They know that loyalty and patriotism is part and parcel of their *Iman*, that is, faith. حب الوطن من ايمان

They know that it is their birthright to live here and that there is no power in this world to deprive them of that right and as such they have most firmly and irrevocably determined to continue to be citizens of India and they feel proud of their being Indians. So in times of difficulties and oppressions they have not lost their heart nor they have looked towards the other side of the boundary. Even in their difficulties the Mussalmans have never disturbed the Government by raising any murmur or cry, far less creating any trouble. Even the Muslim leaders have all along refrained from making any public statement to the press describing the atrocities and oppressions on the Muslims only with a view that inter-communal relation should improve. And thanks to the people of both the communities the inter-communal relation has much improved. Only what is necessary now is that the Government should change their mind and should do away with certain unjust policies which they have adopted. Government should change their policy and at once return back the guns that were seized. The other day the Hon'ble Chief Minister appealed to all sections of the people to co-operate with the Government and help them to build up a new State. The Muslims are never lacking in co-operating with Government but, Sir, I humbly ask the Hon'ble the Chief Minister how co-operation can come from one side. Co-operation is not a thing that may come from air. Co-operation always comes from within, from the heart itself. So, if you unjustly take away the fire-arms without any reason and thus oppress them, they will not be able to co-operate with you.

So, I most earnestly appeal to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to consider this. This is certainly a very important matter and not at all a trifling one. Particularly now when dacoities and robberies have become rampant and life has become insecure, Government should seriously consider the necessity of allowing the people to possess their own firearms and protect themselves, their life and property.

Once again I appeal to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to direct his government and officers to return back the firearms to their owners who have been quite loyal, lawful and innocent citizens and from whom firearms have been taken away without any fault of their own.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, সংখ্যা লঘুরা যতদিন সংখ্যা লঘু হয়ে থাকবে, ততদিন তাদের বিপদ যাবে না। সংখ্যা দিয়ে যখনই আমরা গণতে থাকি, তখন যাদের সংখ্যা কম তাদেরই বিপদ, ফলে যারা নাকি সংখ্যা লঘু তাদের বাঁচাবার জন্য পুলিশের দরকার হয়। কিন্তু সেই পুলিশ যদি ভাল পুলিশ হয় তাহলে সংখ্যা লঘুরা তাদের কাছ থেকে খানিকটা বাঁচবার আশা করতে পারে। আর পুলিশ যেখানে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার দোষে দুষ্ট, সেখানে সংখ্যা লঘুদের রক্ষা পাওয়া বড়ই কঠিন হয়ে পড়ে। এ প্রদেশে সংখ্যালঘুদের নিজেদের বাঁচাবার জন্য যে সব অস্ত্রশস্ত্র ছিল, সেগুলি চলে গেল; আর যাদের কোন অস্ত্র শস্ত্রের দরকার নেই --সেই সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠদের অস্ত্রশস্ত্র আরো বাড়তে লাগলো।

দেশ partitioned হবার পর যেখানে যেখানে অশুভ ঘটনা ঘটেছে সেখানে দেখা গেছে যে, পুলিশ যে যে ক্ষেত্রে হাত দিয়েছে তার অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই তারা সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠদের দিকে টেনে কাজ করেছে এই হচ্চে আমাদের আক্ষেপ। আপনারা যাঁরা শাসন পরিচালনা করেন তাঁরা আমাদের যারা নির্বাচক তাদের দ্বারা নির্বাচিত নন, অতএব আমাদের নির্বাচকদের মনের কথা আমরাই কেবল বলতে সমর্থ। একমাত্র আমাদেরই তাদের মনের কথা খুলে বলবার দায়িত্ব ও অধিকার আছে। তাই, আমরা যা বলি সেগুলি যদি ভালমনে আপনারা গ্রহণ করেন, তাহলেই আমাদের বলা সার্থক; আর যদি প্রত্যেক কথাটাই উপেক্ষা করেন তাহলে আমাদের বলার কোন সার্থকতা নাই, অরণ্যে রোদন মাত্র। বর্ত্তমানে পুলিশ সাম্প্রদায়িকতার দোষ থেকে মুক্ত নয়। আমি জানি আমাদের জেলার মধ্যে প্রত্যেক জায়গায় (এটা গভর্ণমেণ্টের নীতি এবং অর্ডার কি না জানি না), পুলিশ থানার মধ্যেই সরস্বতী পূজা ও কালীপূজা উৎসাহের সঙ্গে করছে। এবং যাদের পূজায় চাঁদা দিতে নাই তাদেরও চাঁদা দিতে বাধ্য করছে। ভালোবেসে নয় তাদের হাতে ক্ষমতা আছে ব'লে। তারা মনে ভাবে তাদের জাতীয় গভর্ণর তাদের জাতির গভর্ণমেণ্ট। এই কথা মনে করেই তারা অত্যাচার করে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি বিশ্বাস করেন যে এটা হওয়া উচিত নয় তাহলে গভর্ণমেণ্টের এবিষয়ে একটা সুনির্দিষ্ট আদেশ দেওয়া কর্ত্তব্য যে, এই রকমভাবে চাঁদা আদায় করা উচিত নয়। আমাদের বন্দুক ইত্যাদি সব চলে যাক, কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট সম্পূর্ণ দায়িত্ব নিক যে, গভর্ণমেণ্ট আমাদের সকল দিকে রক্ষা করবেন। গভর্ণমেণ্টের পুলিশ সেই দায়িত্ব নিক। আমরা জনসাধারণ অসাধুতার দোষে কলুষিত হয়েছি। আমরা যদি ভাল হই তাহলে পুলিশের আদৌ দরকার হয় না-এ খাতের সমস্ত টাকাই বেঁচে যেতে পারে।

Sri ISWAR CHANDRA MAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমি খুব মনোযোগের সহিত আমাদের আদর্শবাদী জনসেবক সৈয়দ বদ্রুদ্দোজা সাহেবের বক্তৃতা শুনেছি। কিন্তু আমার একটা কথা বড় বেশী লেগেছে যে একজন দেশসেবক আদর্শবাদী যাঁর ভিতর কোন সাম্প্রদায়িকতা নাই তিনি যদি মনে করেন যে পুলিশের কোন কার্য্য কোন নিরপরাধ ব্যক্তির উপর হয়েছে তা হ'লে তিনি গভর্ণমেণ্টকে যে কোন ভাষায় গালাগালি করতে পারেন বা তার প্রতিকার চাইতে পারেন। কিন্তু ঘটনাক্রমে যদি কোন হিন্দু পুলিশ কোন মুসলমানের উপরে তাকে দোষী মনে কোরে কোন অত্যাচার করে তবে সেটা communal ভাবে করেছে এই রকম প্রচার করা, বক্তৃতা দেওয়া বা খবরের কাগজের মারফৎ প্রচার করবার উদ্দেশ্য নিয়ে বলা হ'লে পর তার ফল হবে এই যে বহু কষ্টে আমরা যে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার মনোবৃত্তি থেকে নিজেদের বাঁচাবার চেষ্টা করেছিলাম সে বাঁচাতে আমরা আর পারব না, বরং তাদের আরও বেশী কোরে উত্তেজিত করা হবে। আমি যেখানে বাস করি সেখানে মুসলমান নাই একথা বল্‌তে পারি না। মুসলমান ত আছেন তা ছাড়া একথাও বল্‌তে পারি যে আমার বহু বন্ধু এবং অনেক ছাত্র যারা opt out কোরে পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্তানে গিয়েছিলেন তাঁরা আবার এখানে ফিরে এসে চাকরী পর্য্যন্ত ছেড়ে দিয়ে ব্যবসা বানিজ্য করছেন। তাঁদের কারও কাছে এমন কোন দিন শুনি নি যে মুসলমান ভেবে পুলিশ কারও উপর অত্যাচার করেছে—একথা আমাকে কেউ বল্‌তে পারে নি। কাজেই তিনি যা বলেছেন অর্থাৎ কোন নিরপরাধ

লোকের উপর পুলিশের অত্যাচারের ঘটনা যদি তিনি জেনে থাকেন—অবশ্য আমি মুর্শিদাবাদের খবর বল্‌তে পারি না—তাহলে কর্ত্তৃপক্ষের গোচরে এনে ব্যবস্থা করলে মুসলমান এবং হিন্দু সম্প্রদায়ের ভিতর যে বিদ্বেষভাব জেগেছিল সেটা আরও কমে যেতে পারত; কিন্তু এই রকম বক্তৃতার দ্বারা সেটা বৃদ্ধি পাবে বলেই আমি মনে করি। তাই আমি তাঁর বক্তৃতাটা মোটেই পছন্দ করি না, এবং এটাকে নিন্দনীয় বলেই মনে করি।

Sri SHYAMAPADA BHATTACHARYYA: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, বন্ধুবর জনাব বদ্‌রুদ্দোজা সাহেব মুর্শিদাবাদ সম্বন্ধে যে সব কথা বলেছেন আমি সে সব কথা শুনেছি। এ সম্বন্ধে কতক কতক ঘটনার উল্লেখ করে কিছু কথা বলেছেন কিন্তু সব কথা পরিষ্কার করে বলেন নি যে কোন্‌ ঘটনা কবে কিভাবে ঘটেছে। আমি যতদূর জানি তাতে বল্‌তে পারি যে বহুতালীতে যে ঘটনা ঘটেছিল--

Janab SYED BADRUDDOJA: All the documents are in my possession.

Sri SHYAMAPADA BHATTACHARYYA: Document আমার কাছেও আছে। আগে জান্‌লে আমি সে document আন্‌তে পারতাম। তবে বহুতালীতে যে ঘটনা হয়েছিল সেটা বহুপূর্ব্বেই মিটে গেছে। তার জন্য এখন সেই সব কথা তুলে লাভ নাই এবং সেটায় দুই পক্ষেরই আসামী গ্রেপ্তার হয়েছিল এবং দুই পক্ষের মধ্যেই একটা মীমাংসা হয়ে গেছে। দ্বিতীয়তঃ দয়ারামপুরের যে ঘটনার কথা তিনি বলেছেন সেটা আজকের ঘটনা নয়, সেটা partitionএর পরে ঘটেছিল। তাতে একজন লোক খুন হয়েছিল এবং দায়রায় সে মামলা চল্‌ছে। এই রকম ভাবে কতকগুলি ঘটনা নিয়ে বা আগের ঘটনা টেনে এনে যে সব কথা বলা হয়েছে তাতে দুই communityর মধ্যে বিদ্বেষভাব এসে যাবে—এই আমার বিশ্বাস। কাজেই তাঁর কাছ থেকে এই রকম বক্তৃতা মোটেই আশা করি নি এবং আমি যতদূর জানি ঘটনার সময় যখনই যিনি প্রিমিয়ার থাকুন বা হোম মিনিষ্টার থাকুন তাঁকে জানিয়েছি। তাঁরাই আজ এ সমস্ত কথার উত্তর দিতে পারেন। কাজেই আমার পক্ষে বেশী বলার নাই।

তারপরে Gun license এর কথা যা বলেছেন সে সম্বন্ধে হিন্দু এবং মুসলমান উভয়ের কতটা কি হয়েছিল সে বিষয়ে আমি প্রশ্ন করেছিলাম এবং রায় মহাশয় উত্তর দিয়েছিলেন। আমি নিজে জানি ২।১ জনের revolver prohibition ছিল ব'লে নিয়ে নেওয়া হয়েছিল, তাদের পুনরায় নূতন revolver দেওয়া হয়েছে এবং এমন কি তাদের বিক্রী করবার অধিকার পর্য্যন্ত দেওয়া হয়েছে।

এর আগে যিনি ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট ছিলেন তাঁর কাছে যে ব্যবহার সবাই সব সময় পেয়েছেন তাতে বোধ হয় হিন্দু-মুসলমান সকলেই একবাক্যে স্বীকার করবে যে তাঁর কাছে মুসলমান ব'লে বা হিন্দু ব'লে কোন পক্ষপাতিত্ব করা হয়েছে এ রকম দৃষ্টান্ত পাওয়া যায় না।

কাজেই এই সব কথা অতিরঞ্জিত hyperbolic ভাষায় যদি তিনি বলেন তা হলে আমাদের পক্ষে এটা বড়ই কষ্টকর হয় এবং তা প্রমাণ করতে গেলে এমন অনেক জিনিষ দেখাতে হয় যা আমার কাছে এখন নাই।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I have listened very carefully to all the speeches that have been made by my friends opposite.

Before I take the general proposition which seems to oppress my friends on the other side I may clear the ground by putting one or two points about which mention has been made by those who have moved the cut motions. Mr. Badrudduja seems to think that I have made a baseless allegation against my old friend Mr. Fazlul Huq. This is entirely wrong. What I said—and I repeat it again—is that if according to his Prophet's dictate, as I believe it is, prohibition should be introduced, why did he not, and why did his leader not take steps earlier? Living in a glass house he should not have thrown stones at others. My friend there says that if there is Dr. Ahmed or Mr. Nausher Ali they do not represent Muslims. Who wanted his certificate? I do not know why he brought in the two names here. It must be oppressing him. It must be a sense of frustration that has made him say these things. I do not know what it is. He has made a wide catalogue of charges——(Uproar.) Sir, will you kindly ask that gentleman not to interrupt me. I did not interrupt when he was speaking.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think that the names of persons who are not here should not be brought in.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: He has given us a catalogue of charges of what happened here. (Uproar.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. The Leader of the House is entitled to a patient hearing.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I have also got in my possession all the incidents of communal disturbances that have taken place during the last year and half. That is neither here nor there. Hard words, as I have said, do not break bones. By merely uttering flame and thunder it does ease anybody. On the other hand, the speech that my friend Mr. Badrudduja has made is just the type of speech which I hardly expected from a man of his calibre and intelligence. He should be one of those who should carry the torch of amity and concord. Instead of that, he has indulged in vituperations. He has said that he has got evidence of a conspiracy behind. Why did he not bring before me all the evidence that he possesses. If he had brought them before me and if I did not submit them to the strongest and strictest scrutiny, then he could have made such allegations against me. Not one word has he said as regards any conspiracy anywhere—not in one place. I deny that he has done it. Then he makes a wild allegation that a Magistrate did not obey the orders of the department of Government. That is again an untrue statement. No Magistrate has been given any orders to obey any instructions from Government which are not in the interest of the country as a whole. He seems to think that some Magistrate has been transferred from Murshidabad whom he probably liked, because the Government did not like the action of the particular Magistrate as regards Muslims. I deny that. There is absolutely no foundation whatever for making that wild allegation. My friend Mr. Abul Kasem has suggested——(A VOICE: Abul Hashem and not Abul Kasem.) Yes, Abul Hashem. I always remember him by his father's name. He has told me about two instances. Mr. Dalmia's instance I know. It was a case in which a party Messrs. Dalmia had a godown where they used to keep two types of cement—imported and ordinary cement. I went carefully into the whole affair and was satisfied that it was a *bona fide* mistake. He was made to pay the penalty and he was made to separate the godown for imported cement from the godown for the local cement. As regards the other case I wish he had told me in time. In that case I would have made every enquiry that he wanted and I would have placed before him and before the House also all the facts of the case. It is unfortunate that the gentleman about whom he had cast aspersions is not here present in the House. I am perfectly sure that if he had been here he would have given a full and complete statement in answer and in refutation of the charges which have been made against him. I deprecate this method of attacking a person when he is not here and not giving him an opportunity to defend himself.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I did not want to give the name, but the Treasury Benches insisted that I should. And most reluctantly I submitted his name.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I do submit that if he had seen that the gentleman about whom he was speaking was not here, common courtesy should have prompted him to wait until another opportunity. I can assure him this that if he is found even one hundredth part guilty as has been suggested, he will not find a place in my Ministry tomorrow. (Cries of "Hear, hear".) But that is neither here nor there. I do deprecate this method of saying at one time "I am loyal to the State; I am one of you" and then going to hit behind or stab behind. There is an old Bengali saying কাদা তো ফেলেছি,—কিছু তো লেগে থাকবে, "Let mud stick on. Let me threw a little mud. Does not matter what it is." There

is another saying: ভাগ্যে তুমি বামুন তা না হলে মাথা থেকে পা পর্য্যন্ত জুতো পেটা করতাম, বামুন বলে তো ছাড়লি না,—জুতো পেটা তো করলি; বলে আর লাভ কি।
These are not methods which I expected from a man of Mr. Abul Hashem's position and influence.

As regards the allegation that has been made that applications for licences by Muslims were not received I have not heard of any such allegation. If he will kindly tell me the date and the name of the person who made the application which was not received, I promise to make an enquiry, and whoever is responsible will be punished, but I deprecate again the vague charges that have been made.

Sir, with regard to licences, with regard to keeping of arms, the position the West Bengal Government has taken is this that whenever there is any difficulty, wherever there is any amount of confusion, any amount of disturbance in a particular locality or an area, it is always best—we have felt—to take away the guns from those who either cannot be depended upon to use them properly or who are not able to take proper care of them. It will be a news to some of my friends, Sir, that on the 8th and 9th of March last all the guns from all the gun shops in Calcutta had been removed to Fort William for protection. This is a part of our protection measures which I must take on behalf of the people because what do the invaders do? They go—as I saw, you saw, everybody saw in the Dum Dum raid—they go for the revolver, they go for the gun. Therefore it is not only not enough to see that the man does not use his gun unlawfully but also to see that his gun is not snatched away by the invader and used against him and against others. Therefore, Sir, this is the principle which the West Bengal Government have always followed with regard to the guns that have been kept in a particular place. The local officers have got complete authority to select persons whom they think it will be safe to allow them to continue to possess the gun from both the points of view that I have just mentioned.

Sir, I have heard a great deal about the helplessness of the minority community. My friend Mr. Mudassir Hosain is not helpless. He is not even helpless against the hammer of our Speaker. The Speaker goes on hammering but he goes on speaking. He is not helpless anyway though he belongs to the minority community. He does go on talking even when the Speaker says, "Don't talk". I can tell you what the position of the Government is with regard to the attitude towards the minority community and what instructions it has issued to its officers. On the 28th April, 1948, a notification was issued to every officer, to all District Magistrates, Subdivisional Officers, all departments of Government, Commissioners of Divisions, Secretaries of the Government of West Bengal, Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam, Chief Minister, Cooch Behar State and to everyone concerned, which reads thus:—

> "I am directed to refer to sub-sections (7) and (8) of section 1 of the Agreement reached at the Inter-Dominion Conference and to state that the Government attach the highest importance to the speedy creation of conditions such as would deter any exodus of the minority community and facilitate the return of the evacuees to their homes. To this end it is essential that members of the minority community should have confidence in the government officers and be able to look to them for protection and justice. Government accordingly declare that they are determined not to tolerate, on the part of any of their servants, conduct prejudicial to the interests of the minority community and any government servant offending against this will be awarded exemplary and deterrent punishment.
>
> You are requested to ensure that the widest publicity be given to the instructions among all ranks of Government servants. Government consider it of equal importance that mischief-makers and

rumour-mongers amongst the general public who attempt to create panic in the minds of the minority community should be effectively prevented from indulging in these activities. You are accordingly requested to instruct all your subordinate officers to report immediately any instance in which such mischief is being committed and you should thereupon take the most stringent action to suppress it using for the purpose, if necessary, your power under the West Bengal Security Act or any other appropriate law, and Government regard the carrying out of the instructions as a matter of the highest importance and all work in this connection should receive your personal attention".

These instructions were re-circulated on the 19th of January, 1949. This was after the Calcutta Agreement and, I wish that, instead of my friends trying to say something here under the protection of the Legislative Assembly, they would take this with regard to any incident that they have in mind and see the officer and ask him, "What are you going to do with regard to this?" And, if they are not satisfied with his action there is always a forum; there is always a Ministry in the Home Department which is prepared to meet all such cases when they come in. One of my old friends used to tell me one great philosophical anecdote. He used to say this. "Give a man power; he is sure to abuse it unless he is a superman or unless the public opinion is strong against his abuse of power". This, I think, is a very sound principle to depend upon, instead of pleading inability, instead of pleading helplessness, instead of saying, "We are insecure". All that we from the Government can do is to tell my officers, "you must follow a particular method, a particular system". If they don't, it is for them, those who are affected by it, to put pressure upon either the local officer or the head of the administration to see that what they have stated in print is achieved in practice. Sir, I am told that some friend of mine said, "Government should change their mind". I only plead with my minority friends, with my Muslim friends, I only plead with that friend that they also should change their mind. Let them say, "Here we are; we demand from you this particular redress in this particular case". As far as I am concerned I can promise them that they will get the redress but it is no use simply throwing mud one against the other because mud-slinging does not take us any further. With these words, Sir, I oppose all the cut motions and move the motion that stands in my name for acceptance. (Applause.)

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and a Division taken with the following result:—

AYES—11.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab.
Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab.
Badrudduja, Janab Syed.
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab.
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab.
Mudassir Hossain, Janab.
Muhammad Idris, Janab.
Serajuddin Ahammad, Janab.

NOES—33.

Bandopadhaya, Sri Pramatha Nath.
Barman, Sri Syama Prosad.
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar.
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra.
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada.
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra.
Chatterjee, Sri Haripada.
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Clarke, Mr. C. E.
Das, Sri Radha Nath.
De, Sri Kanai Lal.
Dolui, Sri Harendra Nath.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda.
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand.
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra.

Maiti, The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari.
Majhi, Sri Nishapati.
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra.
Mallick, Sri Ashutosh.
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad.
Mandal, Sri Bankubehari.
Mandal, Sri Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada.
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan.
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra.
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath.
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra.
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra.
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra.

The Ayes being 11 and the Noes 33, the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and a Division taken with the following result:—

AYES—11.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab.
Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab.
Badruduja, Janab Syed.
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab.
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab.
Mudassir Hossain, Janab.
Muhammad Idris, Janab.
Serajuddin Ahammad, Janab.

NOES—32.

Bandopadhaya, Sri Pramatha Nath.
Barman, Sri Syama Prasad.
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar.
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra.
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada.
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra.
Chatterjee, Sri Haripada.
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Clarke, Mr. C. E.
Das, Sri Radha Nath.
De, Sri Kanai Lal.
Doiui, Sri Harendra Nath.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand.
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra.
Maiti, The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari.
Majhi, Sri Nishapati.
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra.
Mallick, Sri Ashutosh.
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad.
Mandal, Sri Bankubehari.
Mandal, Sri Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada.
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan.
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra.
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath.
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra.
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra.
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra.

The Ayes being 11 and the Noes 32, the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Abul Hashem that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduce by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Md. Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91.000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab S. M. Abdullah that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 4,61,91,000 for expenditure under the head "29—Police" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that a sum of Rs. 4,61,91,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "29—Police" was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 8-20 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Monday, the 21st March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 21st March, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 58 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Dearness allowance

***29. Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state if he is aware that the Government of India have increased the rate of dearness allowance recently?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is under the contemplation of Government to increase the rate of dearness allowance in this Province in like manner?

MINISTER in charge of the FINANCE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) The matter is under consideration.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to (*b*) of his answer since when the matter has been under consideration?

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Since about a month.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the Government is likely to come to a decision in this matter?

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: I am unable to say that.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will he be pleased to state whether the Government feel that there is likelihood of discontent among the Government servants specially the lower-paid among them?

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: I am not concerned with any hypothetical question.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am afraid this is not a hypothetical question. It is a question of opinion and I asked him whether he thinks that there will be discontent because of this Government's inability at the present moment to introduce a scale of dearness allowance in line with the dearness allowance allowed by the Central Government. Sir, he characterised it as a hypothetical question.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: For this reason that it does not arise. We are not committed to Central Government's dearness allowance. We will have to depend upon our own resources and on what other Provincial Governments pay.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he feels that there may be discontent among the Government officials and such discontent will conduce to an atmosphere which will be good for the propagation of communism among the Government officials?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if while considering the desirability or otherwise of allowing higher dearness allowance to the servants of the Government of West Bengal, the question of giving satisfaction to the Government servants as far as possible will also be taken into consideration?

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Yes; we always try to give satisfaction as far as possible.

Budget for 1949-50

DEMAND FOR GRANT.

37—Education.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 2,94,32,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "37—Education".

Sir, at the outset I must thank all whether inside or outside the Legislature who in their anxiety——

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir,——

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it a point of order?

Janab MD. KHUDA BNKHSH: Yes, Sir. The Hon'ble Minister in his speech said that "I thank all whether inside or outside the Legislature". Is he permitted from the floor of this House to address the public outside?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I cannot take notice of these things. It is no point of order.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, at the outset I must thank all whether inside or outside the Legislature who in their anxiety to see the expansion and improvement of educational activities in the Province, have commented on the inadequacy of the educational grant and yet have appreciated some of the improved features of the Education Budget this year. The estimate for 1949-50 under head "37—Education" in the new province of West Bengal nearly approaches the actual expenditure on Education for the whole of undivided Bengal in the year before the partition. I do, however, agree with the sympathetic comment that the Budget Estimate for Education is still "lowly placed". But, why does it occupy so humble a position in our Provincial Budget in comparison with the advanced place that it occupies in some of the other provinces in India? It is largely because throughout the period of Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, when for the first time some importance came to be attached to the nation-building departments Bengal was under the great handicap of the Meston Award. It took long years for the inequity and injustice to be undone partially, though not wholly, under the Niemeyer Award when the new Reforms came to be introduced in 1937 under the Government of India Act of 1935. But, soon after the Second World War broke out, the storm in the West was joined by the typhoon from the East and it came to shake violently our internal economy with the result that Education became one of the first casualties. War brought in its train an unprecedented famine and in the estimation of the then

Government Education could only be selected for making expiatory fast. Then there were the communal riots prefatory to Partition and therefore expenditure under some of the other heads could make long strides, but not so on Education. On the top of all these came the Partition raising problems demanding costly solution. The cumulative effect of such a close succession of misfortunes, extraordinary and calamitous in character, was that Education in our province could never come to share properly in the growth of revenue or in the progress of revenue expenditure which some other departments were able to do. Thus, if expenditure on Education reached the peak of 12·1 per cent. of the total revenue expenditure which was 12.76 crores in 1938-39, it came to share only 7·1 per cent. of the total of such expenditure, viz., 42·41 crores, in undivided Bengal in 1946-47 under the Muslim League régime.

This past account may help us to understand how we have reached our present position and it will be sufficient, I think, to expose the hollowness of the fanciful discovery which some of our scientists have made, without taking into account the Development expenditure under head 63-B, that "the present West Bengal Government has outdone the League Government in killing education". Some of the scientists may be specialising, Sir, in killing inventions now-a-days, but culture which is rightly associated with high academic distinctions should always have regard for strict accuracy and truth. And the truth is that with the advent of the National Government, the downward trend of expenditure on Education has not only been arrested but Education is steadily recovering lost grounds. From 7 per cent. it has risen to nearly 9 per cent. of the total revenue expenditure as the actuals of the latter part of 1947-48, the revised estimates of the current year and the presented budget for the next will show.

Now to come to the business before us. A few words are necessary, I suppose, to explain the variations between the Budget and the Revised estimates for 1948-49. My honourable colleague, the Finance Minister, has already explained in his Budget Speech the unexpected financial difficulties through which we had to pass during the current year and the severe cut to which the expected Development Grant from the Centre was subjected. He has explained also the anti-inflationary considerations to which our attention was drawn by the Central Government and which compelled us to go slow and cut down our expenditure on new schemes. And if schemes in departments classified productive can be held in abeyance it goes without saying that a subject like Education considered and classified as unproductive apparently in terms of immediate monetary gain or material value will have to suffer reduction in its estimates and postpone the implementation of some of the new schemes until larger funds are available or until it is recognised that we cannot grow more food or grow in health unless we grow in informed intelligence.

In these circumstances where we could or had to go ahead and where we could not, a full and frank statement of it appears in the Budget literature, in the Red and Blue and White books and particularly in the part showing the progress of Development and new schemes.

1948-49.

Primary, Basic and Social Education.—Now those who will take the trouble of going through the Budget papers with understanding, will see that, although a cut of about 33 per cent. or 27½ lakhs was imposed on the Education Development Budget for the current year and some of the new schemes came under a ban, we did not fail to attach priority to the essential items and even to spend more on them whenever possible. For instance, top priority was attached to the scheme of "Increasing the salaries of the primary school teachers" and not only we were prepared to spend the total budgeted amount of 24·61 lakhs, which was the largest single item in our

Development Budget, but we thought it proper to spend 8 lakhs more for allowing further increase. Similarly, adult or social education which found only a small or no place in our previous estimates was provided for with a budget allotment of 5 lakhs, but as it took more time than could be anticipated for the Special Committee that was appointed under the Chairmanship of Sri Atul Chandra Gupta to make their recommendations on such a new subject and for securing the Government of India's approval, it would be possible to spend only half the budgeted amount, viz., 2½ lakhs in the current year. The aim of our programme is not the narrow aim of achieving mere literacy, although provision for literacy drive will be there, but that of imparting social and cultural education as well so that our adult men and women can properly function as citizens of free India. To achieve this, arrangements are being made to provide cultural, informational and productive knoweldge through libraries, popular discussions and demonstrations and with audio-visual aids such as radios, magic lanterns and cinemas. It may be said in passing that we have anticipated the Government of India scheme in this respect and because of the preparations made in advance it will be possible for us to avail fully of the Central Government subsidy next year. It is a matter of regret however that we could not make much headway with the scheme of introduction of basic education as the Government of India approval of the departmental scheme has not yet been received and an amendment of the Primary Education Act has come to be considered necessary. But we have taken preparatory measures to set up not only our Basic Training Schools but our Basic Training Colleges as well. While the two schools are expected to yield 160 teachers trained in basic education, the two colleges are expected to turn out annually 80 trainers each to staff larger number of training centres of basic education.

Secondary Education.—Passing on to the development of secondary education, I would like to point out to the honourable members that they should not be misled by examining the Development Budget for it. They should look to the General Budget also and if they do so they will find that the amount of maintenance grant for secondary schools which was 13 lakhs last year (1947-48) has been doubled this year and quite a new thing in the annals of secondary education in this province has been done by completely overhauling the Grant-in-aid Rules and relating the same to improved scales of salary fixed for the teachers in secondary schools. To be eligible for grants under the new rules the schools will have to maintain scheduled rates of students' fees with much higher percentage of free studentships, viz., 10 to 20 per cent. of the roll strength in different areas and to pay the teachers salaries according to the scales laid down for the different categories of teachers, viz., Rs. 150—400 for Head Masters of different grades of schools; Rs. 75—150 for trained graudates plus an extra allowance of Rs. 25—50 to Assistant Head Masters of different grades of schools; Rs. 60—100 for Graduates and trained Under-Graduates; and Rs. 50—80 for Under-Graduates. The new rules and the new grants will, therefore, mean larger and more substantial aid for needy schools, improved scales of salary for the teaching staff and wider opportunities to poorer students to avail of secondary education. Thus we claim to have helped in our humble way the needy secondary schools and have upgraded and improved their service. We have not considered it our business to preach merely the theory of better paid teachers and to forget in practice to insist on conditions that can go to improve their lot. We have, again, not simply laid down conditions but have offered substantial help to implement them, so substantially that in many cases schools have received double their existing grant.

Girls' Education.—Effective steps have been taken to provide better facilities for girls' education in the secondary and collegiate stages. In pursuance of a previous programme three new Government schools for

girls were established during the year, one at Jhargram, a second at Krishnagar and a third at Jalpaiguri at a cost of Rs. 2,70,000. Having regard to the expensive character of these schools, the present Government do not propose to multiply State high schools but to give substantial help to non-Government enterprise for promoting girls' schools and even girls' colleges like the Berhampur Girls' College that was established with large Government support last year.

College Education.—Apart from the larger grants that the Government have made this year to help the existing and newly-started private colleges, Government have established a new college at Darjeeling this year in response to the demand of the hill people.

A sum of Rs. 8,80,000, in addition to Rs. 3 lakhs provided in the normal budget, has been spent during the current year for the development of the Sibpur Engineering College in accordance with the accepted plans of its reorganisation designed to provide facilities for a larger number of students to avail of better and more specialised engineering training. A new Principal and some Assistant Professors have already been recruited and negotiations are being carried on with the Government of India and scientific bodies for the recruitment of other necessary staff for the full reorganisation of the College. Here it may be said in passing that a special grant of Rs. 41,000 is being paid to the College of Technology, Jadavpur, to enable them to continue the courses of training in overseership in Civil Engineering.

University Education.—The grant to the Calcutta University was fixed at Rs. 5,25,000 a few years ago. If, however, there was a deficit in the University budget on account of the payment of dearness allowance to its employees, the University could have an additional grant to cover such deficit arising out of the payment of dearness allowance to the staff. In 1948-49 a sum of Rs. 4,64,000 was provided for the payment of dearness allowance instead of a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs provided for the purpose in 1947-48. Another sum of Rs. 4,74,000 was provided in the Budget for 1948-49 and earmarked for the improvement of the post-graduate departments and of science teaching and research work including expansion of the laboratories of the University Science College. But as the University authorities represented that there was a big deficit in the University budget, the earmarking had to be waived and the whole amount had to be paid to the University for meeting their deficit. Thus, altogether a sum of Rs. 14,64,000 was paid to the University during the current year as against Rs. 8,30,544 only paid in the previous year.

The question of medium of instruction.—I cannot leave this account of what of importance has been done in the current year without referring to a major question of educational policy in which my department had to take an original decision, viz., the question of medium of instruction of the linguistic minorities. Here there was nothing to guide by way of precedent; on the contrary, the air outside this province was full of allegations of denial of opportunity to have school education through the mother-tongue and forcible imposition of the majority language on the children of the linguistic minorities. I thought I must be guided in the matter by educational considerations and considerations of practicability and I took the decision that in school education the children of a linguistic minority, if their number in a school justify, must have the privilege to learn through their mother-tongue and even to adopt the mother-tongue as the principal language of study although having regard to the necessity of their intimate future contact with the majority of the people of the province in which they are resident, they would study the provincial language from class V onward, *i.e.*, in the secondary stage. This principle which was adopted by my department and announced in a press-note last summer was subsequently endorsed with some elaboration,

though not to the extent we were prepared to go, by the Central Advisory Board in their Allahabad session in last January. The resolution of the Central Advisory Board of Education is in the following terms:—

"Resolved that the medium of instruction in the Junior Basic stage must be the mother-tongue of the child and that where the mother-tongue was different from the regional or state language, arrangements must be made for instruction in the mother-tongue of the children, provided there are at least 40 such pupils in a school. The regional or state language where it is different from the mother-tongue should be introduced not earlier than class III nor later than the end of the Junior Basic stage. In order to facilitate the switch over to the regional language as medium of instruction in the secondary stage, children should be given the option of answering questions in their mother-tongue for the first two years after the Junior Basic stage.

If, however, there is a sufficient number of pupils to justify a separate school in an area, where the regional or state language is different from the language of such a group, the medium of instruction in such school may be the language of the pupils. Suitable provision should be made by the provincial authorities for the recognition of such schools imparting education through a medium other than the regional or state language."

If the different provinces in the Indian Union now loyally follow the above resolution, then the linguistic minorities in all the provinces will not only find proper facilities for education but will be relieved of the anxieties and apprehensions that they are now feeling so deeply in some areas outside Bengal at present.

1949-50.

Mass Education—Primary.—Passing on to the consideration of our Budget estimates for the next year, I would like to assure the House that my department will follow the lines of advance and development on which we have proceeded in the current year and also undertake those measures which for want of funds we could not implement. In the field of mass education, we propose to encourage our primary teachers by a further increase in their salary and have provided an additional Rs. 8 lakhs to give effect to the same. With this addition the basic salaries of our primary teachers which were Rs. 16, 12 and 10 in 1945-46 for trained Matric, Matric or trained and untrained non-Matric teachers of A, B and C categories will be Rs. 31, 23 and 19, respectively, and with the dearness allowance given by the Government and the District School Boards their total emoluments will amount to Rs. 36-8, 28-8 and 24-8. I do not for a moment say that such emoluments can be considered adequate in these hard times, but we have to wait for better budgetary position before further improvement can be undertaken. The primary teachers have to recognise that the Government that could double their rates of pay and allowances within a space of four years do not require such an unprofessional conduct on their part as "strikes" to realise the low scales of their salary or the necessity of their revision. In fact, it had to be pointed out to the primary teachers and the responsible section among them, it must be said to their credit, resolved not to go on a strike.

Basic Education.—With the trained teachers already available and those coming out of our Basic Training Schools we propose to introduce our pilot Basic Schools in a selected area in every district and with that object in view we have provided a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs in the next year's budget. Areas from which co-operation in the shape of lands and accommodation will be forthcoming will be selected in consultation with the representatives of the different districts in the Assembly and in the District School Boards.

As the progress of basic education will depend entirely on trained teachers a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs and another sum of Rs. 3½ lakhs have been provided in the next year's Budget for Basic Training Colleges and Schools, respectively.

Social Education.—Our scheme of social education also will come into actual operation next year and just as arrangement will be made to construct film library and produce appropriate literature at the provincial headquarters so also district organisations and mofussil centres will come to function with necessary equipments. Our scheme envisages the development of at least 600 centres next year and a provision of Rs. 3,00,000 has been made for the purpose. With the Government of India subsidy now assured it may be possible to double the number of centres, if not treble them.

Secondary Education.—While the provision of additional grant of Rs. 13,00,000 for the secondary schools made in the current year has been repeated for the next year also to bring about the reform of school education in all its stages, Government is awaiting the report of the Committee that was appointed to investigate the lines of necessary development and to recommend what steps should be taken to impart primary (junior basic) education through creative activity and make secondary education more diversified in character and suitable to the various needs, abilities and aptitudes of the adolescents. After protracted labour and good deal of careful consideration the Committee have framed their recommendations and syllabi for different stages and types of schools have also been framed by them. The work of the Committee has been finished and their report is under preparation. The Report of the Committee and the new authority for the control and development of secondary education which the West Bengal Secondary Education Bill proposes to set up will, it is hoped, bring about the much desired reforms of our school education.

College Education: More Girls' Colleges.—For the promotion of college or undergraduate education, besides the normal grant a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 has been provided in the Development Budget for the supply of scientific equipments to Government and non-Government colleges and a separate provision of Rs. 1,40,000 has been made for additional accommodation and equipment in the Presidency College. With a Development grant of Rs. 1,75,000 it is also proposed to render substantial assistance to the establishment of two non-Government colleges for girls, one in the Burdwan Division at Hooghly and the other in the north at Jalpaiguri, if possible.

Technical Education.—To offer better facilities for technical education the following provisions find place in our Development Programme for the next year, viz., Rs. 2,05,000 for the development of Bishnupur Technical School and Rs. 2,65,000 for the reconditioning of the Burdwan Technical School. Our thanks are due to the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan for the generous gift that he has offered to make of lands and building to house the enlarged Burdwan Technical Institution. The reorganisation of the Calcutta Engineering College is also engaging the attention of the department and outside the Development Programme a sum of Rs. 1,74,000 has been provided for grants-in-aid to non-Government technical institutions requiring them. For further implementation of the final plan of the Sibpur Engineering College a provision of Rs. 9,00,000 has been made in our Development Programme and Architecture and Town and Regional Planning courses will be opened there from the next session. The question of the preparation of schemes for providing instructions in Marine Engineering and Naval Architecture has been taken up and my department is going to deal with it in consultation with the Central Government. To

enable Jadavpur College to raise the standard of training, including that of Chemical Engineering, a separate provision of Rs. 90,000 has also been made to cover necessary grants.

Commercial Education.—So far as commercial education is concerned it is proposed to implement, after certain modifications, the Younie Committee Report for the reorganisation of the Government Commercial Institute, which has been long awaiting implementation. A sum of Rs. 2,43,000 has been provided in the Budget for 1949-50 for the purpose. The Ministry of Education, Government of India, has approved in principle the details of the scheme, and it is presumed it is now before the Central Development Board for their approval. It is proposed to acquire a site and to provide the institution with its own buildings.

Arts and Crafts.—There is hardly any provision now for the teaching of crafts in the Government School of Art and the existing facilities for the training of qualified personnel in Pure and Applied Arts fall far short of the needs of the country. It is therefore proposed to provide for a more comprehensive course of training at this institution and to appoint qualified staff for the purpose. A sum of Rs. 33,500 has been provided in the next year's budget to make provision for better training in Applied and Fine Arts in this institution with a view to meeting in particular the requirements of cottage industries. The scheme has been formulated in consultation with the Cottage Industries Board of the Government of India. Thus it will be realised that much greater attention is now being paid to the development of Technical, Commercial and Art education than it has been possible to do so far.

Sanskrit Education.—On attaining independence we could not afford to lose or even neglect our ancient heritage and culture. Indian independence without a renaissance of Sanskrit scholarship and culture can only mean such a vital decadence that no amount of injection of imported knowledge and technique may be able to make her distinctive civilised existence possible. Government, therefore, appointed a Committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjee, Judge, Federal Court, to report on the required expansion of the Sanskrit College and on the increased facilities that should be granted for higher studies in Sanskrit and for advancing the cause of Sanskrit scholarship along traditional lines. The Committee's recommendations have been received and carefully examined. It is proposed to provide a Post-Graduate Department in the Sanskrit College, to strengthen the *Tol* Department of that College and to make fuller provision for collegiate teaching by co-ordinating, if possible, the work of the Sanskrit and Presidency Colleges. It is also proposed to establish at least one Government *tol* this year at Nabadwip, the ancient seat of Sanskrit learning, and to reorganise the Bengal Sanskrit Association to make it an independent organisation to supervise and promote Sanskrit scholarship on right lines. A new scheme for better grants-in-aid to *tols* has been framed. About 100 *tols* have already been helped in 1948-49. In 1949-50, it may be possible to assist a larger number of *tols* with more funds provided for the purpose.

Madrassa Education.—After the partition, the Calcutta Madrassa was removed to East Bengal. The Muslims of this province felt aggrieved that the oldest institution for Islamic studies established by the British in India and which in the past had served as a great centre for higher training in Islamic studies and culture had been removed from this province, depriving the Muslims of this province of facilities hitherto enjoyed by them for higher studies in Islamic subjects. It fell to this Government, therefore, to correct a mistake of the previous Muslim League Government and set right an injustice that was done to the Muslims of West Bengal. Government have therefore decided to reopen the Calcutta Madrassa and equip it for the teaching of Islamic subjects along traditional lines, but

under modern conditions, to meet the cultural requirements of the Muslims of this province. Provision has been made for it in the budget for the next year.

It has been decided, however, to close down the Intermediate Classes attached to the Hooghly Madrassa. There appears to be a misapprehension in the minds of some about this decision and it has found expression in the debate and in the cut motions notified. Distinguished Muslim educationists are of opinion that the so-called reformed Madrassa education scheme falls between two stools in that it does not provide either a thorough grounding in Islamic subjects along traditional lines nor does it provide as good a general education as can be had in the ordinary educational institutions. Government have therefore closed down the Hooghly Madrassa but at the same time have made arrangements for the teaching of special Islamic subjects to such Muslim students as desire to receive instructions in them at the Hooghly Mohsin College in addition to the ordinary college subjects now taught there. Thus the same facilities will be available for the study of Islamic subjects in this college as are now provided for Sanskritic studies at the Sanskrit College where students read ordinary college subjects but have, in addition, special instructions in Sanskritic studies. It is hoped that the present decision of Government will be recognised as a definite advance educationally on the previous arrangements and the cut motion notified will not be moved.

University Education.—As I have said before, on coming to office, this Government provided for a much larger grant to the Calcutta University than it used to get previously. We have even made a bit larger lump provision for the next year than was made for the current year, viz., 15·26 lakhs, which, apart from the provision for dearness allowance, nearly double the previously settled grant. We have done it in anticipation of the actual needs of the University which will have to be ascertained upon an examination of the University's budgetary position and the losses suffered by it through the shrinkage of its jurisdiction due to partition of Bengal and establishment of a separate University in Assam. In spite of post-partition efforts to increase the fee income, of substantially larger grants from the Provincial Government and of accession of Central grants for higher scientific studies and research, the gulf between its revenue and expenditure remains unbridged we are told. How far it is due to necessary expansion of teaching services and how far to justifiable addition to administrative expenditure, we, who have to render account of our expenditure to the Legislature, are not exactly aware or sufficiently assured. Consistently with our responsibility to the provincial exchequer it becomes extremely difficult for us to certify University's demands pressed at times for immediate acceptance and not without notices of impending crisis. Such a mode of getting or giving grants can only be full of risks for the University and not less so for a Minister or Government. In the circumstances what is desirable is a committee to assess in consultation with the University the amount of grant that the University might require for carrying on its teaching and administrative services with due regard to efficiency and economy. Without such a committee our department will have to examine the University's finances and do the work of assessment of University's requirements as best as they can. As facilities conceded for the same can only facilitate timely release of grants we hope these will be given ungrudgingly if the University do not agree to the proposal for the appointment of a committee. In a Government presided over by an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University and one of the most distinguished of the University men of our day, there can be no lack of anxiety to help the University, but the programme and the principles on which help can be rendered should be rationalised and clearly determined if a Provincial Government none too resourceful like that of West Bengal has to discharge any liability incurred by the University.

Universal and Compulsory Primary Education.—I have made a somewhat long speech in the hope of minimising ill-informed criticisms inside or outside the House. Here in the House those who will feel their doubts resolved and questions answered may be inclined to withdraw their cut motions. Those who will not feel so may have further clarifications in answer to the cut motions moved by them. The large question of introduction of universal and compulsory primary education I have not dared to deal with it because the money available and even likely to be available soon does not encourage me to go into that question. I have nothing but full agreement with those that desire its introduction and would attach the highest value to it but the effective introduction of a province-wide system of compulsory and free primary education of the effective, *i.e.*, basic type in a crowded province like West Bengal means a recurring expenditure of about 14 crores. I got the estimate prepared in connection with the work of the School Education Committee and for submission to the Central Advisory Board of Education. As the Government of India is prepared to assist by contributing only 30 per cent. of the expenditure and not more, I do not know when with 70 per cent. of the sum of 14 crores of rupees placed at my disposal I shall be in a position to satisfy the very patriotic demand to add to the political freedom of the country the blessings of a good primary education for the masses. Unless and until the House be pleased to assure me of such a supply I dare not make such a demand for grant. I shall however continue to pray that my successor may have that singular good fortune.

With these words I beg to move the demand for "Education" grant.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the intensely communal policy of the Government in de-Islamizing the educational atmosphere changing overnight names of institutions like the Islamia College, while keeping intact all other denominational institutions.

I do not propose to move the next motion (No. 3) because the Report of the Select Committee is not yet out.

I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to introduce free compulsory primary education throughout the province.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about Government's failure to introduce measures for translating the knowledge of the world into Bengali and re-writing in Bengali Text Books on all the branches of knowledge in the light of the new outlook, created by the attainment of independence. I do not move item No. 6, Sir.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Why motions 7-10 are cut out, Sir? Are they withdrawn?

Mr. SPEAKER: Inasmuch as the honourable member has since become an Hon'ble Minister he cannot move a cut motion.

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the changing of the name of Islamia College into Central Calcutta College.

I beg also to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the abolition of the Hooghly Islamic Intermediate College.

Sir, I beg also to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to introduce all-round free compulsory primary education.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to make due and adequate provisions for the education of the backward communities.

Janab MOLLA MOHAMMAD ABDUL HALIM: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to grant concession in the shape of free-studentship or stipend either from Mohsin Fund or Government to the Muslim students of Krishnagar College, Nadia.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the general policy of Government, with special reference to the introduction of compulsory free primary education and adult education throughout the province and adequate increment of pay and allowance of the school teachers.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100.

Sir, I move this motion to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to introduce all-round free primary education, secondary education and university education.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it pains me very much to introduce in season and out of season questions of a controversial character. Perchance that heat of controversy may, instead of clarifying the issues, tend to cloud the whole perspective. But nevertheless I feel constrained to point out with all the seriousness at my disposal that the policy of the Government of West Bengal, so far as Muslim institutions are concerned, has not been very happy. Sir, from 1919 right up to 1946, the Honble the Minister of Education knows it—he has been one of the oldest members of this Legislature—he knows it perfectly well, that Ministers of Education with only one single exception, namely, Sir P. C. Mitter, have been Muslims, but Muslim Education Ministers have never attempted to make any distinction between Hindu and Muslim education nor to make any inroad on Hindu civilisation and culture. And if we go further still, we come to their predecessors, the Britishers, who snatched away our empire, demolished and pulverized into atoms many a Muslim structure of permanent value, robbed us of all our position and influence and reduced us to the sorest straits. They too never made any inroads on our civilisation and culture: they too recognised the eternal values of Islam. But today in the year of our Lord, 1949, we find that in the name of a secular state attempts are being made to make an inroad on Islam as if Islam is a red rag to the bull. I do not understand what is the meaning

and significance behind their present policy. It is fortunately for us, however, Sir, that the Central Government, thanks to the noble Prime Minister of vision and imagination Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, have not yet touched the Muslim University at Aligarh. Attempts had been made to change its name, but they have not yet done so. But the Delhi Anglo-Arabic College has been re-named Delhi College, the Islamia College at Shajahanpur has been re-named Gandhi Fai-i-um College and the Islamia College at Calcutta has been re-named Central Calcutta College. This shows that although the Central Government have not been unfavourable to the demands and aspirations of the Mussalmans, to the cultural associations and traditions of the Mussalmans, unfortunately the policy of the Government of West Bengal or of some other Government has not been at all very happy or sympathetic. I will not enter into very great details at the present moment. Sir, I feel very much pained to point out that in this land of Deshbandhu Chittaranjajn Das, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Surendra Nath Banerjee and others, men of colossal heart, of colossal mind and of colossal brain, men of clear vision and imagination, who cared not if Muslims got more and Hindus less or Hindus more and Muslims less, in their land such short-sighted policy should be pursued. In their glorious days they cared not whether Hindus were benefited or Muslims were benefited. These great men had the vision to see that for the good of the nation they must help the Muslims who were in a backward state and try to raise them up higher and higher until they attained the fullest stature of manhood. Those great personalities had a clearer and a much better appreciation, than the Minister of Education, of the eternal value of Islam, of the eternal message and glories of Islam, of the traditions, the cultural ties and associations of Islam, the magnificent contributions of Islam to world civilisation for one thousand years. They had such a high appreciation of Islam, and Mahatma Gandhi too had such appreciation of the glorious heritage of Islam.

Sir, I will not jump to any hasty conclusion. But honourable members will perhaps wonder why it is that one particular member in this House would be introducing a communal question. There is nothing communal, Sir, in Islam. Sir, not only has it the most comprehensive system of civilisation that the world has ever seen but it is also the most cosmopolitan and all-embracing religion in the world and is quite consistent with the ordered progress of human society and world culture. Islam has been responsible for civilising entire humanity. Islam brought the message of hope and inspiration to the benighted world in the dark days of intellectual sterilism, moral chaos and spiritual confusion, when the whole world groped in darkness for the light of science, of civilization, of democracy, of fraternity, and equality. Sir, I do not understand how my esteemed friend over there is alarmed at the name of the Islamia College. He might have some regard at least for the founder of the Islamia College, he might have some regard for the good that he did towards the latter part of its life, he might have some regard for the great man who sacrificed himself for maintaining Hindu-Muslim unity, he might have some regard for that great leader Deshabandhu C. R. Das who for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity faced the music, faced the opposition from all quarters, he might have some regard at any rate for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who today has got the vision of the future, has got the courage to state that the Muslims of India are now passing through a crisis of mind and spirit. He should not have done that in such indecent haste before consulting Muslim public opinion. After all what is in a name? Why do you object to a Muslim name? Why do you single out the Islamia College? There are other institutions—St. Xavier's College, St. James' School, the Hindu School. It may be that the Hindu School, the St. Xaxier's College and other denominational institutions are established not from public revenue but from private donations. May I respectfully point out to the Hon'ble Minister that the Islamia College was established in 1926 with about

Rs. 4,65,000 taken out from the Mohsin Fund. The Islamia College has developed into a beautiful institution from out of a nucleus which was nursed by Mr. Fazlul Huq. It was established by Mr. Fazlul Huq in a Muslim locality, amidst Muslim surroundings, amidst Muslim cultural associations. It has the privilege of a Mosque, it has the privilege of a Prayer Hall and to it are attached the Baker Hostel and the Elliot Hostel which are also situated in an Islamic locality, in an Islamic atmosphere. That was the reason which prompted my revered leader Mr. Fazlul Huq to establish that institution, the Islamia College. Then again there are arrangements for scientific studies also up to the I.Sc. standard. Fees have been lowered for poor Muslim students for various reasons, specially economic. For Muslims who cannot get admissions in the Presidency College and other colleges where fees are higher—almost prohibitive—so far as Muslim students are concerned, the institution has been the heaven of repose. These are the considerations that weighed with the leaders of public opinion, the leaders of Muslim people, for introducing an institution which, while generating a purely Islamic atmosphere, would lead to the growth and evolution of cultural outlook of Muslim boys. But why just after the establishment of Independent India, of Free India, Muslims should be relegated to this position? Why this particular institution should be singled out for this particular treatment by the Hon'ble Minister of Education?

The Hon'ble Minister has waxed eloquent that sufficient provision has been made for the establishment of the Calcutta Madrasah. All honour to Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad whose personal interest and intervention has brought into existence the institution once again. I had some interest in these things. I have so often knocked at the Ministers' doors and at the doors of Maulana Azad for this institution. I know what pains Maulana Azad took to introduce this institution. It was due to his supreme efforts and due, of course, to response from the Government of Bengal, that the institution has again been revived much to our relief at the present moment.

Sir, Islamia College was founded by Janab A. K. Fazlul Huq, late Premier of Bengal, with a donation of Rs. 4,50,000 out of Muslim Education Fund, purposely with the object of serving the educational needs of Muslims who are still backward in the field of education, and hence requre special treatment in the matter. With that object in view several stipends were created and were sanctioned by the Government and endowed by the members of the public for the benefit of poor Muslim students. A mosque is also attached to the college building so that the students may easily say their daily prayers in the college. For the convenience of students with Urdu as their mother-tongue the college had Urdu as second language among its combinations.

To my great dismay, and discomfiture of the Muslim community, the present Ministry, shortly after taking over charge of administration, made the following changes in the college:—

(1) changed the name of the college into "Central Calcutta College";

(2) cancelled the affiliation of the college in Urdu as second language;

(3) discontinued some of the stipends granted to the Muslim students;

(4) increased the college fees.

This was done on the ground that the policy of the Congress Government is to discourage denominational colleges and institutions.

May I request the Hon'ble Minister for Education to ponder over this. If on this very ground the Islamia College has got to be named "Central College", if the name has got to be removed, the names of all the institutions including the University of Calcutta, the Viswa Bharati, of all the

denominational and non-denominational institutions that exist in this land have got to be changed or modified, because they do receive grants from the Government of Bengal. May I ask my honourable friend over there what is "public revenue"? Is not public revenue a revenue which is contributed to by Muslims and Hindus alike? Is there no Muslim contribution to that revenue? If in fact any institution is established from public revenue, is there any justification to take away the name of the institution, to change the name of the institution? Is this the policy to secularise the institution? It is only an attempt to de-Islamise the institution, purge it of Islamic associations, Islamic cultural outlook, Islamic atmosphere altogether? Is that the way that you are moving, Sir?

Sir, we have heard of many more serious things. Muslims of India have gone through shocks of revolutions; Muslims of India have stood the test on several occasions. They have gone through various changes through ages. Thus did the hordes of Halaku in Central Asia devastate the treasures collected through centuries by Muslims in Abbandi Bagdad. Thus did Isabilla and Ferdinand destroy the magnificent structures of civilization and culture, of science and philosophy, reared in Spain on Muslim devotion and inspiration. Thus did various people in the name of civilisation, in the name of culture, in the name of secularisation, in the name of the real cultural outlook of the entire human race, try, as the Christian Missionaries of Europe did to paint Islam in the darkest possible colour emphassing, Islam is sectarian, Islam is narrow, Islam takes a prejudiced view of things, Islam is not consistent with modern civilisation and culture, Islam is not compatible with modern tendencies and aspirations of life, Islam is not consistent with all that we talk, brag and boast at the present day. My friend over there will realise that we have survived these shocks and blows. We have maintained our integrity, our political, social and cultural entity, in spite of the shocks of revolution and changes all over the world. I may assure him that in Europe, in Africa, in Asia and all over the world the Muslims have maintained their social integrity, their cultural identity and their political individuality, in spite of these inroads, in spite of these vandalisms.

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

Sir, I have got to go on.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have got to finish the two items—Education and Civil Supplies. Therefore I have got to curtail the time.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Thank you very much. I shall be brief, Sir.

Sir, we might not have objected to this, but, Sir, I consider this an insult to Muslims, I consider this an affront to our culture, I consider this as a deliberate attempt to ruin our civilisation. Sir, the Hon'ble Minister observes that instructions should be imparted in the mother-tongue, but we have a real example how Urdu language has suddenly been transformed overnight in United Provinces. I am not discussing that. It does not come within our purview at the present moment. We have seen to our cost, to our dismay, to our disappointment and to our chagrin that in the name of a secular State Muslim culture has thus been tampered with, the sanctity of a Muslim institution has thus been violated. But for God's sake do not raise a false issue to cloud the perspective, do not say that because it has been established from public revenue, it has been founded from public revenue, therefore it cannot bear that denominational name. You perhaps remember that we, Muslims and Hindus of India, have made joint contributions to Architecture, to Music, to Polity and to Philosophy of Hindusthan. Tomorrow perhaps that wonder of creation—Taj Mahal—that magnificent beauty of architecture, which bears the impress of a Muslim genius, which testifies to Muslims' conception of the sublime and

the beautiful, that great monument of architectural refinement should also go because it is founded from public revenue. All the finest and the most imposing monuments of glory in Delhi and Agra also must on that principle go, specially because they bear the impress of Muslim genius and culture. Whether they bear a Muslim name or Muslim associations or not the fact remains that there is Muslim brain, Muslim talent, Muslim genius, Muslim aspiration, Muslim plan, Muslim outlook, Muslim vision behind them all. Therefore on that ground also those institutions must not exist in the world because they too have been established from public revenue! If you go through Indian history for 1,000 years, you will find that Muslims have contributed most magnificently in every sphere of life, in every domain of thought, in every field of activity—philosophic, political, social, cultural, moral, spiritual and scientific. On that ground therefore the institutions established by them and contributions made by them must also disappear, because they bear the unmistakable impress of Muslim genius. Even British revenue system modelled on the system of Sher Shah must go, because it too has the touch of Muslim genius more so because they are reared from public revenue. For God's sake, don't be so partial, don't be so suspicious, don't be so parochial, don't be so narrow, don't be so communal. For God's sake, take an unbiassed view of things. After all, we have got to remain in India. Even Sardar Patel who has never been accused of partiality towards Muslims, who has never been guilty of partiality towards Muslims, during all these years—even Sardar Patel had to confess that Muslims have kept absolutely calm, unruffled and have maintained a perfect serenity of mind in the midst of provocations. But is this the way that you want to win the sympathies of Muslims, by estranging the feelings of Muslims further and further, by putting the farthest strain on their loyalty, by keeping in ferment the disgruntled Muslim minority to nurse for all time to come the ever growing sense of injustice and wrong in all spheres of life? Political domination we have stood, economic slavery we can put up with, but we are not prepared to stand this cultural domination. Throughout ages, the glory of Islam, its message of brotherhood and simple humanity, has stood the test of time, and in the name of Almighty we are determined to protect the cultural heritage of Islam at all costs.

I appeal to the Government of West Bengal: Do not ride roughshod over our culture. I would appeal to them not to rub the Muslims the wrong way. I would appeal to them to have some regard for Muslim culture and consult Muslim public opinion. They should take the Muslims into confidence before they jump to a conclusion which offends against Muslim sentiments, Muslim feelings, Muslim prestige and honour. I would appeal to the Hon'ble Minister in the name of all that is holy and sublime, in the name of the great Mahatmaji himself, in the name of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the name of our secular State, in the name of the glorious traditions of the Congress, to rise to the height of the occasion. I would appeal to them in the name of the glorious heritage of the Congress, in the name of the late Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, in the name of Surendranath Banerjee and other great leaders who have left a legacy and inspiration to undo the wrong done to Muslims and restore the name of the Islamia College.

So far as introduction of compulsory free primary education in this province is concerned, the Hon'ble Minister has anticipated my argument. About Rs. 40 lakhs have been provided in the budget for salaries of primary school teachers. That is a laudable and commendable provision. I realise the Hon'ble Minister's difficulties very much. Actually ·14 crores are necessary for implementing the assurances held out from time to time by various Governments—the predecessor Government as well as this Government—for introduction of free compulsory primary education in the province. The whole question therefore centres round finances. I can, however,

assure the Education Minister that if there are combined efforts from all sections of the House to urge upon the Government of India to give us a fairer share of the income-tax and jute duty we may augment our revenue and thereby launch an intensive drive for the spread of free compulsory primary education throughout the province. By tinkering reforms, by patchwork, by following a short-sighted policy, we cannot improve the condition of primary schools and primary school teachers throughout the province. It is time, Sir, that we did realise our great responsibility in this connection and pooled our resources, moral and material, to have a comprehensive scheme of primary education throughout the province. (Applause from Opposition benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I call upon the second speaker on the subject, I wish to draw the attention of members of the Opposition to the necessity of keeping their speeches as far as possible within certain limits. I do not want to curtail the right of freedom of expression of any member of this House, but in the light of the situation in the country I would simply appeal to them that while they are criticising the policy of the Government, the language used should be as restrained as possible. I wish again to make it clear that if the members desire to introduce a very strong language I am not here to stop them from using it, because the right of freedom of expression is possessed by the members. That is all that I have got to say.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are told that we have achieved freedom but we do not feel like that. If we have achieved freedom, in that case, development of our culture should be considered as our foremost duty. During foreign rule we had been kept as slaves politically, economically, but, Sir, the worst that happened is that we were all made the cultural slaves of our rulers. Perhaps realisation of this inspired our poet—I mean Dwijendralal Roy—to say"

"আমরা বিলেতী ধরনে হাঁসি, আমরা ফরাসী ধরনে কাশি"।

That is, we smile as an Englishman smiles and cough as a Frenchman does. Sir, it is really true that we think in terms of what we call European civilisation. Whatever is certified by Europe as good we accept as good without any reservation. Whatever is characterised as bad by Europeans we accept that as bad equally without reservation. Now that we have attained freedom, we must try to rediscover our own culture and therein discover ourselves. I congratulate the Hon'ble the Education Minister when he says that in future education at least up to the secondary stage shall be given through the medium of Bengali, so far as West Bengal is concerned. But, Sir, in order that people of Bengal may really get the education they like through the medium of their mother-language, certain preliminary arrangements must be made. I think the Hon'ble the Education Minister will not differ from me if I say that the first step that should be taken in this direction should be to create an organisation for translating knowledge of the world into Bengali. Sir, English language is rich and universal because in that language you can find all the treasures of the world both past and present. If you want to know what is there in the teachings of the Holy Quran you will find it there; if you want to know what are the teachings of the Vedas, Upanishads and ancient philosophy of India you will find them in that language. If you want to know what was the wisdom of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, ancient Greeks and Romans you will find them in that language. If, Sir, we want to raise ourselves to that height we will have to raise our language to that height too. If we want that our mother-tongue should be raised to the level of world's one of the first-class languages, in that case the step that I have suggested should be considered as the first and the most important step. It is a pity, Sir, if I want to know something of ancient India I will have to take assistance of the English language. It is with great difficulty that one

can find here in Calcutta even a standard copy of the Bengali translation of Srimad Bhagavat Gita. The other day I found to my satisfaction—satisfaction because I feel happy when I find that the people of Bengal are taking interest in their own culture—in the room of my esteemed friend Sri Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji a Bengali translation of Yoga Vasishta Ramayana. I asked him if that book was available in the market. He said that was the last copy that he could procure from the publishers. Therefore, not to speak of the intellectual giants' contributions to world knowledge of Europe, America, the Middle East, the Far East, it is very difficult even to find Bengali translations of classic books of Indian philosophy and Indian culture. Therefore, Sir, I would urge upon the Government to consider very seriously if money spent on this account they would consider as well spent or not. Now, Sir, we in the past, have been forced to read books manufactured by Great Britain who had stability of their empire in India uppermost in their minds. Though history, geography, in fact all the branches of knowledge were taught to us from text-books written from that standpoint, only a few years ago the people of Bengal, Hindus and Muslims alike, I remember, created a serious agitation for removing the Black Hole Monument from where it was. The people of Bengal, Hindus and Muslims jointly organised the Serajuddowla Day. Why? Because they learnt from the researches of all disinterested and patriotic Bengali historians that the Nawab Serajuddowla, the last independent king of Bengal was just not the same man as he was represented by the British and others. Sir, the other day I came across a very nice radio talk given by a reputed Professor of Calcutta, Sri Tripurari Chakraverty. The talk was a Bengali talk "Bharater Itihase moulik niti"—the fundamental and the basic principles of Indian history. That appealed to me so much that I personally met him and requested him to write a comprehensive book on that subject. If the history of India be re-written in the light of the learned Professor's thesis, in that case that and that alone will create an atmosphere in which Hindus and Muslims will forget all communalism and really become one people. Mere change of name of a college would not help creation of that atmosphere which we so much desire. Similarly, Sir, the geography of India was written in a manner that kept us blind of our own resources and potentialities. Sir, today we talk of secular state and secular education. But in my humble opinion I do not find anywhere any such thing as secular education strictly speaking. Every nation, every civilisation has some "ism" as the foundation of its civilisation. That may not be religion. For instances, in Russia, the rulers of Russia have also an "ism", I call it their religion and everybody knows, Sir, from the beginning up to the end of education the whole system has been so altered that none is permitted to get any education which is not consistent with their "ism" of life I do not want to be so much fanatic. I want to be liberal but, Sir, in the name of liberalism, I am not prepared to sacrifice our own culture. Here I am not talking of Hindu culture or Muslim culture. At any rate due to the peculiar geographical and historical conditions of India and for that matter Bengal within India as such has also distinctive culture of its own. Let us all combine together to re-discover that culture and build our own future destiny on the basis of that culture. For that all the branches of knowledge will have to be re-written.

Even in Russia communist history, communist geography, communist chemistry and communist physics, etc., exist. So we must understand and realise the importance of this. By mere slogans, by the promulgation of section 144, by passing of the Security Act and all these and by repressive and oppressive measures we cannot protect our own culture from outside attacks. Sir, if it be necessary for the maintenance of law and order—since this is not the occasion for that—I leave it at that. But in order to protect ourselves from external aggression of ideas and ideologies we must bring home the treasures of our cultural knowledge by translating the world

knowledge into Bengali and re-writing text-books for our schools and colleges as also for common readers from the standpoint of our own culture. These are the two things that are absolutely necessary. I feel perfectly sure that if this be done, you will find that the whole of Bengal Muslims and Hindus together will be proud and conscious of their own culture which they do not know now.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion for serious consideration of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education and his honourable colleagues in the present Ministry as also the honourable members of his party; and as, Sir, the Hon'ble Minister in his speech addressed an appeal to the members of this chamber as also the outside world, so by this resolution I want to draw the serious attention of the members of this House and also of the world outside to my proposition.

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Sir, regarding changing the name of Islamia College into Central Calcutta College, I desire to point out that the Government has been wrongly advised in the matter. The college, it may be remembered, was founded by Mr. Fazlul Huq with a donation of Rs. 4,50,000 out of Muslim Education Fund. A mosque is attached to the college which is nowhere to be found in this province. If the nomenclature has really been changed out of the policy of the Government to discourage denominational colleges, one fails to see why Sanskrit College and Hindu School are still a close preserve for Hindu boys. It was only on the 7th March last that the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister to the Government of India, declared from his seat in the Indian Parliament that there was no proposal for changing the name of the Hindu University at Benares and of the Muslim University at Aligarh. In fairness to the Muslims who are educationally backward 85 per cent. of seats should be reserved for Muslim students. The course of religious instruction and the arrangement for teaching Urdu as second language and the grant of stipends to the poor Muslim students, which have been revoked, should be restored without delay. In my deliberate opinion the college should be named after "Serajuddowla" who is respected by Hindus and Muslims alike.

Sir, the abolition of Hooghly Islamic Intermediate College has come upon the Muslim community as a rude shock and is viewed with the greatest regret by them. This was a highly useful institution for them as it was the only one of its kind in this province. This college used to provide instructions to students in Islamic Culture and Studies and as such cannot be said to be communal. If that were so, the Calcutta University would not have made provision for teaching Islamic History and Culture in the post-graduate classes in the Faculty of Arts. By no stretch of language or imagination can it be said that the Calcutta University has any bias in favour of Muslims. It has undoubtedly done it in the interests of true education. If the University has thought it necessary to provide additional facilities, does it behove the Government to withdraw the facilities that were already there? Sir, I submit that it is truism to say that the maintenance by the Government of this age-long institution is to encourage theological institution for any particular community. Many students after completion of their studies in this college, join general colleges and the abolition of this college will no longer enable the students to do so. I have received many representations on the subject. It is indeed a matter of the greatest regret that when orders were passed in the month of Decemebr, 1948, for abolition of the college, there were not less than 21 students in the first year class, and their courses had advanced considerably. The abolition of first year class at that time of the year meant irreparable loss to their studies and spelt disaster to them. I appeal to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education to please reconsider his decision and restore the college and thus allow the Muslims to preserve their religion and culture.

Sir, the demand for introduction of free primary education is not new and has been looming large before the public mind for a long time. If I remember aright, it was first prominently raised by Mr. Gokhale who by his unrivalled debating powers succeeded in convincing his opponents that it is the primary concern of the Government to introduce free and compulsory education for the boys of a certain age. Though this principle was accepted actual progress regarding implementation of the scheme has been very slow, the question of funds standing in the way. The appalling illiteracy of the masses compelled even the bureaucratic British Government to take action, but as it is essentially a provincial matter, the different provinces were directed to take the matter up with their own resources. As a result of persistent agitation the Bengal Rural Primary Education Act was passed in 1930. The scheme of the Act, as we know very well, is the formation of District School Boards to whose charge the primary education of the rural areas was transferred from the care of District Boards and they were empowered to impose cess at a fairly high rate. There were inherent defects in the scheme and it did not go far enough. The step-motherly treatment accorded by the Government to this very important subject resulted in the scheme being not introduced all over the province. The district of Hooghly, for example, has adopted it very late; a survey was undertaken only two years ago and the scheme prepared by the local authorities still awaits the departmental sanction. The scheme is defective—it requires revision. It does not go far enough—there is no provision for giving capital grants for building schools in suitable centres with the result that in the scheme submitted only some of the existing schools have been retained and approved. The salutary rule that no pupil should be made to walk more than a mile from his or her home to reach the school could not be given effect to for fear of increasing the number of schools. The scale of pay of the primary teachers as recently announced by the Government is still far below their requirements. It is plain that these useful public servants must be given a living wage. Unless their demand is met to a reasonable extent there can be no solution of this burning problem. It is true, considerable funds are needed to give full effect to the scheme, but the Government must not shirk its duty on the ground of paucity of funds. I am not unconscious of the fact that funds have been set apart for the Adult Education Scheme but that does not absolve the Government of its duty of imparting free and compulsory primary education in the province.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motions to the acceptance of the House.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমাদের দেশের জনসাধারণ যারা আমাদের দেশে খাদ্য এবং ধন-সম্পদ উৎপাদন করে সেই চাষী এবং জন মজুর, তারা শিক্ষার দিক দিয়ে চিরদিনই উপেক্ষিত এবং বঞ্চিত হয়ে এসেছে। এই সমস্ত লোকদের যে রকম ভাবে শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত ছিল, যে রকম ভাবে তাদের প্রতি মনযোগ দেওয়া উচিত ছিল তা দেওয়া হয়নি। ইংরাজের আমল থেকে ২০০ বৎসর ধরে আমাদের দেশে শিক্ষার পদ্ধতি কি ছিল? আমাদের দেশের লোককে কিভাবে সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ইংরাজ শিক্ষা দিয়েছিল তা কারো অজানা নাই। দেশের যারা প্রকৃত মেরুদণ্ড চাষী তাদেরকে চিরদিনই শিক্ষার দিক দিয়ে পিছনে ফেলে রেখে মাত্র মুষ্টিমেয় কতকগুলি লোককে এই ইংরাজী শিক্ষার সুযোগ দিয়ে তাদেরকে করা হয়েছিল কেরাণী থেকে আরম্ভ করে I. C. S. পর্য্যন্ত বড় বড় officer। এবং ইংরাজ এদের দ্বারাই দেশ শাসন করেছিলেন। কিন্তু যারা প্রকৃত দেশের ধন এবং সম্পদ উৎপাদনের মালিক, যারা ফসল সৃষ্টির মালিক, যারা দেশকে চিরদিনই খাইয়ে এসেছে, যারা দেশের চিরদিনই অন্ন বস্ত্র যুগিয়েছে তাদেরকে দেওয়া হয়েছে ফাঁকি শিক্ষার দিক দিয়ে। আমাদের সমাজের বিরাট অট্টালিকার সম্মুখ দিকটা উচ্চ শিক্ষার চুনকাম দিয়ে সুন্দর ও মার্জিত করা হয়েছে, আর বাকী গোটা অট্টালিকাই জীর্ণ অবস্থায় পড়ে আছে। আজ যখন আমরা স্বাধীন হয়েছি এবং আমাদের সমাজকে নূতন ভাবে গড়বার জন্য সুবর্ণ সুযোগ পেয়েছি তখন আমাদের সমাজের যে জীর্ণ ভাগটা ভগ্নপ্রায় হয়ে রয়েছে সেটাকে মেরামত ও সংস্কার করে আমাদের এই জাতীয় অট্টালিকাকে সুদৃঢ় এবং মজবুত করে তুলতে হবে। এটা আমাদের সকলেরই জানা আছে যে পাশ্চাত্য জাতিরা শিক্ষার বলেই এত

উন্নত হতে পেরেছে। যে জাতি যত শিক্ষিত সে জাতি তত সভ্য ও শক্তিশালী। আমেরিকা, ইংরাজ প্রভৃতি পাশ্চাত্য জাতিদের শতকরা প্রত্যেকটি লোক শিক্ষিত এবং এই জন্যই তারা জগতের মধ্যে বিশ্ব-শক্তিতে পরিণত হতে পেরেছে। আজ যদি আমরা একটি বিশ্ব-শক্তিতে পরিণত হতে চাই তবে আমাদের সমস্ত দৈহিক ও মানসিক শক্তির চরম বিকাশ করতে হবে। অতএব আমাদের দেশের প্রত্যেকটি লোককে যদি সুশিক্ষিত, সুসভ্য ও শক্তিমান করে তুলতে না পারি তাহলে আজ দুনিয়ার মধ্যে স্বার্থে স্বার্থে যেভাবে সংঘাত চলেছে, যে রকম ভাবে আর একটি বিশ্বযুদ্ধের মেঘ ঘনিয়ে আসছে, এক জাতি অন্য জাতিকে ধ্বংস করবাব জন্য যেরূপ আয়োজন এবং ষড়যন্ত্র করছে তার সম্মুখীন হয়ে যদি আমাদেরকে একটি শক্তিমান জাতি হিসাবে, একটি উন্নত জাতি হিসাবে বেঁচে থাকতে হয়, এই সংঘাতের ভিতব দিয়ে যদি আমাদের টিকে থাকতে হয় তাহলে আমাদেব দেশেব প্রত্যেকটি লোককে অনতিবিলম্বে তার শিক্ষার সুযোগ দিতে হবে, তাকে শিক্ষাব আলোকে আলোকিত কবতে হবে, তাকে মানুষ করে তুলতে হবে। আজ আমাদের দেশের বেশীর ভাগ লোক অনুন্নত এবং অস্পৃশ্য হয়ে সমাজেব অতি নিম্নতম স্তরে রয়েছে। তাদেরকে মানুষ করবার জন্য আজ আমাদের যে বকম আয়োজন এবং ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত, শিক্ষা যে রকম দেওয়া উচিত তা আমরা দেবার ব্যবস্থা কবছি না। যে কোন ওজুহাতে আমবা তাদেবকে শিক্ষা ও সভ্যতা থেকে বঞ্চিত করে রেখে আসছি। এই সমস্ত চির-উপেক্ষিত, চিব-পশ্চাৎপদ, অনুন্নত এবং অস্পৃশ্য, যারা আমাদের দেশের সমাজের অধঃপতনের অতল গহ্বরে পড়ে আছে তাদেবকে দবকাবী শিক্ষা দিয়ে উপবে টেনে তোলবার জন্য শিক্ষাখাতে যেরূপ ব্যয় বরাদ্দ করা উচিত ছিল তা কবা হয়নি।

আর primary শিক্ষকদেব যে মাইনে দেওয়া হয়েছে, যে বেতন-বৃদ্ধি কবা হয়েছে সে বেতন হিসাব কবলে বুঝতে পারা যায় যে এই primary শিক্ষাকে আমরা কতদূব হেয় এবং অবজ্ঞার চক্ষে দেখে আসছি। যাদের হাতে জাতির ভবিষ্যৎ গড়বাব ভাব রয়েছে সেই শিক্ষকদেব মাইনেব হিসাব হচেছ এই Matric G. T. শিক্ষককে দেওয়া হবে ২৭৲, দ্বিতীয় শিক্ষককে ১৯৲ টাকা এবং তৃতীয় শিক্ষককে দেওয়া হবে ১৫৲ টাকা। বর্ত্তমান আর্থিক সঙ্কটের যুগে যখন চতুর্দ্দিকে জীবনযাত্রা নিয়ে মানুষ জীবন-মবণ সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয়েছে সেই সময় এই শিক্ষকদেব এত অল্প বেতন দেওয়াটা আমাদের জাতীয়তা বা মানবতাব পক্ষে একটি কলঙ্ক বলেই আমি মনে করি। সরকারী officeএব চাপরাশী, আর্দ্দালী, পিওনদেবও মাইনে প্রাইমাবী শিক্ষকদেব উক্ত মাইনেব দুগুণ তিন গুণের চেয়েও বেশী, অথচ এই সমস্ত শিক্ষক, যারা আমাদেব শিশুসন্তানদের শিক্ষার ভার গ্রহণ করেছে, জাতিকে নীচে থেকে গড়ে তোলবাব দায়িত্ব যাদের স্কন্ধে বয়েছে তাদেরকে এই বকম ভাবে বেতনের দিক দিয়ে এত হেয় করে জীবনযাত্রাব সামান্যতম অধিকাব থেকে বঞ্চিত বাখা আমি মহাপাপ বলে মনে কবি।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN : পাপেব কথায় কি হয়?

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : সুতবাং আমি আমাদেব শিক্ষাসচীবকে অনুবোধ করবো—

(Here the member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Janab MOLLA MOHAMMAD ABDUL HALIM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope I shall not be dubbed as communal if I focus the attention of the House to the difficulties of those who happen to be Muslims. Muslims, as is known to all, are hopelessly backward in education. They are steeped in deep ignorance and poverty. It is the duty of the Government to raise them up. Otherwise there is no chance of their standard of living being raised. Sir, the strength of chain is judged by the strength of its Deaker link. If you want to make the chain strong, you must see that all its links are strong enough to bear the strain of hard struggle. The Muslim boys of the Krishnagar College have been hard hit by the policy of the Government of not granting them concessions in the shape of free studentship, stipends—either Mohsin or Government. In those days when a foreign Government was ruling over us, the poor boys, in view of their poverty, were given certain concessions. But, Sir, now that we are enjoying freedom, it is strange that we should be denied those concessions. Sir, I would request Government to reconsider this policy of not granting any

concession. They are very poor. If you do not give them any concession, higher education will be a taboo to them and that will be a slur on the Government. In this connection I will request Government to enlighten us as to where we stand with regard to the Mohsin Fund. We have a rightful claim on the substantial portion of the Fund and I hope Government will not allow our case to go by default.

Sir, I will just say a few words about village libraries. I went through the Red Book but was disappointed not to find any grant earmarked for village libraries. Sir, Government is spending a decent amount, nearly a crore, for primary education. That is good. But unless and until they start village libraries, the amount spent for primary education will not yield full value. The peasant boys do not generally go up to class four. So there is chance of their lapsing into illiteracy soon after leaving the school. If there are libraries, they can go there and read books and improve upon what they picked up in school. I hope, Sir, Government will earmark a decent amount to propagate village libraries. These things are very essential for the upliftment of villages.

Sir, with these words I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this debate has generated much heat, but I do not like to add fuel to the fire, because in my opinion that is not fair and Koran has not taught that. There is a verse in the Koran "God never changes the circumstance of the people unless they change it themselves". That is the verse of the Koran. Then there is a common adage among the Muslims of Bengal or, for the matter of that, of India or the whole of the world. That is, the help of God comes only to the brave—brave not only in physical activities but brave in everything. Thus the Koran teaches us two things. Firstly, the circumstance of the people never changes unless people change it themselves and secondly the help of God comes only to the brave. These are the two maxims.

Then another verse in the Koran says: "Infidels of Mecca, Jews well you have discarded the fate of our fore-fathers." What is the mission of our life? Then he prayed to the Almighty as to what answer Hazrat Mohammad will deliver and the inspiration came from high "Well Muhammad, preach to the world." What will he preach? He will preach, said Kalu Muhammad, "my life is for God, my action is for God, I die for God, I live for God; I act for God; I die for God. And, what is the significance Sir, of God? God is the supreme, is the symbol of humanity." Therefore, Sir, man is a true symbol of humanity and a man's mission in life is to serve humanity; if he dies he should die in the service of humanity; he acts in the service of humanity; if he lives he lives for the service of humanity. These are the things, Sir, which have been promulgated in the Quran. Now, Sir, let us come to the point. Sir, my friend the Hon'ble Education Minister has expressed his inability to provide education, free education, free primary education, free secondary education, free university education. But, Sir, if he pretends that he is a member of a democratic and civilized government, Sir, it is his bounden duty to provide the right to work, the right to education, equal rights for women, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, place and assembly of organisation. These are the human rights, Sir. That is to say, the Government is bound to provide free education, all aspects of education, whether it is primary, whether it is secondary or whether it is university, that does not matter. My friend pleads inability for making provision for these things because he says, Sir, that he is short of funds. He has only a few crores or a few lakhs at his disposal whereas this huge affair of imparting free education will require in respect of primary education alone 14 crores and in respect of secondary education perhaps another 10 crores and in respect of university education perhaps another 5/6 crores, and therefore, Sir, he

pleads his inability. Now, Sir, what does that show? He is totally unfit for the work he has undertaken; he is totally incompetent for the work he has undertaken of civilizing the country. The Hon'ble Minister says, "Where shall we get the money?" The Quran says that the circumstance is never changed unless you change it yourselves, and the help of God goes to the brave. Now, Sir, there is no want of money in the whole country. If he goes through the economic development of Belgium, of Denmark, of Holland,—I read it the other day,—Switzerland, France and even Germany, the economic history of the civilized democratic countries shows that if you organise agriculture, agriculture is the wealth, it is agriculture which feeds the people; it is agriculture which moves the mills; it is agriculture which does sundry other things, that is to say, the improvement of Agriculture is at the root of all things. Sir, if you organise the villages——

Mr. SPEAKER: Please speak on the point, on the subject of Education.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, it is not irrelevant in this way that all development means education. The Hon'ble Minister says he has not got money. It is because he has no power of organisation. But if he organises the agriculture, if he organises the villages he will get enough money. That is my point. Therefore it is perfectly relevant. (There was laughter in the Treasury Benches.) My friends over there are laughing, because they do not understand these things. But I am very serious. I am not laughing. (Interruptions.) Well, if you go on interrupting me in this way, I cannot talk.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please address the Chair.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: But, Sir, your client is interrupting me.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir. Is it parliamentary for a member to call another member in the Assembly the Speaker's client?

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, everybody is my client in this House. (Laughter.)

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Now, Sir, let me trace the history of Belgium first. It is a small country but it is one of the richest countries in Europe. When distress fell upon Belgium they took to agriculture on a co-operative basis.

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

Sir, may I have a few minutes more? Now, Sir, the economic development includes education. I only beg to remind the Education Minister that the first development in respect of an illiterate country is the development of education and with the development of education comes the development of agriculture. These Belgian people thought that they must take to Education first. It is for this reason that they organised the entire population of Belgium. They thought that preliminary to all sorts of development is education itself. Therefore, Sir, they started free education on a co-operative basis. That means every householder, every family, every cultivator, every agriculturist contributed something say, 1/10th of his income or 1/5th of his income or any income which would be sufficient for imparting free education, secondary education and even higher education to the entire people who came within the purview and fold of co-operation. In this way in Belgium all the people——

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, may I have a minute to finish my speech?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, please sit down.

Janab HUSAN ARA BEGUM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would be failing in my duty if I did not voice the feelings of the Muslims who are in a minority today. After listening to the speech of the Hon'ble Education Minister regarding the education of the children in their mother-tongue, I do not think there is much necessity for saying anything on this matter and I leave it to his discretion for giving us facilities to educate our children in the right manner as good citizens of free India. I will not take the time of the House any longer, but I would like to point out to the Education Minister the feeling of the Muslims who have been seriously perturbed by the change in the name of the Islamia College. And I do specially appeal to him that after hearing the speech of my honourable friend Syed Badrudduja and other members from this side of the House, the Hon'ble Education Minister will take into consideration the feeling of the Muslims who are in a minority and at the present moment, I am constrained to say, classed as a backward community. I still entertain hopes for a better future, and I hope that the future of education which is in the hands of the Education Minister is bright in which Muslims will have their rightful place and will move side by side with the other citizens of free India.

Sir, as regards the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' High School I do not wish to say much, but still I would draw the attention of the Hon'ble Education Minister, who had been kind enough to look into the question of the bus drivers and others who were discharged, to that question again, and I do sincerely hope that he will redress our grievances.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, all the cut motions raise fundamental issues, but I propose to concentrate on the one relating to the changing of the name of the Islamia College.

Sir, over this question the Muslim mind has been moved to its profoundest depths and an indication of that was found this afternoon in the wonderful oratory and exposition of the case made by my honourable friend Janab Syed Badrudduja. Sir, I have been asked by the Chair to use temperate language and I shall do so. The Hon'ble Minister, in a fatuous speech, tried to tell the House that the Hon'ble Minister felt and his Government felt that communal names might tend to foster communalism in the country, which we all agree, is baneful. Sir, I should have felt that was right and I should have thought that he was sincere if he had tried to keep the name and see whether the name "Islamia" did actually and in fact foster communalism. Sir, the honourable members before me had occasion to tell the House how the Muslims have behaved, how they have adjusted themselves to the new set-up. But, Sir, what the Minister wanted to make out is not the real reason. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education took this recourse in order to launch an attack on Muslim sentiments and Muslim culture. More than Muslim culture his attack is directed to Muslim sentiments because Muslim culture will survive all these attacks. But this wanton attack will not certainly win or get him the reward of Muslim confidence of which today in India we are badly in need. He should have been again consistent in his argument when he wanted to rename the Islamia College, if he had the courage to rename other institutions which bear communal names, viz., the Hindu School. He was not satisfied, Sir, with throwing open the doors of the Islamia College to non-Muslims, even then he felt that the name would injure the inter-communal harmony and amity. But he has not had the courage to throw open the doors of the Hindu School and other denominational schools to Muslims. Sir, he has felt constrained to remark that he is not sympathetic towards madrasahs because expert opinion taught him that madrasahs did not provide a thorough grounding in Islamic studies. May I ask the Hon'ble Minister whose opinion is that? Supposing the opinion is infallible and correct, would it not be proper for the Hon'ble Minister at the present juncture when we want friendship with all communities to devise ways and means to incorporate the true perspective into these institutions and to see

that they fulfil their object? Instead of that what has he done? He has used that as an excuse for withholding his sympathies to that form of education.

Sir, today the matter about the drivers and the menial staff of the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' High School has been raised on the floor of the House. Sir, while endorsing the views expressed by the honourable member preceding me, I want to add another thing. It has come to light and I brought it to the notice of the officers of the Education Department that all kinds of subterfuges, excuses and recourses to untruths were had in refusing admission of Muslim girls to the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' High School which was founded primarily by Muslims. Sir, this is a matter of great moment for the Muslim citizens of Calcutta and I expect that the Hon'ble Minister will reply to it when he gets up to make his reply.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: What is the matter the honourable member is referring to, Sir?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I am referring to the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' High School which refused admission to Muslim girls under various excuses and subterfuges. This is a grave matter, and, if the Hon'ble Minister has heard me, I brought it to the notice of the Education Department. I do not know what their findings are. If the Hon'ble Minister is in possession of those findings, he will please tell the House what those findings are.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I want to add one word.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, you cannot do anything.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: One word only.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, I cannot allow you to speak.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: One word, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am very sorry I cannot permit a member to deliver another speech—even he cannot add one word—unless it is a question of personal explanation.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: About drivers that he raised.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, please sit down.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, শিক্ষা সম্পর্কে বেশী করে টাকা দিয়ে, বেশী স্কুল হওয়া, বেশী পাঠশালা, বিদ্যালয় হওয়া, এই সব আমরা চেয়েছি ও আলোচনা করেছি। কিন্তু যা আছে সে সব কি অবস্থায় আছে সে সম্পর্কে আমি এখানে দু'একটা কথা বোলতে চাই। যা আছে তা দেখে মনে হয় শিক্ষা এবং শিক্ষালয়গুলির ব্যবস্থা আগা গোড়া ফাঁকি। এখানে তো স্কুল গুলি আছে, কিন্তু পাড়াগাঁয়ে যে সব প্রাইমারী স্কুল আছে তাব অধিকাংশই পড়ে গেছে। প্রাইমারী Education Fund থেকে ঘর মেরামতির বরাদ্দ শতকরা মাত্র দুই টাকা অর্থাৎ 2 per cent. ধার্য্য করা হয়েছে, এবং সেই 2 per cent.এর বেশী দেওয়া নিষিদ্ধ, ফলে নিম্ন প্রাইমারী স্কুলেব ঘরগুলি নামে মাত্র আছে। Civil Supply আর Militaryর কল্যাণে কোন জায়গায়ই স্কুল বলে আসলে কিছুই নাই। যে স্কুল ১০টায় বসবার কথা, বসে ১২টায়, যেখানে ৪টায় ছুটি হবার কথা দুটোর পর সেখানে কেউ থাকে না। অনুসন্ধান করলে বলে মর্নিংএ স্কুল হয়েছিল, আবার মর্নিংএ গেলে বলে ১১টা কি ১২ টায় বসবে। তাদের ছুটির বহরের কথা শুনুন। Education Department থেকে ধার্য্য করা হয়েছে যে ৮৫ দিনের বেশী ছুটি হবে না। সেটার মানে সব জায়গায় করা হয়েছে পঁচাশি দিনের কম হবে না। তার উপর Half holiday এবং মরা বাঁচার ছুটি, এ সব ত আছেই। শুক্‌নোর দিনে হবে Morning School, তারপরেই আসবে লম্বা Summer Vacationএর ১॥ মাস ২ মাস ছুটি, তার পরে বর্ষা শেষ হতে না হতেই আসবে পূজার ছুটি। শুক্‌নোর সময় অর্থাৎ বৈশাখ জ্যৈষ্ঠ মাসে থাকে স্কুলের পড়া

বন্ধ, যত কিছু পড়ার সময় গিয়ে পড়ে বর্ষাকালে, যখন নাকি পাড়াগাঁয়ের রাস্তাঘাট থাকবে ডুবে, ছেলেদের থাকবেনা ছাতা, ফলে স্কুলে যেতে না যেতেই বই গুলি ভিজিয়ে এনে বাড়ী ফিরে আসে, এসেই বলে যে Rainy Day হয়েছে।

অনেকে বলেন যে শিক্ষকদের মাইনে কম হওয়া এ সমস্তের একটা কারণ, কিন্তু যদি অনুপাত কষা যায় তাহলে দেখা যাবে যে তারা যে মাইনে পায় ছুটিটা তার সঙ্গে যোগ করলে বোধ হয় মাইনেটা ডবল হয়ে দাঁড়াবে। ছুটির বেলায় হাইকোর্টের জজ্‌ও শিক্ষকদের সঙ্গে পারবে না। ছুটি, কেবলি ছুটি। পড়া যা কিছু সে কেবল Private tutorএর দ্বারা। এইতো অবস্থা। আজকাল তাই ছেলেদের দেখ্‌লে ভয় হয়। ছেলেদের যেখানে পড়া হয় না, পড়ানোও হয় না, সেক্ষেত্রে তাদের উপর কারো কোন প্রভাব প্রতিপত্তিও হয় না। সেইজন্য ছেলেরাও সব দুর্বিনীত হচ্চে। স্কুলে যে সব Strike হয় তাতে ছাত্র ও শিক্ষক উভয়ই আছে। অনেক সময় ছেলেদের Strike করতে শিখিয়ে দেওয়া হয়। সুতরাং সেখানে আগাগোড়া ফাঁকি। বিদ্যালয় ত নয়ই সব যেন মহাবিদ্যালয়। মহাবিদ্যা, বড় বিদ্যা না করে যা আছে সেগুলিকে ভাল করাটা যাতে যায় তাই দেখা উচিত।

আর একটা বিষয় আছে বইয়ের ফর্দ্দ। সে ফর্দ্দ এত লম্বা যে ছেলেদের ত দূরের কথা অনেক সময় মা বাপে বইতে পারে কিনা সন্দেহ। আর চাষা ভুষার পক্ষে কেনাই অসাধ্য। Universityরও গলদ আছে। একটা গল্প বদলে দিয়ে হলো Prose Selection, একটা কবিতা বদলে দিয়ে হলো Poetry Selection. কেন নুতন বই। আগাগোড়া ফাঁকি, আর জোচ্চুরি। এ শিক্ষা বাড়ানো ছাড়া কমিয়ে দেওয়াই উচিত। এবং কমিয়ে দিয়ে নতুন করে নতুন ছাঁচে যদি কিছু করতে পারেন তবে করুন। নৈলে লোকেদের ফাঁকি দিয়ে স্কুলের নামে আড্ডা খেলার কোন মানে হয় না।

মাদ্রাসার Educationও যা হতো তা আর হবার উপায় নাই, ছেলেদের বই পত্রাদি কেমন কি হবে জানার উপায় নাই, সেগুলি এখান থেকেই দেবেন না ঢাকা থেকে দেবেন তার কিছু ঠিক নাই। কিন্তু আপনারা যখন এতসব কমিটি করেছেন শিক্ষার নামে, মাদ্রাসার বিষয়ে একটা কমিটি করুন, কোন ক্ষেত্রে যেমন অতুল গুপ্তকে দেওয়া হয়েছে, কোন ক্ষেত্রে যেমন Justice Mukherjee কে দেওয়া হয়েছে, আমাদের ক্ষেত্রে Justice দুচার জন না থাকলেও বে-জাষ্টিস্ দু'চার জন ত আছেন তাদের দিয়েই না হয় করুন—

(At this stage the member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Sir, I would like to speak a few words.

Mr. SPEAKER: No.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Five minutes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, I have got to finish the business of the House. The best thing is to give the names of speakers beforehand so that I can regulate the debate and finish it within the time. My difficulty is that there is no Chief Whip and there is no Opposition. As a matter of fact, I have given about three hours' time over the Education grant. Now, please allow the Education Minister to speak.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have not that love for the music of my own voice as Mr. Badrudduja has for his own. Like Narcissus of the Greek Mythology enraptured with the image of his beauty, he is infatuated with the love of his own voice. He spins phrases and phrases till he loses himself in the mazes of his own phrases and takes leave of logic almost at every turn. His cut motion raises "a discussion about the intensely communal policy of the Government in de-Islamizing the educational atmosphere changing overnight names of institutions like the Islamia College, while keeping intact all other denominational institutions."

Now, Sir, the point is that Mr. Badrudduja's vocabulary differs altogether from ours. What he calls national is in our estimation highly communal and what he calls communalism is in our view nationalism. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Quite.) Communalism has been the bane of our public life since the province came to be ruled by the Muslim League. Sir, if you change the communal name of a state college, you are at once dubbed as

a communalist. Can anybody tell me why should public funds be appropriated or rather misappropriated to the name and use of a particular community? I should say it is misappropriation of public funds to name a state college or a state institution after a single community. Mr. Badrudduja has said that with a large sum contributed out of the Mohsin Fund the Islamia College was started. (The pronunciation of the word "Mohsin" was corrected by some members of the Opposition.) Yes. I am quite prepared to stand corrected in the pronunciation of Arabic or Persian names and take lessons from you, but only in that respect and in no other.

As I was saying, Sir, Mr. Badrudduja has said that the college was started with a large contribution from the Mohsin Fund. Sir, that is absolutely untrue. Not a single pice from any Muslim Fund or Mohsin Fund went towards the establishment of the college. Had there been large contributions from the Muslim community towards the establishment of the college, there would have been some justification for saying that the college should continue to bear a communal name. But there is not a shred of such justification at all. Not a rupee was contributed to the establishment of the Islamia College from the Mohsin Fund or from any fund which was raised by the Muslim community. That is my first point.

Secondly, Sir, about the alleged contribution from the Muslim Education Fund. That is also, so far as information goes, not true. But even if that be true, that was a State Fund, that was not a private fund. Therefore, Sir, the Islamia College may be taken to be a college that was established entirely with money from State Fund. That being the case, this Government is perfectly justified in throwing that institution open to all the communities and changing the communal name of the institution.

The question has been raised why then the name of the Hindu School has not been changed. That is a pertinent question indeed and that requires an answer. The name of the Hindu School could not be changed because of a past promise, and that again was given because the Hindu School, which was originally established as a Hindu College, was founded with large contributions from the Hindus. Up till 1854 the institution bore the name "Hindu College".

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: It derived no public revenue?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Contribution from public revenue might have been forthcoming afterwards, but a large amount was contributed by the Hindu community at the inception.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Public revenue is the revenue of all classes of people.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, will you not protect the speaker from these interruptions?

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, certain interruptions are allowed.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I was telling you that when the Hindu College was established, it was established with large contributions from the Hindu community and the Hindu community alone.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What is the percentage of that contribution?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Please don't disturb me.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What is the percentage of public revenue?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order; order. The interruptions should not take the shape of chaos and too much interruption is not permissible. A certain amount of interruption is permissible if you can condense your questions into one or two words?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, up till 1854 the college continued in the name of Hindu College. In the year 1854 at the instance of the then Lieutenant-Governor the Hindu College or rather the Senior Department of the Hindu College was closed and from its ashes the Presidency College emerged. The Senior Department or Collegiate Section of the Hindu College was then thrown open to all the communities and when it was thrown open to all the communities, the name was changed to Presidency College. It is on the analogy of the Presidency College that we have changed the name of the Islamia College to Central Calcutta College after it was thrown open to all the communities. So there was a precedent to guide us. Now, when the Senior Department of the Hindu College was thrown open to all the communities and its name was changed to Presidency College, an undertaking was given to the then Hindu leaders, the members of the Governing Body of the institution, that the Junior Department would go by the name of the Hindu School. It was because of that past promise of the Government of the day, in recognition of the money that was raised and contributed by the Hindu community and Hindu community alone that the Hindu School continues to bear its old name today. That name can only be changed if we are asked to prove false to the past promise made for valuable consideration received from the Hindu community.

As regards other Government institutions may I be permitted to say, Sir, that there is not a second Government institution established by the State in Bengal, whether a college or a school, which goes by a communal name. It was only the Islamia College—a State College established with and run by State money—that continued to bear a communal name obviously because a communal Government had been in power for the last two decades and more.

So, there is, Sir, a great difference between the Hindu School and the Islamia College and as I have told you, I was guided by the precedent of the change of name of the Hindu College. When the Hindu College was thrown open to all the communities, the name of the Senior Department of that College was changed to Presidency College and the name of the Islamia College deserved to be changed in accordance with that precedent. Mr. Badrudduja tries to make the point that thereby we have been hostile to the great Muslim culture, but that again is not true. That is an interpretation which may be put by Mr. Badrudduja but that cannot be a correct interpretation at all. Had we any ill-feeling towards the Muslim community, had we less respect for the great Muslim culture than for other types of culture, then we would not have gone forward to re-establish the Calcutta Madrassa. It is because we have respect, great respect, for the magnificent Muslim culture that we have re-established the Calcutta Madrassa. (Interruptions.)

Mr. SPEAKER: The Hon'ble Minister is entitled to have a patient hearing. We have had enough criticisms on the subject. Will the honourable members now remain silent?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: How the change of name of the Islamia College affects the Muslim culture, it is extremely difficult for us to understand Sir, not one subject of Islamic study has been dropped in the Islamia College because of the change of name. There is the provision for teaching Urdu, provision for teaching Persian, and provision for teaching Arabic up to the Honours course.

No change has been effected in the subjects of study in the Islamia College. So it cannot be argued that by simply changing the communal name of the college we have in any way gone against the Muslim culture.

Then, Sir, Mr. Badrudduja brought in the instance of the Aligarh University and stated that its name was not changed and such being the case why should the name of the Islamia College be changed. Well, Sir, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Islamia College stand on altogether different grounds. The name of the Aligarh Muslim University has not been changed because the Aligarh University was not established and maintained simply out of State money but from large contributions by the Muslim community. And just for the same reason, I believe that the Government of India has not yet changed the name of the Benares Hindu University also. Therefore, Sir, if it still be considered "communalism" to change the name of a State college which bears a communal name then I plead guilty to the charge of such communalism. But, Sir, as we subscribe to secular politics and our state is a secular state we cannot retain the communal name of a State college. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh said that if you want the friendship of the Muslim community then you have to retain the former name of the College. I do not know what he meant by it. After all we see in this Chamber an attempt to fan up the dying flame of communalism. (Janab Syed Badrudduja: Question!) However that is what I have got to say about changing the name of the Islamia College and I think it will now be recognised that Government is perfectly justified in changing the communal name of a State college. I shall be sorry if I have not been able to convince Mr. Badruddujja, but in that case I would really feel myself incompetent to change the communal complexion of one who has followed communal politics for so many years. (Interruptions from Independent Muslim Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, the Hon'ble Minister has not told us why it is not possible for Government to throw open the Hindu School and the Bethune College to the Muslims?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I have explained the position of the Hindu School. The Bethune College is covered by the late Dakshina Ranjan Mukherjee's Trust I believe. We have got to respect the old trusts and terms of old grants and it is just for that reason we do not contemplate any change in the name of the Hooghly Mohsin College. It is for that reason that we do not wish to change the name of the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' School also. (Interruptions from Independent Muslim Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Let me now go on to the other motion moved by Mr. Badrudduja by which he intends "to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to introduce free compulsory primary education throughout the province." Three other members have tabled such a motion. Now, Sir, in my introductory speech I made it perfectly clear that so far as this Government is concerned, it is anxious to have universal compulsory primary education throughout the Province but it is only the want of required finance which stands in the way and I have given the estimate, rather of a large amount of Rs. 14 crores, that will be required to have an effective system of compulsory and universal primary education in this province. I also made mention of it in my speech that if honourable members assure me that supply I would be only too glad to implement such a scheme. I will pass on to the question that has been raised by Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar regarding the Hooghly Islamia Intermediate College. Now, Sir, the Hooghly Islamia Intermediate College students used to appear before the Dacca Board for

their examinations. They cannot do so now. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Set up such a Board here.) We are not going to set up such Boards because we are against all communal institutions, but, so far as Islamic studies and culture are concerned, we have provided for the study of Islamic subjects of those students in the Hooghly Mohsin College. They will have ample opportunities to pursue their Islamic studies there. (Interruptions from Independent Muslim Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please. I am very sorry that there is too much interruption again.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir. I quite appreciate your remarks, Sir, that there is too much interruption, but I would draw your attention to the Hon'ble Minister often repeating the word "communal" which is directed against this side of the House. I would request you, Sir, to ask the Hon'ble Minister not to do so.

Mr. SPEAKER: The word "communal" is not unparliamentary. That is being used every day and yours is not a point of order at all. I have made my position clear. A certain amount of interruption is allowed but an interruption which makes the speech absolutely inaudible cannot be permitted. If five begin talking certainly we cannot hear the Hon'ble Minister. If there is to be interruption let one of them make the interruption but not all of them at the same time and thus make the Hon'ble Minister's speech inaudible.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: We agree, Sir.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Then there is the terminological inexactitude so far as the question raised by Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar in motion No. 15 is concerned. Sir, he says that the Hooghly Islamia Intermediate College has been abolished. The Intermediate College has not been abolished but only the intermediate classes because the students, as I have said, have been given the opportunity to study in the Hooghly Mohsin College and they are perfectly free to pursue their Islamic studies in that College; they have the facilities there; there needs be no concern at all that we have hurt or propose to hurt in any way Muslim culture inasmuch as we have provided for such education of the Muslim students in the Hooghly Mohsin College.

Now, Sir, to pass on to the motion that has been moved by Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia regarding the introduction of all-round free compulsory primary education and adult education throughout the Province. I have answered the question as to why compulsory free and universal primary education cannot be immediately introduced throughout the Province. As regards the question of adult education or social education I have stated what the Government programme is in my introductory speech and we are going in for social education next year. We have provided a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs for the purpose and we hope we shall have a large subsidy from the Centre also and it will be possible for us not only to implement our programme to establish 600 centres but even to add to the number of centres.

I have given all the details as to how the pay of the primary teachers has been increased in recent years, how we have added 8 lakhs this year to 24 lakhs that had been provided before for the increase of the pay of primary teachers and then we are again going to add another 8 lakhs next year. This amount of 40 lakhs provided for the improvement of the salary of primary teachers will go to raise their scales of pay to some extent, and that is, Sir, the largest single item in our development budget.

Coming to the motion moved by Janab Abdul Halim I see he has raised two points. First of all, he asks what we have done with the Mohsin

Fund which used to be utilised in the shape of granting stipends and free-studentships to Muslim students. Sir, I hope it will be news to my friends opposite when I say that we are not getting any money since the partition from the Mohsin Estate. The money that used to be sent before by the District Magistrate of Khulna is not coming at all. The Pakistan authorities have ceased to send the money. There is no Mohsin Fund practically now in existence, for we are not getting any money from the Saidpur Trust Estate.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Why don't you press this in the Inter-Dominion Conference?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: It was raised several times in the Inter-Dominion Conference I am informed, but the question remained unanswered by the Pakistan Government.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Are we going to be deprived of the Mohsin Fund which was founded in Hooghly, because the money comes from elsewhere?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: A large part of the Mohsin Estate lies in Pakistan. If we are to recover the money, then Mr. Hashem will have to organise a raid on East Bengal to get back the money.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Yes, we are prepared to do it if Government extend their help to us.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: If he can recover the money from Pakistan, then of course we shall get the money and spend it. The Opposition will not certainly require Government help.

Then, Sir, as regards the other point that was raised by my friend Janab Abdul Halim, namely, non-payment of stipends to Muslim students of Krishnagar College, I must say that he is entirely mistaken or misinformed. His motion shows that he does not know even how many stipends are being given to the Muslim students of Krishnagar College. Sixteen Muslim students there are getting stipends varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20. I hope, in future before giving notice of a cut motion he will make sure of the ground on which he stands.

Janab MOLLA MOHAMMAD ABDUL HALIM: I am sure, Sir, that none of the Muslim students in the Krishnagar College is getting any stipend.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Halim, please take your seat. If you want to interrupt, interrupt sitting.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Then, as regards the motion moved by Janab Mudassir Hossain, I do not know whether I can take it very seriously. He wants to introduce "all-round" free compulsory primary education. Other M.L.A.'s want to have universal free, compulsory primary education, but my friend says that it must be "all-round." Probably he is impressed by the structure of the House around us or there may be another reason, namely, that there is some one amongst us who may be a square peg in a round hole.

Sir, a point has been raised by Janab Jasimuddin Ahmed in respect of primary schools. He says that primary schools are mere creches, sometimes they are not held regularly and so on and so forth. Sir, it is for the District School Board to see to that. I do not know whether Jasimuddin Saheb is on the 24-Parganas District School Board or not. But after all, he must be aware of the position having been an important member of the District School Board or rather as an ex-Chairman of the District Board, that it is the District School Boards which have the charge of looking after the primary schools in their respective areas.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: But Government must raise the percentage of money for school repairs. At present only 2 per cent. can be spent on it, but it is not possible to maintain school buildings with that small sum.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Why can't a larger percentage be spent?

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Because there is a Government order that only 2 per cent. should be spent on school repairs. The District School Board cannot go beyond that.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Are you quite sure that the School Boards approached the Government for raising the percentage?

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Yes, several times.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: During my time I have not received any representation to increase the percentage of expenditure on school building. Only the other day my friend Sri Khagendra Nath Das-Gupta said that there was some money lying with the District School Board of Jalpaiguri and they wanted to spend it for building purposes. I asked him that if the Act stood in the way, then the Jalpaiguri District School Board should make an appeal to the Government and the Government will see whether the law may be amended and more money can be spent for the purpose. But so far as contribution to primary education from the Primary Education Cess is concerned, the cess now meets only one-third of the primary education expenditure and the Government have to meet the other two-thirds. Sir, those who with care read the Budget will find that out of nearly three crores provided in the Budget for education more than one crore goes to primary education in one shape or another.

Sir, in concluding my observation——

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Will you have the courtesy to say something about my cut motion?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, Janab Abul Hashem has asked the Government to take steps for translating the knowledge of the world into Bengali. Sir, the world is not so small a thing that its literature or its knowledge can be translated into Bengali at the instance of a poor Government like the Government of West Bengal. We can depend on our learned authors and go-ahead writers to translate such books as they desire into our language. Certainly we have many eminent writers who are able and willing to do so.

As regards scientific part of the knowledge of the world, books are produced and read at some stage or another in the educational field—either in the school or in the college or in the university. As regards the translation of scientific books there is the difficult question of পরিভাষা or terminology. The Government of India recently issued a circular as to how the scientific terminology should be translated and built up. Now, on that question nothing has yet been decided by the Government of India. The Government of India intend to set up a committee for framing the terminology. We are not going to pursue the programme of the Osmania University which translated many scientific books at huge cost and then found after five or ten years that all the money was misspent for science had advanced so much that the books that were translated could serve little purpose if at all.

I think I have answered all the points excepting the question—not very relevantly raised—relating to the discharge of some of the menials of the Sakhawat Memorial School. That question, Sir, is being investigated,

viz., whether the contingency menials of that school were really at fault or not, whether they were duly warned by the Head Mistress or not, whether they failed to secure the pardon of the Head Mistress for their intransigence or not. We are told joint representation containing false allegations against the Head Mistress was made by the menial staff. That is against Government Servants' Conduct Rules and such a representation can only be visited with immediate dismissal. The Head Mistress warned the menials that they should not have done so and yet, we are told, they repeated the wrong that they had done, viz., made another joint representation against the Head Mistress.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: They made representation to the higher educational authorities to get redress against injustice.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. The Hon'ble Minister cannot be subjected to a volley of cross-examination.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: The higher authorities could have no hand in this matter. So far as the menial staff is concerned, they are entirely——(Janab Syed Badrudduja: At the mercy of the Head Mistress.) Quite, at the mercy of the Head Mistress in the interests of discipline. (Janab Syed Badrudduja: Although their conduct in the past had been quite alright.) Whether Muslims or Hindus, all must abide by rules of discipline. There can be no question of favouring the Muslims because they are Muslims when they make such representations not allowed by the Government Servants' Conduct Rules. I am, however, still enquiring into that question and have not yet come to a final decision. So far as the Head Mistress is concerned, her report is that she warned them time and again and asked them to seek pardon, they were told also that if they offered an apology, they might be pardoned, but still they did not offer any apology. (Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh: Why should they apologise when they had committed no offence?)

With these observations, I oppose all the cut motions that have been tabled and moved under misapprehension or to raise undesirable feelings in this House and commend my demand to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—12.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab.
Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab.
Badrudduja, Janab Syed.
Husan Ara Begum, Janab.
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab.
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab.
Mudassir Hossain, Janab.
Serajuddin Ahammad, Janab.

NOES—37.

Bandopadhaya, Sri Pramatha Nath.
Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar.
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prasad.
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar.
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra.
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada.
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra.
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Raj Harendra Nath.
Das, Sri Radha Nath.
Das Gupta, Sri Khagendra Nath.
Dass, Sri Kanailal.
De, Sri Kanai Lal.
Ganguli, Sri Bepin Behari.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda.
Ghose, Sri Bimal Comar.
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand.
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra.
Maiti, The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari.
Majhi, Sri Nishapati.
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra.
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad.
Mandal, Sri Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada.
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan.

Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar.
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra.
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath.
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra.
Roy, Sri Jajneswar.
Sarkar, The Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan.
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra.
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra.
Walker, Mr. J. R.

The Ayes being 12 and the Noes 37, the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abul Hashem that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 2,94,32,000 for expenditure under the head "37—Education" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that a sum of Rs. 2,94,32,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "37—Education" was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-30 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 22nd March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 22nd March, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 58 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Extension of electric supply to the eastern side of the Railway line of the Panihaty Municipality.

***30. Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Commerce and Industries Department be pleased to state if it is a fact that sanction for installation of electric connection to the area on the eastern side of the Railway line within Panihaty Municipality for domestic purpose has not been granted to the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, Ltd.?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the reason thereof;

(*ii*) if any representation has been made from (1) the Panihaty Municipal Body, and (2) the local people, for extension of electric connections in the said area; and

(*iii*) if the Government intend to accord sanction to extension of electric connection in the said area? If so, by what time?

Sri ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR on behalf of the MINISTER in charge of the COMMERCE and INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker): (*a*) Wards Nos. 5, 6 and 7 of the Panihaty Municipality on the eastern side of the Railway line are outside the licensed area of supply of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, Ltd., and the Corporation have not applied to Government for an extension of their area of supply to include the said wards of the Panihaty Municipality.

(*b*)(*i*) Does not arise.

(*ii*) Yes, a representation was received from the inhabitants of the wards Nos. 6 and 7 of the Panihaty Municipality for supply of electricity in the area.

(*iii*) Government are prepared to consider such an application from the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, Ltd., when received.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Is it outside the development plan for the supply of electricity to that locality?

Sri ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Yes, because it is outside the licensed area of supply.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Will the Government consider the desirability of supplying electricity to that locality as it is so close to the municipal and electric supply area?

Sri ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Not until the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation apply.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Is the Government aware that the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation are fighting shy of the nationalisation policy of the Government?

Sri ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: That does not arise.

Tuberculosis Hospital at 78, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta.

*31. **Shaikh MOHAMMAD RAFIQUE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Health Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(*i*) that a portion of premises No. 78, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta, is used as an indoor hospital for T.B. patients;

(*ii*) that complaints had been made by the residents of the premises to the following authorities:—

(1) Health Officer, Calcutta Corporation,

(2) Commissioner of Police, Calcutta,

(3) Secretary, His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal,

(4) Administrative Officer, Calcutta Corporation,

(5) Director of Public Health, Calcutta, and

(6) The Hon'ble the Premier of West Bengal;

(*iii*) that the portion where the T.B. Hospital is at present located was formerly used as a massage health clinic;

(*iv*) that there was a police raid on the massage health clinic and thereafter the T.B. Relief Association has been started in the premises; and

(*v*) that establishment of T.B. Indoor Hospital is not permissible in the city of Calcutta.

MINISTER in charge of the HEALTH DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY): (*i*) A portion of the ground floor is used as a small T.B. clinic run by the Tuberculosis Relief Association for diagnosis and advice to T.B. patients between the hours 12-30 p.m. and 2-30 p.m. This is an outdoor clinic where no indoor patients are kept. A list of the physicians attending the clinic is laid on the Table.

(*ii*) No such complaint can be traced except one addressed to the Health Officer, District III, Calcutta Corporation. The Health Officer made enquiries and ascertained that no treatment is undertaken in the clinic and no patients are, therefore, kept.

(*iii*) No. The massage clinic, which is abolished, was situated on the first floor while the T.B. clinic lies on the ground floor.

(*iv*) No.

(*v*) There is no existing rule or law preventing the establishment of a T.B. Indoor Hospital in the city.

Statement referred to in clause (i) of reply to starred question No. 31

LIST OF PHYSICIANS ATTENDING THE T.B. CLINIC AT 78, DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA

Visiting Doctors

Senior Visiting Physicians—

(1) Dr. H. K. Roy, M.D.

(2) Dr. P. K. Chatterjee, M.B., M.R.C.P. (Lond.).

(3) Dr. B. C. Sinha, M.B., M.R.C.P. (Lond.).

Junior Visiting Physicians—

(1) Dr. R. Sinha, M.B.

(2) Dr. A. Sen Gupta, M.B.

(3) Dr. N. Bose, M.B.

Visiting Radiologists—

(1) Major S. Basu, M.B. (Cal.), D.M.R. (Lond.).

(2) Dr. S. K. Bhar, D.M.R. (Mad.).

Pathologists—

(1) Dr. M. Mukherjee, M.B.

(2) Dr. K. D. Sen Gupta, L.M.F., L.T.M.

Cash doles to East Bengal refugees.

*32. **Sri PRAMATHA NATH BANDOPADHYAYA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Relief and Rehabilitation Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether he is aware of the facts that the help in kind or money for the East Bengal refugees are in many cases taken by such persons who are not refugees but living here for a long time and are doing business or are in Government services;

(*b*) whether the Government consider the desirability of making an enquiry about the matter and take steps to stop such practice, if any; and

(*c*) whether it is a fact that the system of giving cash dole to the able-bodied refugees has resulted in their passing idle life, avoiding works?

MINISTER in charge of the RELIEF and REHABILITATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behary Maity): (*a*) No.

(*b*) Yes, if specific cases are brought to the notice of Government.

(*c*) It is not true in all cases. But the system of continuing doles for long does tend to breed idleness. Relief is now given against work.

Statement of the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister.

(When the Hon'ble Sri Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar rose to make a statement, cries of "Resign, Resign"—"Resign first and then issue a statement" from the Muslim Benches.)

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: It is to be seen whether I shall resign or you shall cross the border to follow your Muslim League leader elsewhere.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of privilege, Sir. It appears that the Hon'ble Mr. Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar is going to make a statement. It is only the privilege of the Leader of the House and the Opposition to make statements. And if he be permitted to make a statement then I want to know from you, Sir, whether I shall also be permitted to make a statement in reply to his statement or not?

Mr SPEAKER: Under rule 14 you will find that with the permission of the Speaker a member can make a personal explanation at any time but in doing so no debatable matter may be brought forward and no debate can arise. Now the question is that in the absence of the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister certain charges have been made against him (The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Back-stabbing) and this is the first occasion that the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister has been able to come to the House after the incident. Therefore on a point of personal explanation I think I am justified in allowing the Hon'ble Minister to make a statement regarding the charges which have been made against him.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I do not question your decision, Sir. I only rose on a point of privilege to ask if this side also would be allowed to make a statement after the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister makes his. Then, Sir, I heard one of the Hon'ble Ministers say "back-stabbing". I repudiate that allegation, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: This is not a point of order or a personal explanation either.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is my privilege to make a statement before this House as a member as in my absence certain serious allegations were made. I suppose the honourable member on the other side had his full say as far as he wanted to say and that without a word of interruption from me as I was ill and was not present in the House. I do not understand why my very presence in the House to-day should make him so nervous that he started dancing on his feet. (Interruptions from Muslim Benches.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May I ask you to intervene, Sir. This is an intolerable situation.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I hope the honourable members will not make a Billingsgate of this honourable house.

On March 18, during discussions on the Police budget, Mr. Abul Hashem, a member of this House, made certain startling statements casting aspersions on me personally and on the Ministry to which I have the honour to belong. I was lying ill in bed when these allegations were made on the floor of the House and I take the earliest opportunity to put before the House and the public the relevant facts of the case so picturesquely described by Mr. Hashem which, after all, is a distorted version of the incidents about which he talked.

Sir, Mr. Hashem's allegations might be summarised as follows: that in the case of Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan and others which was under enquiry from 1945, the Public Prosecutor, the Assistant Public Prosecutor and a Police officer were in charge of investigating the case and that in the conduct of the case they were guilty of improper conduct in various ways and manners, for example, tampering with evidence, interpolation of records, extortion of money from the accused and taking steps to enable certain of the accused to be either released on bonds or to evade punishment by being cited as approvers. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Exactly.) This conspiracy case, I may inform the House, ultimately came up before the Court and was disposed of on various dates from the 26th June, 1947, to 31st March, 1948, and the accused were either released on bonds or punished.

(Janab ABUL HASHEM: Which accused?) Wasil Khan and others. I am glad Mr. Hashem corroborates my faithful summary of what he has stated. (Janab ABUL HASHEM: Yes, that is true.) That some time after the trial anonymous reports reached the Ministry of Dr. Ghosh who ordered enquiry into the conduct of the officers engaged in the investigation of the case. That the Anti-Corruption Department submitted an *ad interim* report which was hushed up because it involved some of the friends of Ministers. (Janab ABUL HASHEM: Not the report but the enquiry.) Report or enquiry. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Report after enquiry.) That not only was the *interim* report hushed up but also the enquiry itself was suspended.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Under whose orders?

Mr. SPEAKER: When a Minister is making a statement, questions of cross-examination cannot be allowed.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am trying to elicit information for the House.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I do not mind. My friends are much too nervous.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Not at all.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: That the late Public Prosecutor was allowed, as Mr. Hashem puts it, to go honourably and forced to tender his resignation. That the Assistant Public Prosecutor was promoted to be the Public Prosecutor superseding the claims of the Additional Public Prosecutor because the former happens to be the legal adviser of a person who is involved in a Bank Fraud Case and who happens to be the brother-in-law of the brother of the Judicial Minister of the Government. (Janab ABUL HASHEM: Exactly.) That the people who gave evidence in the case were being oppressed.

I hope I have given here a perfectly faithful summary of all that Mr. Hashem has to say and I have put it much better than he did on that day.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Yes, that credit goes to you. You are a better draftsman.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will request you not to make any aspersion on the Minister.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I shall briefly confine myself so that my friends who are nervous won't disturb me. (Interruptions.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Please do not interrupt. According to our regulations, there should be no disturbance when there is personal explanation.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Let me give the correct version of the whole affair. An enquiry was held into a case known as Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan from 1945 till 1947 by the then Government against several persons who were charged with pilfering American stores and consumer goods.

The prominent persons against whom enquiries were made were Wasil Khan, Mr. Jhajharia, the three Mitra brothers, Ambujakshya Banerjee, a Mr. Rahman, a Sailen Patra, Shyam Dutt and others. This enquiry took two years to be completed when the accused were sent up for trial. After the first set of cases was disposed of, as I have indicated above, an enquiry was set on foot in the year 1947 when Dr. Ghosh was the Premier to enquire into the conduct of the officers concerned in the enquiry and trial of the accused. The Inquiring Anti-Corruption Officer submitted a report in which he found that on many counts the Public Prosecutor appeared to have acted in the interests of the accused, but that it was difficult to obtain evidence

to prove dishonesty or corruption on his part which could satisfy any court of law. This report also mentioned that some of the accused were not put on trial on account of the negligence of the Public Prosecutor.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: What about the forwarding letter of Acharya?

Mr. SPEAKER: No interruption.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: That letter clearly states that the Public Prosecutor should not be allowed to retire honourably——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Abul Hashem, take your seat.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: That forwarding letter is important. He is passing over that letter.

Mr. SPEAKER: How can I permit all these things?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: He is glossing over facts. What about the letter of Acharya? Read out that letter of Acharya.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is very difficult. As a matter of fact, I have already stated that whenever a member rises on a question of personal explanation, he should not be disturbed.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Place the letter of Mr. Acharya to Trivedi. Have the courage to read that letter.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: The officer found the Public Prosecutor guilty of unprofessional conduct. Necessary action had therefore to be taken against him.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Allow him to retire honourably.

Mr. SPEAKER: No interruption please.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: All these things are material. He glosses over these facts.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On the 24th of November—please mark the dates—the Anti-Corruption Officer submitted the report to my department. The then Secretary of the Department considered the report carefully and thought that the Public Prosecutor could not continue in his post and made recommendations to that effect.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Did he also say that the question of bribery has not been raised?

Mr. SPEAKER: May I know from Mr. Khuda Bukhsh as to why he persists?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: If he wants to make a statement to clarify the matter, he must not conceal facts. He is suppressing this letter.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May I enquire here, Sir, whether you are in the Chair or Mr. Khuda Bukhsh or Mr. Hashem. Shall we go on with our work or shall we be interrupted in our work at every stage in this fashion? I have never seen a Legislative Assembly going on in this fashion.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: He has been absent from this Assembly for 25 years. He does not know all these.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already stated that whenever an explanation is given by a member by way of personal statement, it ought not to be interrupted. An interruption is not allowed while the personal explanation is going on.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: May I make one submission Sir?

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please. One member at a time. Yes, Mr. Banerjee, what is your point?

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir. I am not quite sure whether the remark that fell from the Hon'ble Premier is quite in order and whether that is not a reflection on the Chair and on the House. I hope Mr. Speaker will enlighten me on this point.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I hope Mr. Speaker is able to look after himself. He does not require your protection.

(Several members rose to speak.)

Mr. SPEAKER: It is impossible for me to give answer if several speakers speak at the same time. I have not yet been able to answer Mr. Banerjee's question, and before I have been able to answer Mr. Banerjee—— (Uproar.)

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Come properly to the boxing ring. (Loud noise.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. So far as the Hon'ble Premier is concerned he has said that he has never seen such interruptions going on. (Cries of "No, no; that is not what he has said" from the Opposition Benches.) I do not consider it to be out of order for the Hon'ble Premier to say that he has not seen——

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: He enquired whether the Speaker was in the Chair or anybody else.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: May I make my submission, Sir? The Judicial Minister's statement today is the result of an allegation levelled against him on the floor of this House by an honourable member of this House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you on a point of order?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is your point?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: My point of order is this: Since this statement of the Judicial Minister is the result of an allegation made on the floor of the House and you have given him permission to rise on a point of personal explanation in order that he may meet the case presented from this side of the House, he should not be permitted to gloss over documentary facts—facts that are supported by documents in our hands, and when we interrupt him——

Mr. SPEAKER: I have heard you.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I have not yet been able to express myself.

Mr. SPEAKER: As a matter of fact you are commenting upon the personal statement. How is it possible for me to permit a debate on that?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I am not commenting. I am only pointing out that the Hon'ble Minister is glossing over. He is here to answer to the country the charges——

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Not the charges; false allegations.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: No. Charges.

(Cries of "charges, charges" from the Opposition Benches.)

The Hon'ble Sri BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Based on fabricated facts. (Uproar.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Come to court. We shall prove cent. per cent. of the charges.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: He must answer the charges.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: If the Hon'ble Minister has the courage let him come to the court and we undertake to prove the charges. (Uproar.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: On a point of order, Sir. Is any honourable member of this House, whether he is a Minister or not, permitted to suppress facts which are supported by documentary evidence in defence of himself? I want your ruling, Sir. (Loud noise continued.)

Mr. SPEAKER: It is very sad that while I am standing on my legs you are not observing the order and decorum of the House.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, he is most dishonestly concealing documents. Let him place the facts as they are.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you please withdraw the word "dishonest"?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, "dishonest" is a parliamentary word. But, Sir, since we have got unqualified respect for you, I withdraw the word "dishonest" and say that he is placing untrue facts. (Uproar.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you please listen to me? Order, order. A very serious charge has been made against an Hon'ble Minister of this House and this is the opportunity he has got to make personal explanation for whatever it is worth. Now the Hon'ble Minister is making his statement and I do beseech all the members of the House to permit him to make his statement and exculpate himself from the charges which have been made on the floor of this House. As a matter of fact when a personal charge is made against a member, ordinary courtesy demands that a notice should be given to him, so that he may be able to be present in the House or some other device may be taken, but that was not done. Whatever may be the reasons the charge was made. Now I appeal to you all that you must permit the gentleman against whom a serious charge has been made to speak and give him full opportunity to give his explanations. If any member is not satisfied with his explanation, there are courses open to him to bring the matter before the House and to debate in full the whole charge which has been levelled against the Hon'ble Minister. But then there are procedures and procedures and I do hope that the honourable members will help me in observing the procedure and decorum of the House.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, on the 24th of November the Anti-Corruption Officer submitted the report to my department. The then Secretary of the Department considered the report carefully and thought that the Public Prosecutor could not continue in his post and made recommendations to that effect. On the 27th of November I made this remark on the file: "I feel that quite apart from the question of detailed examination as to whether the allegations against the Public Prosecutor are ultimately established in a court of law or not, the very fact that the gentleman has managed to lose confidence of officers from the District Magistrate up to the Legal Remembrancer, all of whom had made adverse reports on him, should be quite enough ground either for him to

discontinue or in any case for Government to terminate his services as a legal adviser." I went on to say—"None but men of unsullied conduct and reputation may be retained in the position of Government's Legal Adviser. We should demand on the part of the incumbent a high standard of integrity, dignity and public esteem". This note was sent up to the Premier who agreed with my findings.

On the same date I received a request from the then Public Prosecutor asking for a personal interview. I granted him the interview and gave him a patient hearing. After the interview I made a note on the file on the 1st of December, 1948, which runs thus:

> "The Public Prosecutor in question represented certain grievances of his and made some verbal allegations against some of his colleagues and some of the officers concerned with the investigation of the case."

I asked him to put his allegations in writing when a proper enquiry could be made. Meanwhile, I said in the note "it would in any case be incompatible for him to continue". The Public Prosecutor requested me to grant him time till Friday (we discussed the matter on a Wednesday), to enable him to tender resignation. I also noted that "it will not be unfair to allow the Public Prosecutor to resign and to consider the matter raised by him further after any letter or representation is received from him". Thus the late Public Prosecutor was allowed, as Mr. Hashem put it, to go honourably and forced to tender his resignation.

Mr. Hashem suggested that "the Public Prosecutor was allowed to go honourably and forced to tender his resignation". (Janab ABUL HASHEM: Go through Mr. Acharya's report.) If this statement is correctly reported, I would leave Mr. Hashem to explain the meaning of the words that he used. I felt that the Public Prosecutor should be given the opportunity of resigning—if he did not do so, he would be dismissed. No further action was called for then, as in the opinion of the Anti-Corruption Officer no charges could be brought against him which could be proved in a court of law.

In the report of the Inquiring Officer, there is no mention whatsoever regarding the conduct of the Assistant Public Prosecutor either during enquiry or trial. The charge of Mr. Hashem that the Assistant Public Prosecutor was also involved in the conspiracy is not correct. (Janab ABUL HASHEM: Quite correct, go through the report.)

The next charge that Mr. Hashem has made is in the case of appointment of the present Public Prosecutor. The previous Public Prosecutor having resigned, the question of appointment of a successor had to be considered. On the 27th of January, 1948, I made a note for my Judicial Secretary on the file from which I shall read an extract——

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I rise on a point of privilege——

Mr. SPEAKER: The Hon'ble Minister must be allowed to finish his speech uninterruptedly.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Now, Sir, on the 27th November, 1948, immediately after giving my direction for the termination of the service of the old Public Prosecutor I made this note on my file: "Please ascertain confidentially from the District Magistrate and the District Judge of 24-Parganas and ask them to give us a list of five persons, comparatively younger in age—must be below 60—who in their opinion would be regarded as the best criminal practitioners at the Alipore Bar. All necessary particulars about such persons relating to age, qualifications, number of years they have practised, etc., may be stated. Would it also not be possible to ascertain confidentially the views of the President of the Alipore Bar Library, as well as the Government Pleader of Alipore?"

This was my note regarding the procedure of appointment. All these persons recommended the name of the present incumbent, and two of them gave him the first place in order of priority——(Janab ABUL HASHEM: What did the Magistrate write?) (Continued interruptions.)

Mr. SPEAKER: All utterances contrary to my order will be liable to be expunged. (Janab ABUL HASHEM: That does not matter.) May I know from you whether you are going to obey the Chair?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: By all means, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then please keep quiet. As a matter of fact, I can remind you of the time when Mr. Fazlul Huq resigned from the Muslim League he made a statement and you were at that time on the Government side and then you did not utter a word of disapprobation when the statement was made. I appeal to you to keep quiet and allow the statement to be made. You will have ample opportunities afterwards to have your say.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, the Judicial Secretary and Legal Remembrancer also agreed with the suggestion and accordingly the appointment was made. It is absolutely untrue to say that he is the legal adviser to a person who is involved in a Bank Fraud Case. I have had it ascertained from the Public Prosecutor that he never had anything to do in the matter of giving advice in the Bank Fraud Case. The present Public Prosecutor was appointed only on his merits and therefore no question can arise, as has been suggested by Mr. Hashem, that he was appointed superseding the claims of the Additional Public Prosecutor.

As I have stated above, no *interim* report was ever submitted by the Anti-Corruption Officer. The enquiry was never suspended by the Department. The only report which the Inquiring Officer submitted has been acted upon as indicated above.

It has been suggested by Mr Hashem that the people who gave evidence in the enquiry are being persecuted and oppressed. The only information that Government possesses is that a petition was submitted by one of the men stating that he was being "ridiculed" for having given evidence during the enquiry. No Government can be held responsible for the conduct of an individual member of the public who may be interested in ridiculing a particular witness.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Hashem should have been so unwise as to bring charges against me personally without duly weighing the evidence or obtaining proper and true facts of the case. It is also unfortunate that Mr. Hashem should have depended upon incorrect statements made to him either by interested individuals or that he should have been led to level charges on the basis of reports appearing in the daily paper *Swaraj* and in the monthly review *Prabasi*. He cited these two papers as evidence in support of his charges. If Mr. Hashem were to substantiate his charges outside the Assembly Hall, the reports appearing in these two papers would not have been of very much help to him and he would have been liable for action. It is equally unfortunate that in making such irresponsible charges against me and the Ministry he has not even spared the present Legal Remembrancer who is known to be a strictly honest and straightforward officer. I do not know why he dragged him on to the picture knowing full well that as a permanent official he cannot answer or reply to his statement. It is my duty as the head of the Judicial Department and as Minister of Government to protect all the public servants who for no fault on their part should have been so unjustifiably attacked.

It is an unparliamentary conduct on the part of an Assembly member to level charges against another member. If we consult the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Rules made thereunder, it will be seen that under rule 12, of the Assembly Procedure Rules no member is allowed to make any

charge against another member. The honourable member cannot take shelter behind the plea that he had not originally mentioned in his motion the name of the Minister. He abundantly made it clear in his statement whom he intended to attack. I am a member of this House and I ask every other member of the House for ensuring that rule 12(2) is observed by everyone. The rule runs thus:

> "A member while speaking may not make a personal charge against another member."

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir. The Hon'ble Minister has cited a rule and I want to know from you, does it apply to the Ministers as well or the Ministers are immune to make any personal charge?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not a point of order.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, the rule is that a member while speaking may not make a personal charge against another member. Now that Mr. Hashem has made this charge——

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: On a point of order. The Hon'ble Minister in the course of his speech has referred to this matter as a personal charge. Sir, there is nothing personal against the Ministry but it is against the conduct of the Minister. It is a question which affects the entire province that the Minister is involved in a particular thing.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order, Mr. Badrudduja, I am answering your point. Here is the Hon'ble Minister who says that one of the members has made a personal charge against him. Now the question arises, so far as I am concerned, if a ruling on the point is called for, and in that case at the proper time I shall give a ruling, if necessary.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Now that Mr. Hashem has made this charge I demand of him either an unqualified apology or the matter should be sent to the Privileges Committee so that members' rights may be protected and individual members and members of the public may be protected from misuse of the privilege of members of this House from unwarranted and mendacious attacks. I shall await your decision on the point.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far the Hon'ble Minister has finished and now he has raised a question of privilege Firstly, that question should have arisen on the day on which the charges had been made, and secondly, so far as I understand, a charge made against a member in connection with his capacity as a Minister and in the performance of his duties as such, should not ordinarily be a question of privilege; but before giving a ruling on this point I shall consider as to whether it constitutes a personal charge. Accordingly I reserve my ruling

Question of privilege.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a matter of privilege I got up first, but failed to catch your eye.

Mr. SPEAKER: You have caught my eye now.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: You have seen, Sir, that I have crossed the floor, and I wish to make a statement for the information of all concerned why I have crossed the floor, and for this I would request you to give me five minutes——(Cries of "Is it necessary" from the Congress Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, you are an old and experienced member of this House, and you have seen crossing of the floor so often in the House during the last ten years without any statements as to the reasons therefor

that I do not think it is necessary that the House should now have a statement from you. I am sorry therefore I cannot allow you to make a statement on the floor of the House.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: I bow down to your decision, Sir, but I shall make a statement outside.

BUDGET FOR 1949-50

DEMAND FOR GRANT.

63—Extraordinary Charges in India.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 4,08,53,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary Charges in India".

Sir, initiating the debate for demand for grant under the head "63-Extraordinary Charges in India" for a total of Rs 4,08,53,000, I will deal at length with the Civil Supplies Department.

When about 14 months back I was entrusted with the Department of Civil Supplies, I thought my functions would be more in the nature of a liquidator. Our leader, the Hon'ble Premier, was also of the opinion that the sooner controls were abolished, the better for the country. In fact, we were all protagonists of decontrol The Father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was then in our midst and it was at his instance and through his insistence that the All-India Congress Committee and the Government of India adopted a policy of progressive decontrol. We then believed and sincerely believed that the producers, industries, labour, the trade and the consumers—in fact every one concerned irrespective of political affiliations and interests—would play fair and help to create the necessary atmosphere and conditions for the success of the policy of progressive decontrol, so that all the channels of trade and commerce might function normally; but we had been fully disillusioned and circumstances so conspired that control had to be reimposed throughout India. There is no gain-saying the fact that India as a whole in general and West Bengal in particular are deficit in foodgrains both quantitatively and qualitatively. The food situation in India is causing anxiety. The food position of the world is also not encouraging. As for rice, according to the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the situation is gloomy and "the danger of starvation continues to confront the millions of people who depend substantially on rice for their food". World production of rice in 1948-49, though higher than in the previous year, is 2·9 million tons below the pre-war average. Population in the rice-eating areas increased by nearly 10 crores in the decade 1939-48. The increased consumption requirements are 10 *per cent.* over the pre-war average.

Sir, even before the last world war undivided India was deficit in cereals, so much so that undivided India had to import every year as much as 13 lakhs tons of foodgrains on an average during the period 1931-39. The areas which now comprise India used to import in addition about 9 lakhs tons of wheat from Sind and what is now West Punjab. As a result of partition, 20 *per cent.* of all-India population went over to West Pakistan and she took away as much as 35 *per cent.* of the original wheat products, about 31 *per cent.* of the rice production, together with 34 *per cent.* of the all-India irrigated area. You know, Sir, that India is only 10 *per cent.* deficit in cereals and no policy of decontrol has any chance of success unless we voluntarily eat less and distribute in a planned manner on a co-operative basis. Distribution during decontrol is usually left in the hands of the trade who can help fair distribution only if they are honest and not greedy.

There should again be no hoarding; for hoarding during a period of shortage keeps the commodity away from the market and the greed of the hoarder will make decontrol a dismal failure.

The honourable members of this House know too well how during the months of decontrol last year prices rose in Assam, United Provinces, East Punjab, Bombay and other places of the Indian Union The honourable members also know how in East Bengal prices of rice soared. In some districts of East Bengal, even in the granary of undivided Bengal, Barisal, the prices of rice shot up to Rs. 70 per maund. I would also ask the honourable members to remember that West Bengal has the highest density of population being 852 per square mile, that it has only 1·4 bighas of land *per capita* under cultivation and that the average yield of paddy *per bigha* is only 5½ maunds. This Province of West Bengal has normally an annual deficit of 4 lakh tons of cereals. But it is only once in 4 years that we get a normal crop of paddy. Last year, our crop yield in terms of rice was 34 lakh 17 thousand tons and this year it will be less than 33 lakh tons. West Bengal has the largest city of India, namely, Calcutta, with a population of nearly 35 lakhs and the percentage of her urban and industrial population is only equal to that of Bombay and our deficit of cereals will be in the coming year of the order of 9 lakh tons. Out of a population of nearly 2½ crores, the Civil Supplies Department is catering to the needs of 76 lakhs of people - 56 lakhs of which live in the statutorily controlled area, while 8 lakhs of labourers get their requirements from the large employers according to the scale fixed by us, and the rest, *i.e.*, 12 lakhs, are supplied under a scheme known as Modified Rationing. Our deficit in relation to the Government commitment for 76 lakhs of people on a scale of 12 oz. per head per day is 5 lakhs tons Since the all-India food position is very unsatisfactory, with acute distress prevailing in certain zones specially in Madras, the scale is proposed to be 10 oz per head per day, and on this basis on account of Government commitments the deficit will be 3 lakh 75 thousand tons. I am afraid, we shall not get 3 lakh 75 thousand tons from the Central Pool Last year, we received from the Centre about 2 lakh tons of wheat and wheat products and less than one lakh tons of rice. We should not again forget that one thousand new mouths have to be fed every morning due to there being no effective birth control in this Province and apart from this usual increase due to births, which is about 3 lakhs every year, we received in our midst an addition of 16 lakhs of brethren from East Bengal in course of the last 18 months and this alone means 6 years' increase. To feed this additional 16 lakhs of people, we would require 30 lakh bighas more of land under paddy. No short-term scheme can do this Only long range scheme, like Damodar, Mor, etc., can solve our food problem. But then we must have the patience to wait from 4 to 8 years or at least 3 to 8 years to enjoy the fruits of these long-term schemes. In the meanwhile, we must tighten our belts and try to make both ends meet with our meagre resources. We should depend more on internal procurement than on imported foodgrains. Last year, India imported foodgrains worth 130 crores of rupees and for an agricultural country to do this is suicidal

I am glad to inform the House that last year we in this Province procured internally 4 lakhs 67 thousand tons in terms of rice and managed not only to keep the prices down, but were also instrumental by our policy to indirectly help consumers even in the non-rationed areas to get their supply of rice at fair prices, and the Provincial Average Price of rice did not rise even during the lean months in 1948 above Rs. 21-2. I would give here comparative figures of yield and procurement in West Bengal from the year 1945—

In 1945 in West Bengal districts crop yield in terms of rice was 35 lakhs of tons; Government procurement 4 lakh 15 thousand tons.

In 1946 the yield was 28 lakh 95 thousand tons, and Government procurement was 3 lakh 19 thousand tons.

In 1947 the yield was 36 lakh 48 thousand tons, and Government procurement amounted to 4 lakh 47 thousand tons.

In 1948 the yield was low. It was only 34 lakh 17 thousand tons and the procurement was 4 lakh 67 thousand tons.

During the coming year, I mean this year 1949, the tentative figure for yield is 32 lakh 83 thousand tons and our target for procurement is as during last year, although the yield is much less—4 lakh 67 thousand tons, that is, 14·2 *per cent.* of the total yield.

I confess, Sir, we are not in a position to put the entire province under statutory rationing but I may give this much of assurance that during 1949 about 80 lakhs of people will get their rice requirements at the Government retail rate of Rs. 17-8 per maund, another one crore in the surplus and self-sufficient districts will get their rice at the market rate varying from Rs. 14 to Rs. 19, and the rest will get their rice at rates higher than Rs. 18, but in no case will it be allowed to rise beyond the purchasing power of the lower middle class and the poor people.

Some honourable members during the general discussions suggested that decontrol would solve our food problem. Some even suggested that the present scarcity and shortage is artificially brought about by controls. I have already mentioned how disastrous were the effects of the policy of decontrol in some provinces and I would like to impress upon the honourable members that the effects of steep rise in prices of foodgrains would adversely affect the cost of living of the people, specially the poor people, the labourers and the middle class people, and the rise in Government expenditure in increased Dearness Allowance to Government employees and those of local bodies—district boards and municipalities—would amount to several crores of rupees and although we will be able to save the expenditure of about 3 crores of rupees on the Civil Supplies Budget, the increased expenditure due to increase in the dearness allowance will in the end mean no saving to the Government. Decontrol and withdrawal of rationing will mean increased consumption of rice in the city of Calcutta and the Industrial Area, and to meet the shortage more food would have to be imported. By rationing, we have been able to curtail to a large extent the import of foodgrains and with decontrol the need for imports will increase unless of course we allow people of low purchasing power to starve and die and balance of trade will be more unfavourable to India and our exchange difficulties will be tremendous.

Food rationing in urban areas is also an insurance against famine in villages. In Calcutta including the industrial areas, there is a total non-agricultural population of 51 lakhs with the single biggest concentration of purchasing power in the Province. With an overall deficit in foodgrains in the Province, the Calcutta people will start hoarding two or three months' consumption for safety as soon as rationing is discontinued. They will not take the trouble of purchasing weekly supplies as they are now compelled to do. Decontrol will thus ultimately lead to drainage of all the surplus from villages to the urban areas. Consequently, landless agricultural labourers and poor cultivators, who have less than seven bighas of land, will be very badly affected for the simple reason that their produce is not sufficient for their annual requirements. This was exactly what happened in 1943. Most of those who starved to death that year, that fateful year, were rural people including those small cultivators who owned less than 7 bighas of paddy land. Even those who died on the streets of Calcutta and the urban areas were mainly villagers—poor peasants, fishermen, potters, blacksmiths and other artisans, who were forced to migrate to cities in search of food although all the food had been originally produced in the countryside. It is for this reason that even when a policy of progressive decontrol was adopted as an experimental measure in other Provinces in 1948, the West Bengal Government decided not to discontinue rationing in Calcutta and in

industrial areas and the result of continuing rationing in West Bengal was that Government were able to keep the prices comparatively low in non-rationed areas.

Rationing is being continued in the interest of the common man. We are earnestly trying to improve the present machinery for Distribution and Procurement.

The acute food problem in the Province may be partially solved if we pay more attention to the nutritional aspect of our diet. We should make our diet more balanced. At wealthier levels of our society, the attitude towards food should be more scientific and every effort should be made to consume less of cereals and more of vegetables, fruits, potatoes, sweet potatoes, tapoica, pulses, groundnuts, etc.

It is high time that we change our tastes on nutritional grounds. We are used to polished rice. But the reddish "dehusked" rice has better nutritive value. During the process of polishing, considerable quantity of vitamin B, which is present in the reddish yellow coating pericarp of the grain is lost. The "process" also takes away a major portion of the valuable protein present in unpolished rice above the germinal end of the rice grain. Vitamin B and Nitrogen are essential for our diet. But the ordinary Bengali diet is very deficient in both of them because polished rice is extensively used. This deficiency is commonly attributed to be one of the causes of the spread of beri-beri, diabetes and other nutritional diseases in West Bengal. This can be greatly remedied if we change our tastes and take "dehusked" rice

The use of "dehusked" rice can also considerably minimise the shortage problem in this Province. During the process of polishing, the weight of grain is reduced because the outer coating and the germinal end of rice get destroyed to some extent. If we use only "dehusked" rice, it will lead to the total quantity of available rice in the Province being increased by nearly 2½ *per cent.*

You know, Sir, last year with the abolition of rationing, the Provinces of Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, etc., had to open Relief Quota shops through which Government had to sell grains at cheaper prices. This also means loss to the provincial revenue. My point is: unless production increases, rationing will have to be maintained and demands for sanctioning expenditure for the Civil Supplies Department will continue to be an annual feature.

Suggestions are made in some quarters to raise the procurement price of paddy; but I would like to submit that any increase in the procurement price of paddy in West Bengal will spell disaster to our economy. At the outset, it is evident that the problem of fixing a fair price for the producers is a very difficult and complicated one. The cost of production varies from zone to zone. Innumerable factors have to be taken into account in arriving at the optimum price. We have, however, certain facts in our possession which will go to show that any increase in the procurement price of paddy would not benefit the preponderant majority of our agricultural producers. According to statistics available, the percentage of families holding 5 acres and less of land in this Province is 61·8, *i.e.*, 62 *per cent.* This category has normally very little to sell and they have to buy from the market during the lean months. Families owning land from 5 to 8 acres also have a relatively small margin. The advantage of enhanced price starts accruing with families holding more than 8 acres. Small cultivators holding less than 5 acres seldom bring their produce to the Government Agent. Government purchase mainly from large producers most of whom hardly make any contribution towards the cost of production. Any increase in price of paddy will hit 2 crores 20 lakhs of West Bengal's population hard. In view of this, I would like to deprecate all talks and speculations regarding the enhancement of procurement prices.

During the general discussions, some honourable friends made the criticism that though after the partition the size of the Province has been reduced, the expenditure of this department has not. I may tell the honourable members that the bulk of the expenditure of the department relates to the Directorates of Rationing and Procurement and Supply. Honourable members know that the city of Calcutta and the industrial areas are in West Bengal and the number of persons under statutory rationing in undivided Bengal on 1st April, 1944, was 32 lakhs. On 1st April, 1945, it was 38 lakhs and on 1st April, 1946, 54·8 lakhs and on 1st April, 1947, it rose to 67·7 lakhs; but in divided Bengal, *i.e.*, in our Province of West Bengal, on 1st April, 1948, the number was 56·2 lakhs and today it is over 62·4 lakhs.

An honourable friend brought to the notice of the House that expenditures on Civil Supplies in Bombay and Madras are much less than the demand we are making here. I would like to inform the honourable friend that Bombay and Madras Governments have Revenue Officers scattered throughout the country and through them procurement of grains is made; but here in West Bengal owing to the zemindary system Government have to maintain a large Procurement Staff

There has been some criticism regarding the Government issue price of rice. Our issue price is Rs. 16-7-2 and the retail price charged by the retail dealer is Rs. 17-8 per maund Government procure paddy at Rs. 7-8 per maund, but the cost of transport, storage, gunny bag, milling and wastage, etc., is very high. Cost of transport differs from zone to zone The House will be surprised to learn that in some parts of the Province transport cost from the procurement centre to the consuming centre is as high as Rs. 4 per maund. The average cost incurred by the Government for one maund of rice is Rs 16-2; and Rs 16-7-2, as I have said, is our issue price.

On imported rice, loss is, however, Rs. 7-13 per maund

I am glad to inform the House that we will be earning a bonus of about Rs. 80 lakhs during the current year from the Government of India at the rate of 8 annas per maund of grain procured by us by the end of the financial year and this amount will be spent on growing more food through the Agriculture Department

You know, Sir, we have a Road Fund created by a levy of 1 anna per maund of procured paddy. From this fund, by the end of the current financial year, 674½ miles and during the next year 612 miles of road, will be attended to.

Textiles.—After cereals, the next important article controlled is textiles. It may be recalled that cloth and yarn were decontrolled in the last week of January, 1948. I need hardly tell the House how disastrous was the result of decontrol of textiles in West Bengal. The Government of India had to reimpose control on textiles in last August. Our provincial quota was fixed by the Government of India towards the end of November last. The gross cloth quota for West Bengal with effect from December, 1948, has been 17,600 bales consisting of 3,100 bales of handloom and powerloom production of West Bengal, over 8,000 bales of West Bengal cotton mills' production and the balance of over 5,000 bales is supplied from the surplus producing areas in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Baroda and other places. I may inform the House that only products of composite mills of West Bengal and outside are controlled by Government. The products of handloom and powerloom are not controlled. From August, 1948, to February, 1949, the actual quantity allocated is 56,484 bales from our West Bengal mills and from other producing centres 39,642 bales. In addition to the regular monthly quota, we were allocated 22,258 bales from other producing centres than West Bengal during September, November and December, 1948. Lifting of these allocations by our nominated buyers has been fairly satisfactory. Although our lifting has been good, distribution has not been able to keep pace. In the districts up to December, 1948, as many as 12,000

bales of cloth remained unlifted. So far as the North Bengal districts are concerned, non-lifting has been due to transport difficulties. As regards other districts, low purchasing power is mainly responsible. In Calcutta proper, more cloth has been released for sale than what we thought could be given to Calcutta and yet people complain that they do not get the varieties of their choice. All this is due to the fact that whereas only about 20 *per cent.* of our production is "fine" and "superfine", the demand for finer varieties is as high as 70 *per cent.* Till the Government ot India succeeds in standardizing cloth production, difficulties will arise, but what I would lay stress upon is the fact that we should go coarse so far as our cloth requirements and tastes are concerned. Mother India only produces short staple cotton and as in the case of imported food, we should depend less and less on imported cotton. You know, Sir, that the prospect of Indian cotton this year is none too bright and the scarcity of cotton will, it is feared, lower our mill production from the autumn of this year. As regards yarn, the monthly quota for West Bengal is 5,283 bales of hank and cone yarn. There are as many as 86,000 handlooms in West Bengal and 13,000 handloom weavers have arrived here in West Bengal as refugees and 265 hosiery factories. Handloom weavers get 8 lbs. of yarn per month as against their requirement of 24 lbs. per month. The capacity of the hosiery factories is for 9,000 cases, whereas quantity available is 2,500 cases. The number of power loom factories is 16—number working is 13—production 500 bales per month. At the present moment, the percentage of coarse and medium yarn allocated is higher than what it used to be in the last year of control and you know, Sir, a large percentage of our weavers would not touch coarse yarn. Our weavers should be persuaded to weave coarse yarn and the consumers in turn should also take to coarser stuff.

Iron and Steel.—I will next take up Iron and Steel. Against an estimated annual requirement of 60,000 tons of iron and steel materials, the actual allotment received by this Province from the Government of India during the last 15 months, *i.e.*, from January, 1948, to March, 1949, was only 18,175 tons. The House can easily realise how difficult it is to distribute this small quantity against a demand 500 *per cent.* more than the supply. We have received intimation that the quantity allocated to this Province will be further reduced from 3,600 tons per quarter to 2,735 tons per quarter—half of which again will be allocated directly to the Directorate of Agriculture for "Grow More Food" campaign. For small fabricators, which number about 3,000 now in West Bengal, whereas the number during the pre-war days was about 300 only, and for building purposes, we will have only 1,367 tons of prime materials per quarter, *i.e.*, 455 tons per month. This includes black sheets, corrugated iron sheets, rods angles, joists, beams, wire-nails, etc. The quota of scrapped materials is now 2,560 tons per quarter. I think I should inform the House of the precarious supply position of galvanized pipes, all of which is imported. The total demand for galvanized pipes certified by the Chief Engineer, Public Health Department, is 10 lakhs feet for the current quarter and the quantity allotted to us is less than 93,000 feet. The honourable members will easily realise how difficult it is to meet the various pressing demands for galvanized pipes, both in the rural and urban areas.

Cement.—Next comes Cement. The annual estimated requirement of cement is calculated at 240,000 tons for this Province, against which the allocation for this Province is only 120,000 tons, although actual receipts are uncertain and are very much below the allotted quantity, and had there not been a receipt of 80,000 tons of imported cement—the price of which, you know, is very high, about 60 to 75 *per cent.* higher than that of the countrymade cement—the position would have been very very unsatisfactory.

Coal.—Although there is no shortage of coal actually so far as production is concerned, transport bottleneck is responsible for the short supply of coal. Three thousand four hundred and fifty-eight wagons per month is

the estimated requirement for the industrial coal against which the allotment is 2,773 wagons. The position of soft coke is a little better. Before June, 1948, there was a scarcity of soft coke in Calcutta, but the position has now completely changed. The quota of soft coke available is 2,609 wagons split up in 929 wagons for districts and 1,680 wagons for Calcutta. We have now established—I am glad to inform the House—three dumps for soft coke in Calcutta and these will be operated in the event of depot-holders' failure to bring coal to Calcutta. The position of brick-burning coal is very unsatisfactory. The sanctioned quota for the Province being only 396 wagons as against an estimated requirement of 1,200 wagons per month.

Kerosene.—Now about Kerosene. When control was imposed on kerosene the quota for this Province was 71 *per cent.* of 1941 release. In the beginning of 1948, the supply position of kerosene became very precarious, and superior and inferior quotas of kerosene oil was reduced to 31 *per cent.* and 51 *per cent.* of 1941 releases. You know 95 *per cent.* of the kerosene requirements is imported. This continued up till the end of May, 1948, after which there were several restorations of cuts till in October, 1948, the quota reached 76 *per cent.* of 1941 releases. The total quantity of kerosene distributed is 140,232 units or 280,464 tons. We must not forget that population since 1941 has increased in West Bengal by at least 20 lakhs and the number of refugees will be about 16 lakhs. 76 *per cent.* of the 1941 release is, therefore, very inadequate. We have found it difficult, I confess, to send kerosene oil regularly to Jalpaiguri, West Dinajpur and Malda. The quota for Calcutta and the rationed area and industries is now 64,000 trade units and that for districts 140,232 trade units. Out of Calcutta quota, it has been decided to transfer roughly 10,000 units for distribution in the districts. The main difficulties experienced in transporting kerosene oil to the districts are shortage of tank wagons, shortage of tin plates and booking restrictions.

Sir, the Civil Supplies Department is not an earning Department and whatever it earns in the shape of licence fees, etc., are not shown in the Extraordinary Charges. During the current year our earnings have been to the tune of 40 lakhs of rupees. Whatever may be the earning, I hope I have been able to convince the House of the necessity of maintaining controls.

As regards price control, some of my friends to my left are perhaps aware that such control is not a foreign thing. I may inform the members that price control on modern lines was experimented upon for the first time in recorded history of the world by a Delhi Emperor, Sultan Alauddin Khiliji, 600 years ago. Hoarding of grains for private sale and profit was not permitted by the Sultan. Unauthorised stocks were seized. State granary held enormous stocks. Cloth was also controlled and sold at fixed prices. Curiously enough, for certain varieties there was also permit system. Merchants even then used short weights and faulty scales and measures. The Sultan by his measures of price control raised a well-equipped army and he brought in a period of security for the State and prosperity for the people.

In the maintenance of controls and rationing, Sir, public co-operation is essential. We have, therefore, formed Civil Supplies Advisory Boards in unions, towns, subdivisions and districts with a Provincial Board on the top. I am sure if these Boards function satisfactorily, complaints regarding distribution, corruption, adulteration, etc., will gradually disappear.

Loss on sale of subsidised food amounts to Rs. 47,70,000. Out of this, Rs. 44 lakhs represent loss on sale at concession rates to certain categories of Government employees—police, jail, etc., and Rs. 3 lakhs is the amount of loss on sale of wheat and wheat products imported from abroad.

I shall now take up other items included in this demand, viz., Extra Police Force, National Cadet Corps and National Volunteer Force. Additional police force, although they do belong to the Civil Supplies Department and are borne under Extraordinary Charges, are employed for the performance of Agency functions on behalf of the Government of India, *e.g.*, Security Control work, requisition of foreigners, etc. The charge is entirely recovered from the Government of India and are adjusted in reduction of expenditure. The Enforcement Branch of the Police Force performs the following functions:—

(1) Enforcement of food regulations and orders including Control Orders, movement and distribution of foodstuffs;

(2) Enforcement of control orders on textile commodities;

(3) Enforcement of control orders on other essential commodities, *e.g.*, iron, cement, etc.;

(4) Investigation of all cases arising out of violation of all the above orders and regulations, etc.

The increase in the expedniture for extra police force is mainly due to increase in dearness allowance sanctioned with effect from 1st April, 1948.

Now I shall take up the National Volunteer Force. The honourable members are aware that since the transfer of Power there has been a persistent public demand for our young men to be trained in arms and to be enrolled in the Defence Services of India. In order to give the public an opportunity to be trained in arms and to help the Police in the prevention of crimes. *Bangiya Jatiya Rakshi Dal* Committee with a council (non-official association) registered under the Indian Company's Act was set up by some respectable citizens. Government extended their co-operation to the association. A Training Centre was established at Kanchrapara and about 1,900 volunteers have been produced so far. As it involved expenditure from public exchequer, Government appointed one of its permanent officers with considerable experience in the Army as the official Joint Secretary to the Council. Training is being imparted under the direct supervision of another permanent officer of the Government who is also an ex-officer of the Army.

We are now satisfied that given proper training Bengali youths will pick up the technique as quickly as any body else. Government feel that the services of these volunteers may be utilised as Auxiliary Police Force and at short notice they may turn out to be good soldiers too in emergency provided the Ministry of Defence accept them.

There is a demand for 21 lakhs 81 thousand rupees for National Cadet Corps. Honourable members are aware that this scheme is based on the Kungru Report. The idea is to have senior and junior divisions of the corps raised from the colleges and schools respectively. The cadets will be recruited from the students and will be officered by their own teachers specially selected and trained for the work.

With these words I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about loss on sale of subsidised food.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to provide adequate supplies of essential commodities to people consistent with the purchasing capacity of the average man.

May I submit, Sir, that there are certain cut motions which directly come under this head which are included in Industries. If you permit, Sir, I can move those cut motions because they do not directly come under Industries.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry. In your speech you can allude to them but I cannot permit to move them here.

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of Government regarding issue and cancellation of licences for cloth and coal of the Muslim dealers.

I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to reduce the present top heavy expenditure of the Civil Supplies Department.

I beg further to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the fixation of price of paddy in the Hooghly district.

I beg further to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of Government regarding procurement of paddy.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of distribution of textile goods to the tailors and the extreme inconvenience and great loss sustained by them on account of faulty system of cloth rationing and the Government's failure to provide any effective remedy.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to check corruption in the department and the general policy of Government.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr Speaker, Sir, the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Civil Supplies has already in his intelligent survey of the entire position anticipated all that I had to say on the first motion, No. 36, to raise a discussion about the loss on sale of subsidised food. Fortunately for us the loss this year is considerably less than what we sustained in previous years. It has been considerably reduced, but, Sir, I raised this question only to know from the Hon'ble Minister as to whether he could enlighten this House as to at what rates Government purchased these wheat and wheat products and at what prices they sold these stuffs. The Legislature throughout has been kept in the dark. Just during the Budget Session these things are presented before the House. We do not know anything about the actual transaction. Naturally, therefore, we are at a loss to understand the actual position. All that I wanted to impress upon the Hon'ble Minister is that he should kindly enlighten this House on the actual transaction that went on behind the scene and the actual prices at which the Government of Bengal purchased the stuffs and at what prices they sold these stuffs.

As for the second cut motion—No. 37—I am rather very much distressed to find that the Hon'ble Minister has presented a very gloomy picture. Of course it is a realistic approach to the problem. He has no doubt presented that picture after having taken a realistic view of the entire situation. He has quoted certain figures which show that even in cereals we are facing a deficit, that for some time to come we have got to depend upon imports from outside. During the last year, as he has observed, the Government of India had to provide no less than 130 crores of rupees for imports from outside. That is a gloomy picture. He said we have got to take a long range view of the situation. I am afraid, if we have got to wait for the Mor Scheme and the Damodar Scheme to mature and give us the results, the poor people in the countryside, more specially the bluk of the population, the agriculturists will be hard put to it to meet the soaring prices, to meet the demands on their slender resources from all directions. We see throughout, Sir, that these poor people are hard hit in spite of the fact that from day to day they give their toil, sweat and tears. Though they contribute to the wealth of the country but they are the people who have not the actual purchasing capacity to purchase the essential commodities of life.

Even in the rationed area the stuff that is supplied is not only insufficient but even the quality is of a very inferior character at times. Sir, Government's policy would be to discourage black-marketing as much as possible. Not that I do not realise the difficulties of the Government in this respect—because without sufficient supply there cannot be any adequate distribution of these foodstuffs too, but better quality can be guaranteed. Even in the case of quantity we find that most of the families have got to resort to black-marketing. They get barely 10 oz. to 12 oz. per head. Is that sufficient to keep a man going? Is that sufficient to feed a particular person of average age? It is not. Naturally therefore most of the families in Calcutta have got to resort to black-markets. Most of the members in this House both on this side and on the other will bear me out that without resorting to black-market no family can be properly fed. This is the position to which we have been reduced. The world food position is also very serious and desperate. The situation is fast deteriorating, and owing to the unsettled conditions in Siam, China and Indo-China which are the best rice-producing areas we are, I am afraid, heading towards a crisis. How long can the Government of India depend upon imports; how long can the Government of West Bengal depend upon imports? Let there be an intensive drive. Let there be some dynamic approach to this problem. Let there be all-round improvement in this direction. There must have been some sort of defect in the system that is continuing at the present moment. We hear in the field of textile, as the President of Cloth Mills Association has pointed out, that there is sufficient cloth available in the market, but somehow or other owing to defective distribution people do not get adequate supply. In the mufassal area, as the Hon'ble Minister was just observing, the position of kerosene has improved, but we find—we have been to mufassal areas ourselves, we find to our great disappointment—that some of the families have gone without any kerosene for days and weeks together. As regards sugar, there is a good supply at the present moment. The coal position has considerably improved no doubt. But, Sir, the prices of cereals, wheat, cloth and other essential commodities of life are absolutely beyond the reach of the average man. Sir, the Hon'ble the Finance Minister of the Government of India, Dr. Matthai, pointed out the other day that by April, 1949, the prices of foodgrains would be considerably reduced. But, Sir, will that improve the position at all unless you can maintain that relationship between the level of prices and the level of cost of living? Besides, unless you can decrease the prices of other essential commodities of life, *e.g.*, milk, fish, ghee, butter, cloth and other essentials of life, unless you can somehow or other bring them if not to the pre-war level at least to a level which is quite consistent with the average

income of the poor agriculturist in West Bengal, the position will be absolutely desperate. The Hon'ble Minister has asked us to wait for long 7 or 8 years. Already there are serious misgivings in the minds of poor men in the countryside. People have waited so long; they have seen that in spite of the plethora of projects, programmes and plans of the Government of Bengal for the last 10 or 12 years, we have no appreciable result. For the first time a new scheme is being tried and experimented. I do not know what will be the result. Huge sums of money have been provided. The Civil Supplies Department is being maintained at huge cost, but yet the position does not improve; yet the condition of the people is as desperate, as unsatisfactory, as hopeless, as ever. I would appeal to the Hon'ble Minister not to quote facts and figures but to take stock of the entire position in the light of the needs and requirements of poor people in the countryside, and make some arrangement, so that the people may be in a position to purchase the essential commodities consistent with their poor income.

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

One minute more, Sir, and I will finish. You know, Sir, the position of agriculturists. They are in perpetual indebtedness. If you compare their expenditure with their income, you will find, Sir, that their expenditure is much higher than their income. Everywhere, in Burdwan, Murshidabad and other districts, they are in heavy debts. Sir, these people cannot meet their ordinary requirements. How can they leave behind a surplus which will meet the demand for other essential commodities? In the light of these facts, I would appeal to the Hon'ble Minister to realise the entire situation, especially with reference to the poor people in the countryside. Otherwise the position will get, I am afraid, more and more desperate, and things will, I am afraid, come to a head. People have been guaranteed freedom by the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal from hunger, from illiteracy, from diseases, but none of these assurances have yet been implemented. In order to create confidence in the public mind, in order to remove the misgivings from the public mind, in order to enlist the co-operation and sympathy of the public, in order to give them food for hunger, in order to give them free medical aid, proper supply of cloth, and essential commodities, we should once again realise the entire situation and make some such arrangement which might improve the condition of the people in no time.

With these words, I commend this cut motion to the acceptance of the House.

Janab ABDUL WAHEED SARKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the matter of issue and cancellation of licence for sale of cloth and coal also, malpractices are often resorted to and the officers are often found guilty of partiality in favour of non-Muslims. In other words when there is a competition between a non-Muslim and Muslim in regard to the licence of a shop, the choice is exercised in favour of non-Muslim. There are several instances. Similar is the case regarding cancellation. There are, Sir, many instances. A number of cloth ration shops of the Muslims in Calcutta have been cancelled without any justification. I have in my possession one application from one Md. Soleman Molla, formerly a licensed coal dealer, and a resident of Kalna (Burdwan) whose licence has been cancelled on the flimsiest grounds and who has moved from pillar to post and from post to pillar for a remedy but all to no purpose. It appears that he has been deprived of his earnings for the sole offence that he is a Muslim. This is a typical instance of the mismanagement of the department and I particularly desired to bring it to the notice of the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge, who being a staunch Congressman holds the balance evenly between Muslims and non-Muslims. Let not the minority community labour under the idea that they will not have any justice and fairplay in the new set-up in this Province.

Sir, the administration or rightly speaking the maladministration of this department has come in for very adverse criticisms both in press as well as on the platform. Unfortunately the present budget is not free from the objectionable features of the previous one. The top-heavy administration is still there. The overhead charges continue to be disproportionately high. Quite a large number of establishments, for which there is hardly any justification, are functioning and compared to the budget of this department prior to the partition of the Province, the expenditure proposed to be incurred under those heads during the ensuing financial year is very heavy, although the new Province of West Bengal has shrunk in area and population by 65 *per cent.*

Sir, on the other hand, economy is attempted to be effected by reduction in expenditure under heads which could be very well justified. The rice that is supplied to the public is quite inadequate and the poor people who have no money, have to starve for two days in the week while the richer people resort to the black-market which in spite of the so-called control, is in full swing and procure their requirements from there to the fullest limit. How long can this state of things be allowed to continue? You have asked the people to tighten the belt; it is the poor people who are compelled to do so, while those who can afford to go to black-market evade your orders. You cannot ask people to starve for an indefinite period of time. It is the responsibility of the State to feed its subjects. You cannot shirk this very essential and primary duty for all time to come. The moment you supply their requirements in respect of food and cloth, black-market will cease to thrive and will die its own death. It is an elementary principle which is clear to the meanest understanding. Provided proper steps are taken, our lands are capable of yielding many times greater than the crops that we are now getting. Any deficiency of foodgrains that may happen has got to be imported regardless of the expenditure involved. Failure or omission to do so would tantamount to encouragement to black-marketing.

Sir, while on this point I desire to refer to the quality of rice supplied from the ration shops. Rice supplied to the consumers is often found mixed with not less than 5 *per cent.* of gravel. The shop-owners cannot possibly mix. It is either the purchasing agents or the storage department which is responsible for this admixture. Rice grown in West Bengal is free from grits. Similarly the high percentage of bran mixed with *atta* makes it imperative for the bran to be separated through a fine sieve, resulting in considerable reduction of the too insignificant ration and corresponding increase in price of the residual. This is nothing but an instance of grave maladministration of the department.

Sir, we all know that the enormous expenditure incurred by the department in maintaining fat-salaried officers is rushing us headlong into financial bankruptcy. Indeed so reckless is the expenditure incurred that the department has popularly come to be known as the "Civil Waste Department". There are double sets of officer in the districts, one set dealing with distribution and the other set with procurement. The functions of distribution and procurement can safely and without loss of efficiency be combined in one and the same set of officers in the districts. The policy of procurement through the District Purchasing Agents is vicious and should be forthwith abolished. The District Purchasing Agents procure paddy from the agriculturists at the rate of Rs. 7-8 per maund, and Government sell them to rice mill owners at the rate of Rs. 8-12 per maund. Thus the cultivators are deprived of the margin of Rs. 1-4 per maund. It is the agriculturists who require protection and encouragement. They have to buy their necessities at a tremendously high price and any increase however small in the price of the crops raised would be welcome to them and would serve as an incentive to them for increasing their production. It is they who stand in need of relief and I fail to see what purpose is served by paying the Agents a commission of Re. 1-4 per maund by depriving the poor agriculturists of the

corresponding amount. There can be no manner of doubt that if the price of paddy be raised from Rs. 7-8 to Rs. 8-12 the cultivators would voluntarily and gladly sell their produce direct to the Government and the intervention of District Purchasing Agents and other agents would be quite unnecessary. Thus the policy of procurement of the Government is defective and requires revision. The Government pays the mill-owners at the rate of Rs. 14-5-6 per maund of rice and sells it to the public at the rate of Rs. 17-8 per maund. If the rice after delivery at the millside is sent direct to the selling centres, the Government could easily sell it at the rate of Rs. 16 per maund even taking into consideration the transport charges from the millside to the selling centres. By this means the public could have bene benefited to the extent of Rs. 1-8 per maund and spared the trouble of eating gravelled rice.

Sir, from what I have stated above, it is abundantly clear that the price of paddy can be raised, while that of rice can be lowered a little. It will therefore be easy to understand that the proposition that increase in the price of paddy is detrimental to the interests of the cultivators does not bear scrutiny. Only the other day the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Civil Supplies Department gave a radio talk to justify the huge expenditure incurred by Government annually but viewed in its proper perspective it will be seen that the Government is following a wrong policy in these matters. Sir, it will also be quite intelligible that if in these hard and difficult days the agriculturists do not get proper encouragement from Government and do not get fair price for their crops, the "Grow More Food Campaign" will be meaningless, the drive for more food production will be a dismal failure and the future of our country will be dark indeed. In order to save the heavy drain on our finances on account of the necessity of having to import enormous quantities of foodgrains every year from Burma, Australia, Russia and other foreign countries at a tremendously heavy cost, we have to try our best to meet the deficiency by increasing the production of foodgrains of our country, but this is hardly possible under the present condition in which while grudging the payment to the tillers of the soil a slight increase of Re. 1-4 per maund of paddy, we are paying the same to a class of people, namely, the District Purchasing Agents and other Agents who are quite out of the picture in the process of growing crops on the soil and have no part to play therein.

Sir, so far as our district, namely, the Hooghly district, is concerned, it is an industrial area and consequently the wages of the labourers are higher than those of the district of Burdwan. Hence the cost of cultivation is higher in this district than that in the neighbouring surplus district of Burdwan, where on account of canal, etc., the outturn per acre is also higher. But curiously enough, the selling prices fixed for paddy in Burdwan as well as Hooghly district are the same. This shows utter lack of discrimination on the part of the departmental officers in the matter of fixing the selling rates of paddy for the different districts.

Sir, the best policy to adopt in the matter of procurement is that every District Controller, whether the area be a deficit or a surplus one, should procure paddy and rice from his respective area and after laying in stock the requisite quantity of paddy and rice should supply the excess quantity to the neighbouring areas through their respective officers in accordance with their requirements. Every District Controller should enter into agreement with dealers and millowners holding licences within their respective areas for the supply of fixed quantities of paddy and rice and should see that supply is obtained in terms of the agreement. This will not only lessen the responsibility of the Government to a great extent but will also ensure procurement and distribution of food amongst the people, who again will not have to eat gravelled rice. The Government too would not have to face heavy deficit of food and loss of finances. Unemployment will be solved in a great measure and the morale of the traders and businessmen will improve. The system of control was introduced in our country during the

last war as a Denial policy so that the foodgrains might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Whatever justification there might have been at that time for this policy, there is no longer any necessity for this system. By continuing this system normal trade channels are choked and the ordinary businessmen are converted into hoarders, black-marketers and profiteers. So long as normal trade is not allowed to flow along normal channel and unless and until the morality of the businessmen and traders is improved, black-marketing and hoarding will reign supreme. It is only when the prices of commodities are stabilised in the open competitive market according to the laws of supply and demand that the fluctuation of prices will come into operation and not before.

With these words, Sir, I beg to move the cut motions standing in my name.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Mr Speaker, Sir, I shall at the outset bring before the House the pitiable condition of the tailors as a result of the introduction of cloth rationing and control. Their business has now been ruined, and their very existence is now at stake. There are at present two lakh tailors with six lakh dependants. These people have been earning their livelihood from tailoring business. They have no other business and no other source of income. But the Partition of Bengal and re-introduction of control—these two factors have affected the economic life of these poor people to a very great extent. I have personal knowledge, Sir, and I can say for the information of the Hon'ble Minister that they are starving for want of work. Their business is to purchase cloths and make them into garments and sell them at the Chetla and Howrah *hats*, and in Calcutta and various other places in India. After the introduction of rationing they are not getting any supply of cloth, and so they are sitting idle. The Howrah *hat* is perhaps the biggest ready-made garment centre in India. Sir, the Minister for Civil Supplies has made arrangement for the distribution of cloths for all other classes of dealers, big businessmen, shop-keepers and others but he has failed to make any provision for these poor tailors numbering about two lakhs with six lakh dependants to feed. If we compare their lot with that of others of the same class we will find what injustice has been done to them. While provision has been made for the regular supply of yarn to the weavers and they are getting their quotas of yarn regularly, there is no earthly reason to deprive the poor tailors, Sir, of their business. While in the case of weavers Government are charging a licence fee of Re. 1 per loom and supplying them with regular quotas of yarn, in the case of tailors no arrangement has been made to reduce their licence fee. In respect of licence fee these poor tailors are being charged Rs. 50 for retail and Rs. 10 for hawker's licence. I therefore request the Government to place these tailors in the same category with the weavers and to reduce their licence fee. So I appeal to the Government to consider the sad lot of the tailors and make some such arrangement so that they may get cloth for making into garments and earn profits for the maintenance of themselves and their families. To hotels and restaurants Government give special quotas of foodgrains but to tailors they give nothing. If Government so desire they can set apart a special quota for them and by that quota system Government can meet their demand. Sir, it all remains with the Government and I hope our national Government will consider the question of unemployment of a particular section of people who are groaning under poverty and are on the verge of starvation and ruin, and I would appeal to Government to make whatever arrangement is possible in order to give relief to these poor people.

Sir, we fail to understand forces and factors guiding and controlling the supply, distribution and availability of cloth that the Government of West

Bengal has introduced for us. We find that by issuing *ad-hoc* permits Government has released hundreds of bales of cloth for every class of people, but these poor tailors although they tried to get a quota, failed to get anything. We find that towards the end of February, 1949, Government released a very large quantity of cloth for free sale in the open market whereas these cloths are being disposed of in the black-market. The Hon'ble Minister has said that inferior stocks have been issued for free sale, but to our amazement we find in the hawkers' corners of the city and elsewhere fine and superior varieties of *dhoties* and *sarees* for sale, for which the dealers are charging 60 or 70 *per cent.* more than the stamped price. These superior varieties of cloth you won't find in any controlled shop in the city. Sir, if this is not helping the black-market, I do not know what it is. I would request the Hon'ble Minister to ponder over the matter and see how in the open black-marketing is being encouraged? We do not know what led the Minister to allow these free sales of cloths which find their way to the black-market, especially when people are so much in need of cloth, when the tailors are starving on account of unemployment for want of cloths to be made into garments. Sir, I fail to understand the motive behind all this.

As regards the supply of cement, iron and coal everybody will admit that it is difficult now-a-days to get them, the reason being the shortage of supply and Government's difficulty to meet them. In spite of this difficulty I must impress upon the Minister that Government should take the responsibility for supplying these essential commodities. But what action he has taken in the matter we do not know and the account that he has given this evening is not very encouraging. As regards the supply of these essential commodities we find that generally two or three months are taken for the issue of permits only, and then it takes a lot of time to get the article from the dealing agents. I know of a definite case where the Iron and Steel Controller issued a permit after a long time and then it came to the Director of Consumer Goods. A very innocent man—one Hindusthani Hindu—went to bring that permit but he was refused. He was told to come after two or three months. In this way the whole administration of the Civil Supplies Department is corrupt. During the time of the Hon'ble Charu Chandra Bhandari, we found that there was life in the Civil Supplies administration, but today, Sir, there is no change in administration, there is no life in the administration. We want a thorough change in the whole administration, we want life in the administration, we want that the administration will be run for the benefit of the common man, for the benefit of the country and not for the benefit of a particular man or of particular officers who do not inspire confidence in the country. We know these officers are our countrymen and if we can inspire confidence, if we can inspire life and vitality in them, I think they can render a lot for the country. This is a thing which counts more and not money.

(At this stage the member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমাদের Supply বিভাগের সম্পর্কে কিছু বলতে গেলে (A VOICE: অপরাধ হবে।) দুর্নীতি এবং দুষ্কৃতি যেভাবে শুধু Supply বিভাগের কর্ম্মচারী নয় আমাদের জনসাধারণের ভিতরও যেভাবে ছড়িয়ে পড়েছে তাতে যদি এই দুর্নীতি এবং দুষ্কৃতি আমাদের এই বিভাগের কর্ত্তৃপক্ষগণ বন্ধ করতে না পারেন এবং দেশের লোক এই দুর্নীতির আগুনে পুড়ে যদি ছারখার হয়ে যায় তবে আমি বলবো যে Supply Departmentএর কোন প্রয়োজন নাই। আমি যে জেলা থেকে আসছি অর্থাৎ মালদহ জেলা, সেখানে এই Supply বিভাগের কর্ম্মচারীগণ, বিশেষ করে, যাঁরা সরবরাহ করেন এবং আর একদল যাঁরা সংগ্রহ করেন এই দুই দলের মধ্যে অনেক কর্ম্মচারী আছেন যাঁরা publicএর সঙ্গে, জনসাধারণের সঙ্গে যোগ করে এই দুর্নীতির রাজত্ব চালিয়ে চলেছেন। জনসাধারণ এই Supply Department আছে বলেই এই সুযোগ গ্রহণ করছে। (A VOICE: বাধ্য হচ্চে।) প্রথমে Government এই অন্যায়ের সৃষ্টি করেছেন তারপরে public সেই অন্যায়ের সুযোগ গ্রহণ করছে। মালদহ জেলায়, কাপড়, কেরোসিন, কয়লা ইত্যাদি, অতি অত্যাবশ্যকীয় জিনিষ যা মানুষের না হলে চলে না, এই জিনিষগুলি আমাদের

এই কেন্দ্র থেকে সময়মত পাঠানো হয় না। এই জেলার সরবরাহ বিভাগের কর্ম্মচারিগণ বহু লেখালেখি করা সত্বেও, telegram করা সত্বেও এমন কি তারা নিজে কলিকাতা আসা সত্তেও, মাসের পর মাস এই সমস্ত জিনিষ থেকে এই জেলার লোককে বঞ্চিত করে রাখা হচেচ। যারা ধান্য ও ফসল উৎপাদন করছে সেই চাষী দেরকে তাদের ন্যায্য লভ্যাংশ থেকে বঞ্চিত করে তাদের কাছ থেকে আইনের বলে ধান্য সংগ্রহ হচেচ। সরবরাহ বিভাগের হাজার হাজার কর্ম্মচারী তাদের বাড়ী যেয়ে যেয়ে তাদেরকে ব্যতিব্যস্ত ও হয়রাণ করে দিচেচন এই ধান নেবার জন্য। কিন্তু তাদের ব্যবহার্য্য জিনিষপত্রের অভাব-অভিযোগ দূর করার জন্য তাদের যা একান্ত প্রয়োজন তা মেটাবার জন্য কোন রকম ব্যবস্থা হচেচ না। ইহার ফলে দেশের জনসাধারণের ফসল উৎপাদনের যতটুকু উৎসাহ এবং আকর্ষণ থাকা দরকার তা ক্রমান্বয়ে লোপ পেয়ে যাচেছ। যদি Supply বিভাগ দেশের লোককে তাদের প্রয়োজনীয় ও অত্যাবশ্যকীয় জিনিষপত্র Supply করতে না পারেন তবে এই Supply Department-এর থাকার কোন প্রয়োজন নেই। দেশের দু'দল লোক আছে; একদল হচেচ উৎপাদনকারী, আর একদল হচেচ ভক্ষণকারী। যদি উৎপাদনকারীদের কাছ থেকে ফসল সংগ্রহ করা হয় এবং সেই সঙ্গে তাদেরকে তাদের অত্যাবশ্যকীয় জিনিষ দিয়ে বাঁচিয়ে রাখার ব্যবস্থা যদি করতে না পারা যায়, তাহলে আমি বলবো যে এ Supply Department দেশের লোককে শুধু মারবার জন্যই আছে তাদেরকে বাঁচাবার জন্য নয়। অত্যাবশ্যক জিনিষ, যথা, বস্ত্র, কেরোসিন, কয়লা ইত্যাদি পাবার জন্য মালদহ জেলার অধিবাসীদের সমস্ত চেষ্টাই ব্যর্থ হয়ে গিয়েছে। মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়গণ থেকে আরম্ভ করে কলিকাতার সমস্ত কর্ত্তৃপক্ষগণকে নানাপ্রকারে অভাব-অভিযোগ জানানো হয়েছে কিন্তু তারা কাণ দেন নাই। এইজন্য আমি বলি "What is joke to you is death to us". এইভাবে এই সমস্ত নিত্য-ব্যবহার্য্য জিনিষ থেকে দেশবাসীকে বঞ্চিত করায় আমি বলবো যে উপর থেকে নীচে পর্য্যন্ত যে দুর্নীতি এবং দুষ্কৃতি বিরাজ করছে এটা তাঁরা অবিলম্বে বন্ধ করুন। তারা সাধারণ লোকের এবং যারা মালদহের মত পশ্চিমবঙ্গ থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে আছে সেই সমস্ত দেশবাসীর দুঃখ দরদ বুঝুন, এবং যে উপায়ে হোক্ তাদের নিতান্ত প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষপত্র অবিলম্বে supply করুন। এই বলে আমি আমার cut motion commend করছি।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, honourable members who spoke before me wanted to draw the attention and drew the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to the shortage of the essential commodities of life. Sir, I shall not mention these things. We have been doing so for a long time, but that has produced no result. This Ministry is not interested in meeting the demands of the public. This Ministry, Sir, is more interested in distribution of favours to their friends and I shall illustrate with instances where those favours have been distributed. But, Sir, in passing, I shall try to impress upon the Minister that his callousness, that his indifference to the needs of the country, is helping in the growth of an atmosphere favourable for the propagation of Communism.

Sir, I have been informed—and it is for the Minister to say if I am right or I am wrong—that the Deputy Controller of Rationing is a brother-in-law of the Director of Rationing and that the appointment was made independent of the Public Service Commission. Sir, the salary that attaches to the post is Rs. 800 and you will agree with me that for such a post a reference ought to have been made to the Public Service Commission. After all, what is the Public Service Commission here for if they are not called upon to choose candidates for these highly paid posts.

Sir, I shall give you another instance. Another Mr. Datta, the Deputy Director of Transportation in the Civil Supplies Department, was appointed again without reference to the Public Service Comission. The person concerned, Sir, is a friend of the Hon'ble Minister and he has been promoted to the post of Director in three months. Sir, why this nepotism and why this favouritism?

Again, Sir, there are other instances of appointments in the Civil Supplies Department without referring those appointments and those vacancies to the Public Serivce Commission. Sir, there is no dearth of candidates. If a candidate could be found fit for a post, surely he could have gone and appeared before the Public Service Commission and justified his appointment before them. I know that the Public Service Commission

labour under a disability in that their recommendations are not mandatory on the Government; their recommendations are recommendatory. Why is it that the Minister, when their recommendations are not mandatory, rather only recommendatory, did fight shy to refer the vacancies in his Department to the Public Service Commission and obtain their opinion? We do not want the Public Service Commission to sit idle and do nothing. Sir, that is about appointment.

Again I should like the Hon'ble Minister to inform the House and the country through this House: who are the Hooghly Trust Limited? When has that Company been formed? Who are the Directors? The Minister ought to know all these things. He cannot plead ignorance, because the Hooghly Trust Limited do business in the Civil Supplies Department. Not only do they do business but they do business involving lakhs and lakhs of rupees. Who are they? Are they not the friends of the Ministry? Are they not being distributed favours by the the Ministry?

Sir, reference has been made to the lifting of the controls. The Hon'ble Minister perhaps may choose to invoke the name of Mahatma Gandhi in support of lifting of controls. He may also say that it was done on an all-India basis as an experiment. Sir, I have nothing to say except this that better sense should have prevailed upon the men who are responsible for the working of the controls. The lifting of controls resulted in disaster. It resulted perhaps according to the desire of the Ministry and the Congress Party in making the rich richer and the poor poorer, but that is neither here nor there. They have been reimposed. I can only appeal to the Hon'ble Minister to see that the administration is tightened up and there is no relaxation.

Now, Sir, the Jatiya Rakshi Bahini have also been brought under Extraordinary Charges and that is why I shall have to refer to them. Will the Hon'ble Minister tell us what are the composition and strength of the Jatiya Rakshi Bahini, what are their duties, exactly how they are useful to the Government and to the community, and, Sir, who are at the helm of affairs? With whom the control of the Jatiya Rakshi Bahini rests? I remerber, Sir, that this question was mooted in the Assembly last year and I remember to have suggested that it should not vest in public men, it should not vest in non-officials, but it should vest in Government officials. Sir, I want answers to these points.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: আমাদের ২৪-পরগণায় জনসম্ভরণ বিভাগ দ্বারা যে অত্যাচার হচ্ছে সে সম্বন্ধে আমি কিছু বলব।

জনসম্ভরণ বিভাগ দ্বারা ২৪-পরগণার সুন্দরবন অঞ্চল থেকে অনেক খাদ্য আমদানি হয়। কলকাতার ভিতর সেই খাদ্য আসে। মাঝখানে যে সব জায়গা আছে সেগুলিতে একেবারে কিছুই হয় না। বজবজ থেকে মেটিয়া-বুরুজ, মহেশতলা, টালিগঞ্জ, বেহালা, সোনারপুর, দমদম, ব্যারাকপুর প্রভৃতি অঞ্চলগুলি শ্রমিক বা শ্রমিক সন্নিহিত অঞ্চল। এগুলি ২৪-পরগণার Union Board এলাকার মধ্যে বলে, না তাদের এদিক ওদিক থেকে কিনবার ক্ষমতা দেওয়া হয়--না কল্‌কাতার শ্রমিক অঞ্চলে যেরূপ বরাদ্দ আছে সেরূপ তারা পায়। তারা এ দুটোরই বাইরে। Modified rationing এবং rationing কোনটাই তাদের নেই।

তারপর আমাদের আবদুল্লা সাহেব বলেছেন দর্জিদের কাজ নেই। Civil Supply বিভাগের কাপড় সরবরাহের যে বিধিব্যবস্থা আছে তাতে তারা কাপড় পায় না। কাঁদাকাটি করলে হয়ত কোন জায়গায় কোন সমিতিকে কিছু Fent কাপড় দেওয়া হয়। Fent কি রকম কাপড়? যার ওজন আছে কিন্তু পরিধি কিছু নেই। সেই কাপড় থেকে জামা বের করতে হবে এবং অন্ন সংস্থান করতে হবে। সেই কাপড় দিয়ে জামা তৈয়ার হয় না এবং সেই কাপড় বেচে পয়সাও হয় না। সুতরাং অন্ন সংস্থানের কোন উপায়ও তাতে হয় না। তবে তারা বেঁচে আছে কি করে? Civil Supplyর যে যে স্থানে গলদ সেখান দিয়ে তারা কোন রকমে বেঁচে আছে। Civil Supply খুব ভাল ভাবে যদি কড়া কড়ি আইন কানুন করে তাহলে আমাদের দেশের লোক বাঁচতে পারে না। Civil Supplyর গলদটাই হচ্ছে আমাদের দেশের লোকের কাছে খানিকটা আশীর্বাদ। এটা যদি না থাকত তাহলে আমাদের দেশের লোক বাঁচতে পারত না।

Civil Supplyর কড়াকড়ি বিষয়ে আলাউদ্দিন যা বলেছেন—আলাউদ্দিন মুসলমান লোক—তার বিপক্ষে বলতে গেলে আমি Communalismর দায় থেকে রেহাই পাব তাই সেটা আমি বলতে চাই না। আলাউদ্দিন অবশ্য বলেন নি যে কলকাতার খানিক Control কর, বেহালায় কর না, ক্যানিংএ কর, কুলপিতে কর না। Control যদি করতে হয়, তাহলে আগাগোড়া কর। যদি কিছু সঞ্চিত হয়, তবে তা সকলের মধ্যে বেঁটে দেও। আমাদের দেশে খাদ্য যা হবে, সকলে আমরা বেঁটে খাব। কিন্তু এই রকম লুকোচুরি—এখানে আছে ত, সেখানে নেই, এ মাসে আছে, ও মাসে নেই--এই রকম করলে তার ফল ভাল হয় না। Control করেন ত আগাগোড়া সর্ব্বব্যাপী করুন। Control যদি না করেন, তবে সব জায়গায় ছেড়ে দিন।

চারু বাবুর সময়ে ছিল কুলপী থানা বাদ--সেখান থেকে খাবার সংগ্রহ করতে হবে। মাঝে হ'ল ক্যানিং থানা বাদ, এবার হয়েছে কুলপী বন্ধ, ক্যানিংও বন্ধ। অথচ অনেকেই জানেন যে ক্যানিং থেকে কলিকাতার মধ্যে যে বিরাট অঞ্চল আছে যেটা পিয়ালী নদী ও বিদ্যাধরী নদীর কুক্ষিগত হয়ে আছে এবং কয়েক বৎসর ধরে ফসলাদি হচ্ছে না—সেটা কলিকাতা থেকে কোন অংশে কম অচাষীর জায়গা নয়। কলিকাতায় যেমন একছটাক কিছু উৎপন্ন হয় না, ও জায়গায়ও তেমনি এক ছটাকও উৎপন্ন হয় না। কাজেই এরা ধান চাল কোথায় পাবে? সেখানে modified rationingও নাই। মিনিষ্টার মহাশয় হয় ত বলবেন সেখানে permit দেওয়া হয়। Permit কেন? যদি প্রত্যেক ইউনিয়নে priority list আছে অর্থাৎ লোকের হিসাবের তালিকা আছে তা হলে modified rationingএর নাম কোরে একে ওকে দেওয়া হবে কেন? Permit যদি একজন হরিশ্চন্দ্র পায় তবে একজন রহিম চন্দ্র বা জসীমুদ্দীন মনে করবে যে আমি মুসলমান বলে পেলাম না। এ রকম দরকার নাই। যেখানে priority লিষ্ট ইত্যাদি তৈয়ারী আছে, সেখানে গভর্ণমেণ্ট থেকে দেওয়া হউক, ব্যক্তি বিশেষকে পছন্দ কোরে nominated বা selected লোককে দেবার দরকার নেই। এইরকম করার ফলে আমাদের দেশ অঞ্চলে অত্যন্ত অভাব হচ্ছে, কষ্ট যাচ্ছে এবং তারা দায়ে পড়ে এই প্রকার লুকোচুরি, চুরি, জুয়াচুরি করছে। লোককে বাধ্য ক'রে চোর বানান হচ্ছে। জানি খাদ্য সঙ্কট হয়েছে, কিন্তু তার ব্যবস্থা অন্য ভাবে করতে হবে। তা না হলে আলাউদ্দীনের নীতি নিয়ে, আলাউদ্দীনের কথা উল্লেখ ক'রে বাঁচা চলবে না। সান্দীপনমুনির পাঠশালার উল্লেখ কোরে হরেন্দ্র চৌধুরী মহাশয় যদি বিনা বেতনে সকলকে শিক্ষা দিতে বলেন তাহলে এ দেশে শিক্ষা চলবে না। আলাউদ্দীন যাই করে থাকুন না কেন সেই নীতি এখনও যে চলবে তা নয়। যদি আলাউদ্দীনের নীতি ভাল মনে করেন তবে একেবারে সব কণ্ট্রোল করুন, এবং মিনিষ্ট্রী থেকে top to bottom declare কোরে দেওয়া হউক যে আলাউদ্দীনের অমর কীর্ত্তি অমর অটল হয়ে থাক, এ আমরা ছাড়ব না। কিন্তু তা ত নয়। এর নাম হ'ল জনসংভরণ কিন্তু কার্য্যতঃ ওটা জনসংহরণ। এই যে কণ্ট্রোল এটা সমস্ত জায়গায়ই বঞ্চনা, বন্টন নয়। কানা ছেলের নাম পদ্মলোচন দিলে চোখের জ্যোতি বৃদ্ধি হবে না। তার নাম যাই দিন সেটা criminal supply—civil নয়। কলিকাতায় কে আছে যে ৵২৵ ছটাক খেয়ে বেঁচে আছে? রাস্তায় কতজন আছে যারা খায় না? দেখুন বেহালার কাছে, বালিগঞ্জে, গড়িয়ার কাছে, দেখুন Bally Bridge পর্য্যন্ত সকল জায়গায় কেবলমাত্র আইনের গণ্ডীর ফাঁক দিয়ে হাজার হাজার লোক চাউল আনছে। যাদের দরকার হচ্ছে তারা নিচ্ছে। নৈতিক অপরাধ কারও নাই। যে চাউল কিনছে আর যে চাউল আনছে কারও নৈতিক অপরাধ নাই। আইনে ফাঁক রাখা হয়েছে বলেই, এই সব হচ্ছে। এই ফাঁক গুলো যেন না থাকে, সকলকে এক দড়িতে যেন বাঁধা হয় এইটী বলবার কথা। কাজেই এই Control ব্যবস্থা যত শীঘ্র দূর হয়, ততই ভাল। Control কয়েক বৎসর ধরে চলেছে, আরও ৭ বৎসর ধরে চলবে। কষ্ট করতে আমরা সকলেই প্রস্তুত, যদি সঙ্গে সঙ্গে দেখি যে খাদ্য শস্য বাড়াবার প্রকৃত কোন উদ্যোগ হচ্ছে। "Grow More Food" এই ২।৩টা শব্দ উচ্চারণ করলেই more food হবে না। নামে অমুক "মোর" অমুক "দামোদর" এই সব বড় বড় কথা বললে হবে না। আমাদের দেশে যেখানে নদীর জল আটকে আছে, বিল টিল আছে আশে পাশে, তার সম্বন্ধে সকলে মিলে সমবেত ভাবে চেষ্টা করা দরকার। কলিকাতার আশপাশে যে জমিগুলো ডুবে রয়েছে, এগুলো সমবেতভাবে চেষ্টা কোরে সভ্যকারের চাষ বাড়ানর চেষ্টা করা উচিত। কিন্তু চাষ বাড়াবার চেষ্টা কই? মিনিষ্টার সাহেব দুর্ব্বল, তাঁর কৃষক আরও দুর্ব্বল এবং তাদের মন তার চেয়েও দুর্ব্বল। এই দুর্ব্বলতার মধ্যে কোন সবল কার্য্যকলাপ কিছুই হতে পারে না।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আমার আজকে বলবার ইচ্ছা ছিল না। কিন্তু বন্ধুবর শ্রীপ্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র সেনের বক্তৃতা শুনে কিছু বলবার ইচ্ছা হচ্ছে। কথা হচ্ছে এই তাঁর কাছ থেকে এরকম একটা বক্তৃতা --এই রকম একটা gloomy picture মোটেই আশা করা যায়নি। কিছুদিন আগে তাঁর সঙ্গে একত্রে জেলখানায় থাকতে "Grow more food" বিষয়ে তাঁর যে উদ্দীপনা ও উৎসাহ দেখেছি অল্প কয়েক দিনের

মধ্যে সিভিল সাপ্লাই ডিপার্টমেন্ট হাতে পেয়ে তিনি চোখে অন্ধকার দেখ্‌ছেন। আরামবাগে বৃটিশের আওতার অত্যাচারে কখনও অন্ধকার দেখেন নাই। সেণ্ট্রাল গভর্ণমেণ্ট এই রকম অন্ধকারময় অবস্থা সত্বেও এই রকম picture তারা দিচ্ছেন না। তাঁরা বলছেন হ্যাঁ, আমরা কুড্ তৈরী করছি, শীঘ্রই ১৩০ কোটী টাকা বাঁচান যাবে। সেটা খুবই আশার বাণী তাতে সন্দেহ নাই। এটা লক্ষ্য করবার বিষয় যে সেন মহাশয় এই সব আশার, কথা কিছুই শোনান নাই। দুঃখের বিষয় এটা আমাদের কাছে শ্রুতিকটু লাগছে। এর মানে এটা নিশ্চয়ই নয় যে যে কংগ্রেসের সঙ্গে আমি ২৮ বৎসর ছিলাম—(A VOICE: এখন?) এখন আর নেই। (A VOICE: কবে থেকে?) পুরো এক বৎসর।—সেই কংগ্রেসের মধ্যে জীবনীশক্তি নেই। সেই জীবনীশক্তি যেটুকু আছে তা ক্রমশঃ হ্রাস পেয়ে আসছে তা সত্য। তবে যেটুকু এখনও আছে তা যদি proper channelএ যেত তাহ'লে আর আমাদের এরকম নিরাশার বাণী তাদের কাছ থেকে শুনতে হ'তো না। এরা বলছেন Centre দেয় না; এত লক্ষ টন সিমেণ্ট চাই পাচ্ছি না, ষ্টীল চাই পাচ্ছি না। বাংলা দেশ শস্যশ্যামলা, এখানে প্রচুর খাদ্য উৎপাদন করা যায়; 10 per cent. deficit কিছুই নয়। অন্যান্য দেশের কথা ছেড়েই দিলাম--রাশিয়ার কথাও ছেড়ে দিলাম--এখানকার এই 10 per cent. deficit ফসলের উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির দ্বারা দু'বৎসরের মধ্যেই পূরণ করা যায়। যদি মন্ত্রী মহাশয়রা একটু সক্রিয় হ'ন, এই সামান্য deficit পড়ে না। এটা কি মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের দায়িত্ব নয়। তিনি অবশ্য শুক্‌নো আলু খাওয়ার কথা বলেছেন। কিন্তু যে পরিমাণ খাদ্য দরকার সেই পরিমাণখাদ্য দেওয়া হয় কি? মিঃ সুরাবর্দ্দী আমাদের gruel বা ছ্যাটু খাওয়াতেন। আমাদের নয় কারণ আমরা জেলে ছিলাম--অন্য সব দেশবাসীকে—তাঁকে লেখা হয়েছিল যে প্রত্যেক লোককে যদি ৬০০ ক্যালরী খাদ্য দৈনিক না দেওয়া যায় তাহ'লে লোক মারা যায়। আমি তাকে স্মরণ করিয়ে দেব যে যেভাবে তিনি অল্প খাইয়ে রাখ্‌ছেন, তার চেয়ে বরং কিছু লোক মেরে ফেলবার ব্যবস্থা করুন। তাহ'লে বাকি লোক অন্ততঃ খেয়ে বাঁচতে পারবে।

দ্বিতীয় কথা হচ্ছে এই যে কণ্ট্রোল আমরা চাই। আগে অনেকে বক্তৃতায় বললেন কণ্ট্রোল চাই না। আমি সোস্যালিষ্ট--, আমি কণ্ট্রোল চাই। তবে যেটুকু production হচ্ছে সেইটুকু যাতে সুষ্ঠুভাবে বণ্টন হয়--সেটাই আমি চাই। যতখানি iron discipline প্রয়োজন, তা করা অবশ্যই দরকার। এবিষয়ে ডাঃ রায় বলেছেন দেশের সব লোক যদি চোর হয়, আমরা কি করবো? ভাল লোক পাই কোথায়? আমরা বৃটিশ গভর্ণমেণ্টের সঙ্গে লড়বার সময় এই material দিয়েই লড়েছি। বারে বারে লোক সরে গেছে, বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা করেছে, পুলিশ এ দেশেরই লোক, আমাদের ধরিয়ে দিয়েছে, তখন আপনারা হতাশ হ'ন্ নাই। ১৫ই আগষ্টের আগে যে material ছিল আজও সেটা আছে, অথচ তাঁরা আজ দুর্ভিক্ষের বিরুদ্ধে লড়তে পারছেন না। একথা আজ ডাঃ রায়ের কাছ থেকে শুনতে হয়, বন্ধু প্রফুল্ল সেন মহাশয়ের কাছ থেকেও শুনতে হয় এটাই দুর্ভাগ্যের কথা।

যেভাবে আজ কণ্ট্রোল হচ্ছে তার উদ্দেশ্য কি? ডিষ্ট্রিক্টের মধ্যে জিনিষপত্র এখান থেকে ওখানে যেতে পারবে না এই restriction and cordoningএর প্ল্যান যে কি তা আমরা খুঁজে পাই না। আমাদের মন্ত্রী মহাশয়দের সঙ্গে সংযোগ কম। শ্রমমন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে মাঝে মাঝে সাক্ষাৎ বা সংঘাত হয় বটে, হোম মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের সঙ্গে কখন কখন কোন কাজে দেখা হয়, কিন্তু সিভিল সাপ্লাই মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের সঙ্গে দেখা হোক বা না হোক সকালে বিকালে সব সময় খাবার সময় তাঁর কথা মনে হয়। যেখানে খাওয়ার সময় দাঁতে একটা কাঁকর পড়ে যায় তখনই তাঁকে মনে করছি দু'বেলা। শুধু আমি একা নই বাংলা দেশের সকল লোককেই তাকে মনে করতে হয়। আমি তাঁকে আরও জানিয়ে দিতে চাই যে লোকে মনে করার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তাঁকে নানা রকম কটুক্তিও করে।

Sri HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: মাননীয় সদস্য পদত্যাগ করে পুনরায় নির্বাচিত হয়ে এসে বক্তৃতা করলে ভাল হয় না কি?

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আপনারাও কিছুদিন আগে এখানে ছিলেন।

Sri HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: খবরের কাগজে বেরিয়েছিল আপনি পদত্যাগ করেছেন?

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: পদত্যাগ পত্র আপনারা নিন্ নাই, গ্রহণ করবার সে সাহস আপনাদের ছিল না। এক বছরের উপর পদত্যাগ পত্র দিয়েছিলাম। এ সম্পর্কে আমি এখানেই একটা statementও করতে চেয়েছিলাম, কিন্তু এখানকার আইন অনুসারে পারি নাই। (A VOICE: একটু আরম্ভ করুন।) যদি স্পীকার মহাশয় permission দেন, তাহ'লে আমি দিতে রাজী আছি।

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please. You please go on with your speech on the subject.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: যাক্। যে কথা বলছিলাম কণ্ট্রোল ব্যাপারে চালের কণ্ট্রোলটার রহস্য কিছু বোঝা যায় না। ডিষ্ট্রিক্টের মধ্যে আটকে যায়, আবার বাইরে থেকে আনা যায়। মেদিনীপুর থেকে চাল আসছে আটকান যাচ্ছে না। কলকাতার লোকে যতটা তাঁর খাবার দরকার, তা খাচ্ছেন। অথচ মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দিতে পারেন না। Blackmarketing এর কথা একজনে বলেছেন force করে আমাদের blackmarketing করতে হচ্ছে; সে কথা খানিকটা সত্য। একটা অব্যবস্থার জন্য এই ব্যাপারটা হচ্ছে। এ বিষয়ে আমি কোন constructive suggestion দেবার যোগ্যতা রাখি না। তবে আমি এ বিষয়ে আলোচনা করছি—একজন সাধারণ লোক হিসেবে অনুভব করছি। এই সুযোগে আজ জানিয়ে দিতে চেয়েছিলাম বলেই বলছি। কণ্ট্রোলের কথা বলছিলাম কণ্ট্রোল দরকার। কণ্ট্রোলের সমর্থনে নানারকম থিওরী মন্ত্রী মহাশয় হয়ত দেবেন, production কম হচ্ছে তাই inflation হচ্ছে। কাপড়ের কণ্ট্রোল উঠে গেল, কাপড়ের মালিকদের পকেটে ১০০ কোটী টাকা দিয়ে দেওয়া হ'ল, অথচ কাপড়ের production এক ইঞ্চি কমেও নাই বাড়েও নাই। চিনির কণ্ট্রোল উঠিয়ে দেওয়ার পরে দাম বেড়ে গেল, চিনির উৎপাদন কমলোও না বাড়লোও না অথচ চিনির যারা ষ্টকিষ্ট তারা ২০ কোটী টাকা লাভ করলো। সুতরাং কণ্ট্রোল আমরা চাই যদি প্রয়োজন হয়। যা উৎপন্ন করা হবে সেটা সমভাবে proportionately distribution হ'লে আমাদের কোন আপত্তি নাই। কণ্ট্রোল ঠিকমত করা হচ্ছে না। তার ফলে নানারকমভাবে অসদুপায়ে আমরা নিজেদের খাদ্যদ্রব্য ও অন্যান্য জিনিষপত্র সংগ্রহ করছি। মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের চোখের সামনেই কলকাতার উপরে blackmarketing হচ্ছে। মেদিনীপুর ও অন্যান্য জেলার border থেকেই যে চাল আসে শুধু তা নয় কলকাতার রাস্তায় রাস্তায় সেই চাল বিক্রী হচ্ছে। এই কণ্ট্রোল করবার ক্ষমতা কংগ্রেস বা তাদের বর্ত্তমান গভর্ণমেণ্টের নাই। তাদের যখন সে ক্ষমতা হচ্ছে না, তখন কাজেই যে অবস্থা বর্ম্মায় হয়েছে, চীনে হয়েছে সেইরকম অবস্থার জন্য তাদের প্রস্তুত থাকতে হবে। হাত পা ছেড়ে দিয়ে বসে থাকবার আজ সময় নয়। যে কমিউনিষ্টদের বিরুদ্ধে চারিদিকে গালাগালি করছেন সেই জিনিষটাকেই আপনারা স্বেচ্ছায় ডেকে আনছেন। আমি দেখেছি ক্যানাডায় যুদ্ধের সময় রুটীর দাম কমে গিয়েছিল, ইংলণ্ডে দাম বেড়েছিল ১৫ per cent. কি ২০ per cent. কিন্তু এদেশে এত দাম বেড়ে গিয়েছে যে তার শেষ নাই।

আর একটা কথা বলে আমি শেষ করবো। দু'মিনিট আর আছে। বদরুদ্দোজা সাহেব বলেছেন purchasing power কমেছে আমরা মাইনা বেশী চাই, dearness allowance ইত্যাদি চাই। তার সেটা আমাদের labourএর কথা। আমরা রেলওয়ের ব্যাপারে দেখিয়ে দিয়েছি যে আমরা মাইনা বেশী চাই না, আমরা বলি জিনিষের দাম কমাও। জিনিষের দাম কম হলে অনেক সমস্যার সমাধান হয়। আমাদের আশা দেওয়া হচ্ছে ছ'মাসের মধ্যে দাম কমবে। সম্প্রতি বলা হয়েছে দাম কমছে। জানি না। হয়ত পাঁচ-সাত পয়েণ্ট কমেছে। লোহা, ষ্টীল বা সিমেণ্টের দাম কিছু কমেছে। লোহার বাড়ী বা সিমেণ্টের বাড়ী তৈরী না করে ইটের বা মাটির বাড়ী তৈরী করা যায়। তাতে লোকের এত দুর্দ্দশা হয় না। চাল বা কাপড় যার জন্য লোকের দুর্দ্দশা বেশী হয়েছে সেদিকে নজর দিন্ এবং দুর্নীতি দমনের ব্যবস্থা করুন-- আমার বিশ্বাস সেটা করা যায়। এদেশে স্বাধীনতার জন্য যাঁরা লড়াই করেছেন তাঁরা যে সততা দেখিয়েছেন তা যে রাতারাতি কমে গেছে সেটা বিশ্বাস করি না।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, a careful perusal of the list of cut motions tabled in this House in connection with the Civil Supplies Budget reveals an astounding fact. That fact is that 22 motions have been tabled and out of these 22 as many as 14 motions have been tabled by the *Nirjatita* Congress *karmis*, that is, more than 50 *per cent.*, rather to be more accurate, 60 *per cent.* of the motions have been tabled by the *Nirjatita* Congress *karmis*. Let us consider what the tabling of these token cut motions means. Sir, it means that those gentlemen felt for the country; they felt that the grievances of the people must be placed before this Assembly and the entire public. And in order to give vent to their feelings and grievances these cut motions were tabled by those *Nirjatita* Congress *karmis*. Sir, the failings and the actions of the so-called *Nirjatita* Congress *karmis* remind me of a modern folk song—

Dharam karam sab bikdia
Kalabazarka bijmey.
Manua bhajle Sitaram.

(Laughter.)—(A VOICE: It should be recited in accompaniment with musical instrument)—Sir, those disgruntled *Nirjatita* Congress *karmis* were, however, prevailed upon by the gentlemen in the Ministry not to move them. That is the reason why they sing—

Dharam karam sab bikdia
Kalabazarka bijmey.
Manua bhajle Sitaram.

(Renewed laughter.)

Let me now speak something about the working of the Civil Supplies Department, about the frolics of my friends over there. The gentlemen over there, the powers that be at the moment, they say that we are the close followers, we are the faithful followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Sir, I have not the least doubt that if ever India produced a man, it was Mahatma Gandhi, it was he who brought freedom to this benighted land of ours and it was our expectation, it was our hope that the message and action of our Father will be followed by his so-called followers. But it is lip service—they always profess that he is our Father, he is our Father, but I say from their doings, their action, that they are the most অবাধ্য sons. They never mind his message, they never follow his action. It has been laid down in the Koran why these great personages, why these apostles, why these Waliullas, why these Avatars, are sent to this mundane world.

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: আরবীতে বলুন।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: If I say in Arabic, you will not understand it and you will laugh. Let me speak in English or if you want I will speak in Bengali. "اگر اجازت هو تو هم هندی میں بهی کهه سکتے هیں' اردو میں بهی کهه سکے هیں"

Let me finish in English. What was the message. I was just quoting a verse of the Koran which says that great personages, great prophets, great Waliullas, great Avatars are sent in order to set an example to the mankind so that by their messages, by their actions, they lead their lambs, that is, they lead the people to the right path. It has been laid down in the Koran that there is not a single nation on earth to which they have not been sent and they have preached one thing, one religion to humanity—believe in God and do good to others. That is the civilized religion, that is the human religion and that is the religion of mankind I have no doubt, Sir, that Mahatma Gandhi had prophetic vision.

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

Sir, only five or ten minutes. I am speaking about the Father of the Nation and you should not interrupt me. (Laughter.)

Mr. SPEAKER: All right, you go on.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: The Koran says that the greatest gifts of God are foresight, breadth of vision and breadth of heart. These are the greatest gifts of God and I have no doubt that all these qualities our Mahatma possessed to the last degree. If you believe that he had good foresight, did not the Father say: Well, my children, my sons, give up control and let free channel of trade take its own course, let the law of supply and demand take its own course. But you gentlemen, can you, can any man on earth, resist the law of gravitation? If anyone cannot resist the law of gravitation or the physical law or the chemical law or the medical law or the sanitation law or any law, how can you resist the economic law of supply and demand? You are fools to try it. (Laughter.) I won't labour on this point. Therefore, my proposition is—decontrol everything. It is your control, it is your

thousand and one bad policies, thousand and one bad acts, which have given rise to black-marketing. Sir, I am a dweller of the village. I say with all the responsibility of the representative of a people before this Assembly House of the whole nation that full 50 *per cent.* of the poulation are engaged in black-marketing and it is for this reason that we do not get servants in our houses. We do not get servants because both males and females are engaged in black-marketing, are engaged in carrying rice and paddy from one station to another, from one district to another, from one Province to another. Full 50 *per cent.* of the population are engaged in it.

My friend Mr. Shyamapada Bhattacharyya is saying nothing though he was crying hoarse over it and he was scolding me for all these things.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: I would beseech the Hon'ble Minister to take pity on the tailors, as was said by Mr. Abdullah, and try to redress their grievances.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, will you give me two minutes?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, I am sorry.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Sir, I am very grateful for the very high tone of the debate on my demand. Janab Badrudduja asked me to tell him about the loss that we incurred on sales of imported rice and wheat. As I have said in my speech, the loss on imported rice amounts to over Rs. 7 per maund. Last year, we imported about 90,000 tons of rice from Brazil, Burma, Siam and Argentina and the loss was to the extent of Rs. 40 lakhs on imported rice alone. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Ninety thousand tons at Rs .7 per maund?) Yes. On wheat and wheat products—whole wheat, barley and flour—which we got from U.S.A., Canada and Australia, the loss has been much more. This loss is shared between the Government of India and the Provincial Government. The Government of India till September bore a share of 66 *per cent.* and now they are bearing a share of 75 *per cent.* of the loss. The total cost price of wheat, barley and flour——

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: It works out as 1 crore 40 lakhs.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: No; I said 40 lakhs on rice alone.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I do not know; my mathematics is wrong then.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The cost prices of wheat, barley and flour are Rs. 15-6, Rs. 11-10 and Rs. 22-0-3 pies per maund, respectively, against the selling prices of Rs. 14-10, Rs. 14-10 and Rs. 20-8. This discloses a loss of annas 11 pies 7 on wheat and Rs. 1-8-3 pies on flour. The quantities of wheat, barley and flour expected to be issued during the year 1949-50 are 2 lakhs tons of wheat and wheat products. On the basis of the above the net loss in our transactions in wheat, barley, and flour during the year 1949 is estimated at Rs. 6 lakhs 85 thousand. Out of this total loss, Rs. 3 lakhs 85 thousand is expected to be received from the Government of India as subsidy and our portion of the loss amounts to a little over Rs. 3 lakhs.

Janab Badrudduja dealt at some length regarding the inferior quality of rice. You know we have now lost Barisal, the granary of undivided Bengal. There at Barisal we used to get *balam* rice, the best rice, free of stone and sand. Now we get our rice mostly from Birbhum, Bankura and parts of Burdwan where the richest among us have to eat some quantity of sand and stone. The quantity is not sufficient I confess because there has

been rationing. There is some amount of black-marketing, I know. I may tell this House that whereas we give about 20,000 maunds of rice per day in Calcutta, the quantity that is sold in the black-market in Calcutta will not amount to more than 5,000 maunds. We give 20,000 maunds; in the black-market you cannot get more than 5,000 maunds. So you cannot hoard. Suppose there was free sale and suppose there was decontrol, then you would have hoarded, because you would not have got your supplies weekly. You would have hoarded rice to meet one, two or three months' requirements. We have got here in Calcutta high purchasing power, but the purchasing power in rural areas is low and stock of paddy will be depleted and if there was decontrol, there would be famine as in the year 1943.

About kerosene oil, as I have said, I am thinking of sending 10,000 units more to mufassal areas.

Janab Badrudduja has also spoken about the prices of other commodities. I may tell Janab Badrudduja that the price of rice due to our control and rationing has been much lower, as I have said in my speech, in comparison with what obtains in East Bengal and other Provinces which experimented on decontrol during 1948.

Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar wanted to know how long the food rationing would continue. As I have said, it will continue so long as we do not become self-sufficient or till the world food position improves. He also talked about admixture in rice. I do not think he believes that the Civil Supplies Department adulterates——

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: You do not exercise sufficient check to see that rice is not adulterated at the source. Somebody does adulterate. Certainly it is not the grower; it may be one of your agents.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Janab Abdullah spoke about the difficulties of the tailors. At the present moment cloth is distributed to tailors through *bona-fide* and representative associations, and they are given supplies in bulk. These supplies are in addition to cloth and consumer's supplies——

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What about the question of cancellation of licences belonging to Muslims?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I am coming to that. I know the plight of the tailors. In undivided Bengal the tailors in Calcutta and round about Calcutta had markets in East Bengal. Those markets have now been lost. I know that they are in a very sad plight and till better trade relation is established between East Bengal and West Bengal or between the two Dominions, East Bengal markets will be closed to them.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Even for the market that exists they are not getting sufficient cloth. That is their grievance.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I shall look into the matter. So far as I am aware they are getting adequate quantity of cloth. I cannot allow any export to East Bengal.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: We do not want any export. In our own territory you are not being able to supply sufficient cloth.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I do not believe so. So far as our territory is concerned, the supply is quite sufficient.

Licences for dealing with Indian mill-made cloth are being freely issued to all *bona-fide* dealers irrespective of community, religion and creed. Licences are cancelled only for contravention of Cloth Control Order or for conviction in connection with offences of a serious nature. In fact, during the year 1948-49 with the solitary exception of a Muslim hawker implicated in smuggling of cloth beyond the borders of Indian Union, there is no record

of cancellation of the textile licences of any Muslim dealer in West Bengal. I may inform the members that at the beginning of the year 1948 there were 152 wholesale dealers and 1,401 retail dealers in Calcutta. Of these there are *8 Muslim wholesale dealers and 377 Muslim retail dealers. There is no communal question involved.*

Janab Abdullah raised the question of black-marketing of cloth. So long as there will be control, some amount of black-marketing will prevail unless we change our character.

Janab Sayeed Mia spoke about corruption. Our Enforcement Branch are taking severe steps in the matter, and if any specific case is brought to our notice, I promise that I shall look into the matter.

Regarding the supply of coal, kerosene and other consumer goods in Malda I have said in my speech that transport bottleneck is still prevailing. I may, however, tell Janab Sayeed Mia that booking restrictions have now been lifted and I hope to send more consumer goods to Malda. Janab Sayeed Mia has mentioned about our procurement of rice in Malda. Now, Sir, we procured 760 tons in terms of rice in Malda and we sent to Malda more than 1,000 tons of rice. So we have not fleeced the people of Malda. This year also in Malda we have procured only 900 tons and I promise that the whole of this quantity will be kept stored in Malda for consumption in Malda district.

Now, Sir, regarding cloth, better arrangements are being made and I am running a few special trains in which cloth will be sent to Malda, West Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What is the amount of procured paddy that has been removed from Murshidabad?) I cannot tell that off-hand. Now, Sir, Janab Khuda Bukhsh has charged me with nepotism. Sir, the meaning of "nepote" is nephew as has been given in the *Nation*, and I have not given any service to my nephew.

Regarding the employment of the Deputy Controller of Rationing who is alleged to be the brother-in-law of the Director of Rationing, I may say that the appointment was made by a Selection Committee and the Director of Rationing had nothing to do with it. Janab Khuda Bukhsh knows well that all appointments in the Civil Supplies Department are for periods of six months or three months and in the case of temporary appointments no reference need be made to the Public Service Commission (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Why then the appointments of the Rationing Officers were referred to the Public Service Commission although they were also temporary?) Sir, so far as temporary appointments are concerned, we do not refer them to the Public Service Commission because their services are terminable at one month's notice.

Regarding the appointment of the Deputy Director of Transportation, Janab Khuda Bukhsh alleged that he was a friend of mine. I may say, Sir, that I never knew him till he was appointed by the Selection Committee which considered him to be the fittest man. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Who were in the Selection Committee?) The members of the Selection Committee so far as I remember were the Secretary of the Civil Supplies Department, the Financial Adviser to the Civil Supplies Department and the then Director of Transportation of the Civil Supplies Department.

Janab Khuda Bukhsh also enquired who are the Hooghly Trust Limited. Sir, this is a limited company which have been dealing in cloth since the last 5 or 6 years and not only they are efficient but they are very honest and I have no connection with the Hooghly Trust Limited. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: But they are your friends.) Sir, every body is my friend.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order, please.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Now, Sir, regarding the Jatiya Rakshi Bahini, I have already said that this Jatiya Rakshi Bahini has already trained 1,900 persons at Kanchrapara. This Jatiya Rakshi

Bahini Dal has been constituted as a special unit of the West Bengal National Volunteer Force under section 7 of the West Bengal National Volunteer Corps Act, 1949, for the purpose for which it was originally meant.

One Company of 183 persons of the Bangiya Karmi Dal has been raised and they are being trained for employment in public utility services, viz., construction of roads, bridges, etc.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Who controls this Bangiya (Jatiya) Rakshi Dal? Is it a private or an official body?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: That is laid down in the Act; it is a Government body.

Then Janab Jasimuddin Ahmed complained about cordoning. If we are to make adequate procurement we have to enforce cordoning. Modified rationing is introduced in areas where there is either rise in price or shortage and I promise Janab Jasimuddin Ahmed that if there is a shortage or rise in price in any of those areas of which he spoke I will rush supplies. About other points I think they have already been covered.

About my friend Sri Sibnath Banerjee's speech he has complained that I have given him a very dark and dismal and gloomy picture. The Civil Supplies Department is responsible for distribution—I am not responsible for production. Production is in the hands of my honourable friend, the Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath Panja and he will tell you what schemes are there for "Grow More Food".

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Is there no collective responsibility of the Ministry?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes, yes, but it being a special subject falling under my honourable friend he will tell the House in detail what the schemes are. I am very glad that my friend Sri Sibnath Banerjee is in favour of retaining control. About *chaler kakor* I said I cannot help it when Barisal has gone out of West Bengal. You must eat Birbhum rice and we are trying for equitable distribution as far as possible.

Regarding his complaint that I am giving 600 calories. Sri Sibnath Banerjee is a student of science and I know he was very strong in mathematics. Then of course he took to labour work. What I am now giving is about a 1,000 calories in cereals besides other things and on an average even the middle class people are taking 1,800-2,000 calories. I know this is also not sufficient.

With these words, Sir, I oppose all the cut motions and commend my motion for acceptance.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—12.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab.
Abdullah, S. M. Janab.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab.
Badrudduja, Janab Syed.
Banerjee, Sri Sibnath.
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab.
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab.
Mudassir Hossain, Janab.
Muhammad Idris, Janab.

NOES—35.

Bandopadhaya, Sri Pramatha Nath.
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prasad.
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar.
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra.
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada.
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra.
Chatterjee, Sri Haripada.
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sri Radha Nath.
Das Gupta, Sri Khagendra Nath.
Dass, Sri Kanailal.
De, Sri Kanai Lal.
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu.
Ganguli, Sri Bepin Behari.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda.
Gomes, Mr. D.
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra.
Maiti, The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari.
Majhi, Sri Nishapati.
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra.
Mallick, Sri Ashutosh.
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada.
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan.
Murarka, Sri Basantlal.
Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar.
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra.
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath.
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra.
Roy, Sri Jajneswar.
Sarkar, The Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan.
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra.
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra.

The Ayes being 12 and the Noes 35, the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab S. M. Abdullah that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Md. Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 4,08,53,000 for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen that a sum of Rs. 4,08,53,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "63—Extraordinary charges in India" was then put and agreed to.

Curtailment of speeches for adhering to the time-table.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I adjourn the House I wish to draw the attention of the honourable members to the fact that we have not been able to adhere to the time-table, and I wish the honourable members to curtail their speeches. As a matter of fact there was an opening speech today of about one hour, and then after that there was again his right of reply. I would therefore request the honourable members to curtail their speeches.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, our difficulty is that two or three cut motions are lumped together and we are given only fifteen minutes' time to speak on those motions.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-45 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 23rd March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 23rd March, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 60 members.

Budget for 1949-50

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

38—Medical.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 3,53,31,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "38—Medical".

When we scan the list of cut amendments that have been proposed on this motion it seems to me that the members of the House desire to know first of all whether there is any plan, and if so, to what extent has that plan been implemented and is proposed to be implemented in the course of the next year.

Sir, before we talk about a plan we must put before the House as well as before the public the position with regard to medical relief and public health conditions in this country. Fortunately for us the Government of India in 1944 appointed a committee which is popularly known as the Bhore Committee on which I had the honour to serve, which travelled all over India, collected statistics and made a report to the Government of India which the Government of India have accepted. And in that report a complete plan was given with regard to the provisions that have to be made for providing medical relief to the people as well as ensuring public health measures. Sir, this Committee, whose report the West Bengal Government also endorse and accept, laid down certain fundamental propositions:

Firstly, that every individual in the State has a right to demand free medical treatment including the cost of diagnosis, laboratory and otherwise.

Secondly, that the doctor in the villages should have sufficient aid from experts in order that he might fulfil the functions of an adviser to the people of the locality for which purpose certain arrangements were proposed by the Bhore Committee. I shall come to that presently.

Thirdly, that the future doctors, particularly those who work in the village areas, should be trained not merely for curing diseases but for the purpose of taking measures for the prevention of diseases. It was felt that in this realm prevention is much better than cure, particularly in a country like India where the people are poor and most persons are not able to pay for their treatment and if they are cured of their illness they still remain in a large number of cases maimed for life or weak in certain parts of the body.

Fourthly, the Bhore Committee decided that it is not enough to cure a person who is ill, it is not enough to make arrangement for preventing a disease, but it is essential that there should be measures for ensuring positive health to the community.

When we were going round and collecting figures startling revelations were made. Possibly those who deal in statistics with regard to such matters knew these but the public were not aware. No public health measure, said the Bhore Committee, can be of any use unless the public are prepared to co-operate, and the public will not co-operate unless they know the dangers which lie before them.

Sir, the expectation of life of an average Indian was found to be the lowest in the whole world. The death rate—22·4 per thousand—I am talking of the figure for 1944-45—was again the highest per thousand population, again the highest in the world except Egypt which has got 27 per thousand and the total deaths in India was estimated to be about over 6 millions. Fifty per cent. of the deaths occur before the tenth year. Nearly 60 per cent. of persons who die die from what we call preventible diseases; 158 children of every thousand births die soon after or within a short period after birth. Maternal mortality accounts for two lakhs of people dying every year. We realised that these conditions were due to three factors: one was the insanitary condition of the villages as well as of the urban areas. It was obvious to us that the emphasis should be on what we call the environmental hygiene, that is to say, the reason why a person gets ill who lives in a particular locality and not another although there may be an epidemic going on—cholera and pneumonia—because the environmental hygiene is defective. Similarly, the question of social hygiene comes in. The mode of living in which a person lives, the way in which he associates with his fellow beings, the manner in which he procures his food and his drinking water—all this has got a very important bearing on the incidents of disease and death.

Secondly, nutrition as a whole was defective not merely because there was want of food, because the people were poor to get the quantity required, but also because, and this is an important point, the food that they, the average person, took was what we call "unbalanced". There is not that balance between the different proximate principles which should constitute a diet of an average healthy person.

Then the third factor was the inadequacy of medical practitioners and technicians. Sir, in control of diseases and provision for relief measures it is essential that there should be a doctor, there should be nurses, there should be midwives, there should be health visitors, there should be pharmacists and dentists, and you will be surprised to know the lag from which we are suffering today. In India in 1944-45 there were 47,000 doctors who were considered to be qualified. On the standards which have been laid down in U.K. and U.S.A. there should be 185,000 doctors in India. At the present moment—at least at the time when the report was written—there were 37 institutions teaching students in the medical profession which turned out on an average 1,500 to 1,600 doctors every year. Of the 47,000 if we set apart 800 of them as casualties, that is to say, as those who either died or retired, we can add only 700 doctors with the provision that was then in existence per year which means that in order to get the target we will have to wait 300 years. The total number of nurses was only 7,000 in the whole of India and we need a hundred times more, 740,000, if you would consider that each person who is either in a hospital or a clinic is attended properly by nurses and on the same standard as obtains in other countries. Similarly, health visitors we have 750; we need 74,000. Midwives we have 5,000; we need 92,000. Dentists we need 92,000; we have got only a thousand. Pharmacists we need 62,000; we have got only 75 trained pharmacists in the whole of India.

As regards the number of beds, the total number of beds available in the whole of India is 73,000. In Bengal it is about 17,000; that is to say, if you take the population ratio, ·25 per cent. is available for every thousand persons as compared with 10 beds in the United States and 7·14 beds in United Kingdom. This is the problem which is before the country today.

What we have done and propose to do is first of all to increase the number of doctors. We have started two more medical colleges besides the two that were in existence, so that every year we could get at least 350 to 400 pupils and for a time it may be necessary, and the Bhore Committee also recommended this, to have two-shift arrangements so as to increase the output of doctors every year. The three schools that are left over, namely, one at Jalpaiguri, one at Burdwan which are under Government and one at Bankura which is under a non-official agency, we have proposed and arranged to start them or continue them as institutions for training of pharmacists, nurses, medical assistants and surgical dressers.

The Bhore Committee in planning a scheme prepared this outline that if you take a unit of three million people it should be arranged that there should be in the centre of the three million unit which roughly corresponds to a district in West Bengal, a hospital and a medical institution attached to it with 2,500 beds, and this institution should be provided with sufficient equipments and trained personnel, experts in all the different branches of medical science who will not only treat patients and train students, but will also give help to five secondary centres, as they call it, within that area, each secondary centre to have a control over 6 lakhs of people. In each secondary centre they provide 600 beds again with trained medical men, not so highly trained as those in the centre but sufficient to carry on treatment for the 6 lakhs of people. This secondary centre will get help, whenever necessary, from the Central Hospital and give help, whenever necessary, to the village centre. Under each secondary centre was provided what is called a primary centre the average population of which would be between 20 and 25 thousand and in such primary centres there should be 75-bed hospitals with 7 to 12 doctors, so that each doctor would be in charge roughly of three to four thousand people. It was found that up till 1944-45 the total cost per capita per year for medical relief and public health measures in India was 5·6 annas. If to that were added the medical relief that is given by non-official agencies, we calculated the total would amount to eight annas per capita per year. In England it is Rs. 52 per capita per year. In America it is Rs. 31 per capita per year. Therefore you will realise the lag, the deficit that we have got to make up. The plan that the Bhore Committee has laid down, just enumerated, would cost anything between 10 to 12 rupees per capita instead of eight annas per capita per year.

It was obvious that neither have we the personnel at the present moment nor have we the money at the present moment. But we felt that a beginning should be made and the Bhore Committee also recommended that a small beginning should be made according to the capacity of the area of the province concerned and the number of personnel available. In Bengal we have 266 thanas and about 1,750 Union Boards. Be it said to the credit of Bengal that the people of this Province have, certainly within the last 50 years if not more, grown to the idea that for medical relief private benefactions are essential. The monument of such private benefactions can be seen if one were to go either to the R. G. Kar Hospital, to the Jadavpur Tuberculosis Hospital or to the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan. It is also a very welcome fact that up to now we have 20 lakhs of rupees for development of Union Board centres. Now, Sir, the plan that we want to follow is to have for each Union Board one 4-bedded hospital; it is a very modest beginning with a doctor, a midwife, a health assistant, a compounder, dresser and one or two menial staff. For a thana health centre we propose to have a 50-bedded centre with two doctors, 10 nurses, 2 health assistants, a compounder, etc. At the present moment in Bengal we have 323 hospitals, big and small, of which 216 are state-aided or maintained by the State; 31 are special hospitals maintained by the State; 25 are private hospitals aided by Government; 16 are private non-aided by Government; 11 are railway hospitals and 24 are maintained by donations from the District Boards or

the Union Boards as the case may be. Between these hospitals, as I said before, there are 17,000 beds available in West Bengal. Besides these hospitals there are certain dispensaries where the patients come and get examined and get the medicine or prescription as the case may be and thereby get such relief as is needed. Of these, 236 are maintained by District Boards; 254 are maintained by the Union Boards; there are some private-aided and private non-aided dispensaries, about a hundred of them, and there are some special dispensaries maintained by Government. Amongst the hospitals I have mentioned there are 152 what we call Auxiliary General Hospitals which were established in 1944 in a hurry in order to meet the epidemic that was then raging in the province and of them we have now got 149. It is now proposed to take away 60 of them from the Auxiliary General Hospital group those which were found to be useless so far as the popularity of the centres is concerned or the building is concerned and convert them into thana hospitals in the course of the year.

Of the District Board and Union Board dispensaries, it is proposed to have 70 new Union Board centres with four beds and as many of the District Board and Union Board dispensaries as can be taken over. The difficulty I found and which has retarded to a certain extent the speed with which we wanted to proceed was that the District Boards did not desire to part with the little that they are allowed to do and it has been very difficult for me up till now to get the District Boards to relax their hold on the dispensaries which they maintained.

Now, Sir, there are two other big questions about which cut motions have been tabled, viz., the arrangement for anti-malarial work particularly in the rural areas and the arrangements for tuberculosis. The scheme which the Government has accepted so far as anti-malarial work in the rural areas is concerned consists of two parts: (*a*) the establishment of anti-malarial units in selected rural areas having high incidence of malaria, and (*b*) the establishment of nurseries for the culture of larvivorous species of fish for distribution to villages for stocking them in village tanks and ponds with such fishes. Twenty such anti-malarial units will be started in the year 1949-50. The total scheme would cost us Rs. 88 lakhs. This year as a token we have put down Rs. 2 lakhs under this head. In selected areas D.D.T. for spraying has been financed jointly by the Government and the Indian Research Fund Association. Besides this there is a scheme in progress for intensive malaria drive in the fringes of the Salt Lake area for which a sum of Rs. 2,70,000 has been provided, some of which has been spent already. Anti-malarial engineering works were taken up in different parts in the year 1948-49. Anti-malaria drugs such as paludrine and quinine were distributed free, the total cost being Rs. 10,21,000 in 1948-49 and a similar amount has been provided for in the year 1949-50. Grants in aid are given to the municipalities for carrying out anti-malarial measures in their respective areas. Such grants were given to Bhatpara, Chakdah, Krishnagar, Santipur, Gobardanga, Serampore, Raniganj and Nabadwip municipalities. In addition Government carry out anti-malarial measures entirely at Government expense in connection with the following schemes: Siliguri scheme, Arambagh scheme, Burdwan Civil Station scheme, Singur scheme and Ludwi survey and control schemes.

Now, Sir, I will say a few words about tuberculosis. In West Bengal we have now a thousand beds mainly in Calcutta or in the neighbourhood and some in the mofussil. Of these 1,000 beds, 521 are paid for by Government.

It is intended and it has been provided that in the next year 1949-50, in the Kanchrapara Hospital another 140 beds will be added and if the Government of India's proposal to provide fund for tuberculosis patients among the refugees materialises, then we would be able to increase this again by another 150. The segregation hospital which was attached to one

of the institutions here in which advanced cases of tuberculosis have been treated, has been taken over and we want to increase the beds from 90 to 200. An isolation hospital for which land has been purchased is to be established at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs in Calcutta. The one point that I want to stress is that it has been found that in an ordinary hospital a patient getting in generally leaves his bed within 15 to 21 days on an average, so that in each bed in the course of a year 20 to 24 patients can be accommodated, but not so in the case of a tuberculosis hospital. Once a bed is got, the patient does not generally leave the bed within six months: sometimes he stays there for a year or even two years. Therefore when I talk of 1,000 beds, it means only that not more than 2,000 patients can be treated in these hospitals. Today, on a rough estimate it is assumed that in West Bengal alone nearly 10 lakhs of people are suffering from tuberculosis, and you can easily imagine the difficulty in which we are. Therefore it is the considered opinion of those who appreciate the value of anti-tuberculosis measures that more emphasis should be given to prevention rather than to cure. In Bengal, for the last 20 years, there has been silently working a body which is semi-government in the sense that the Governor is always the President of that body—the Bengal Tuberculosis Association. Its function is to start clinics in different areas where patients will not only be given advice and be treated but where Health Visitors attend and go to the patients' houses in order to give advice to the people of the family as to how to avoid the spread of infection. These men are called Health Visitors. There are 10 clinics now working under this Association. Government has to pay Rs. 10,000 every year. This year the Government has provided Rs. 20,000 for this Association, but even so this amount is so small compared to the needs of the province. The question of publicity and proper dissemination of knowledge as to how to prevent tuberculosis is essential if you want to carry this problem of prevention of tuberculosis through. Possibly most of the members of the House and of the public know that there is one method suggested which is known as the vaccination with the B.C.G. The World Health Organisation has established a unit in the South of India in Gindi where the B.C.G. vaccine is being prepared. The Government of West Bengal was asked to co-operate and to start the vaccination, particularly in the industrial areas. We have already spent some amount this year. The total cost of the scheme would be 5 lakhs. We have spent about Rs. 50,000 this year and we have provided Rs. 1,50,000 for the next year. It has also been felt that if to every sadar hospital—and there are about 40 of them which are more or less provincialised institutions—there were provided 25 beds, they will be regarded as isolation beds in the sense that they will accommodate those patients who may be considered beyond all treatment and yet who are potential factors in disseminating the disease; and it is hoped that most of these institutions will be opened in the course of the year because it means only a slight expansion and not the establishment of new units.

Sir, in order to provide for dental treatment the Government of West Bengal accepted the generous gift of Dr. Ahmed of his whole equipment and the institution known as the Dental College, and the Government have already prepared a syllabus which they want to put before the University for obtaining its recognition, if possible, and to develop this institution in the best possible way. It will be a news to some members when I tell them that there was one other hospital or college for dentistry in the whole of India and that was in Lahore which was very well equipped indeed. There is another in Bombay, the Neyer Dental Hospital, which is also doing very good work, and the third one is in Calcutta. I hope the Dental Hospital will prosper. I do not propose to go into the details of the various cut motions that have been put forward, but I will just say that it has been a matter of great pleasure to me to be able to put before the House as well as before the public not only our needs but also our efforts against odds to

implement the scheme which was elaborately and so carefully drawn up by the Bhore Committee for the purpose of giving medical relief and ensuring public health measures to the people of India.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to make any provision for the Islamia Hospital.

Sir, I beg also to move that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about insufficient provision for T.B. beds and lack of any scheme and plan for combating this menace in the province.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about grant to the Islamia Hospital, Calcutta.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of Government.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to take over district board, union board and private dispensaries which are in absolute moribund condition.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have had a brilliant survey by the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Medical and Public Health of the entire position. As a matter of fact, in this matter everyone in this House as also outside should be guided by the superior wisdom and experience of one of the most important authorities in this department of human knowledge.

Sir, I would only draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Premier as also the Minister in charge of Medical and Public Health that although the Budget for 1949-50 is higher than the Revised by nearly Rs. 2,31,19,000, providing among others for increase in the number of rural dispensaries and establishment of Public Health Units—Rs. 80 lakhs for maintenance of Auxiliary Government Hospitals—Rs. 65 lakhs for rehabilitation and improvement of existing hospitals—Rs. 15 lakhs for establishment of a temporary Medical College in the Lake area—Rs. 12,84,000 for establishment of T.B. Sanatorium—Rs. 2 lakhs for establishment of a T.B. Hospital at Kanchrapara—Rs. 13,03,000 for Segregation Hospital for T.B. patients—Rs. 4 lakhs for Dental medical colleges—nearly 3 lakhs, and although these provisions are highly commendable and laudable, I am surprised to see an important omission in the budget for 1949-50. Hitherto the Islamia Hospital, Sir, was enjoying a grant from the Government of Bengal. Unfortunately, however, this year the amount of Rs. 36,000 that was provided hitherto has not been so provided in the budget. The reasons I do not know. It is for the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the department to explain the real fact. During the year 1948-49 a representation was made to the Government to provide more money in the budget in view of the increased expenditure of this hospital. From 1943-44, Sir, expenditure of the hospital has been on the increase. In 1943-44 the expenditure of this hospital was Rs. 23,984

and odds, in 1944-45 it was Rs. 62,515 and odds, in 1945-46 it was Rs. 76,632 and odds, in 1946-47 it was Rs. 1,06,239 and odds, and in 1947-48 it was Rs. 1,39,229 and odds. So, although the expenditure has been on the increase, the Government of Bengal were not prepared to increase the grant in the year 1948-49 possibly because of increasing demands of various other items under this nation-building department on the resources of the province. But, Sir, I do not see any reason why Government have not been pleased to include this provision for the next year, 1949-50.

Then again about the capital grant of Rs. 2 lakhs, the Premier himself, the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, in his Budget Speech on the 17th March, 1948, definitely observed that as regards this grant to the Islamia Hospital, it would be revalidated. The grant of Rs. 2 lakhs was made by the Government of undivided Bengal. Now, Government have to renovate the grant, as promised by the Premier which is clear from the above quotation from his Budget Speech. We have now got over Rs. 2½ lakhs and we are entitled to Rs. 2 lakhs more. That money has also not been provided. So, I would request the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Medical and Public Health Department to so arrange that this money may be provided, otherwise the hospital will be bound to die a natural death. The other hospitals have been favourably treated and I do not see any reason why Government should not take into consideration the importance of this hospital specially when it is serving the needs of the people exactly in the same way as other hospitals have been doing. It has done wonderful work. Its accounts have been properly audited and kept and patients have been on the increase. The figures will show that the number of outdoor patients has come up from 116,646 in 1943-44 to 210,039 in 1947-48. Similarly the number of indoor patients has come up from 73 in 1943-44 to 1,110 in 1947-48. This shows the importance of this hospital. This shows that this hospital has been serving the needs of the people irrespective of caste, creed and colour. It is, therefore, entitled to the sympathetic consideration of the Government of Bengal. I would, therefore, appeal to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Medical and Public Health Department to restore the grant of Rs. 36,000 of the previous year and also provide for the capital grant of Rs. 2 lakhs to which the hospital is entitled.

As for the second item, I need not add anything more to what the Hon'ble the Premier has been pleased to observe. All that I would like to draw the attention of the Premier to is the fact that this tuberculosis which was hitherto confined to towns and municipalities is fast spreading to the mofussil areas. From his survey of the entire position and from even the additional funds that have been provided, it appears that the problem will never be solved. We have never been able to combat this fell disease in the past and from the intelligent survey of the position given by the Hon'ble the Premier, it appears that in years to come it will never be possible to solve the problem. Malaria is already exacting a heavy toll and other preventible diseases have had their share and the incidence of this tuberculosis in the village side is also fast increasing and the mortality is also on the increase. So, it is time that the Government of Bengal provided money not only for the establishment of tuberculosis hospitals, not only for the establishment of institutions for treatment of tubercular patients but provided as much money as possible for the increase of beds in the various existing hospitals in the province.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, my friend Janab Badrudduja has already put the claims of the Islamia Hospital. I do not think I can put the case better. However, I will try to say a few words about the character of this hospital, which although bears a Muslim name but for all practical purposes it is a non-communal institution. Sir, the hospital has as its head a Hindu Superintendent and also a large number

of Hindu doctors, lady doctors and nurses. Sir, I was very much reluctant to add a communal prefix before a doctor, but I was obliged to do so in order to prove the non-sectarian character of the institution.

Sir, the hospital was established in the year 1926 with the munificence of charitably disposed Muslim gentlemen of the city of Calcutta and subsequently received capital and recurring grants from the Government, just as the Hindu School was started with the finances of Hindu gentlemen and subsequently received Government grants and is still receiving such grants as was disclosed by the Hon'ble the Education Minister in reply to a cut motion on the demand under Education.

Sir, I may be permitted to mention in the House the distinctive features of the two Institutions, namely, the Hindu School and the Islamia Hospital. The first one is not open to the boys of all communities although it is receiving State assistance of a secular State because it is prevented by a deed of trust of the donors and the second one though built initially on the donation of the people of a particular community, is open to the services of all sections of people who are in need of her service without any distinction of religion. Sir, the Hon'ble the Education Minister in course of the debate mentioned that the then Government of Bengal gave an undertaking that the name of the Hindu School should not be changed. Similarly the Government of undivided Bengal gave an undertaking that the name of the Islamia Hospital should not be changed on the same ground as of the Hindu School. Sir, if the Government of West Bengal feel that no institution should bear a communal name, because it is anti-national, in that case they should not take into consideration that a particular institution was built by the contribution of a particular community and as such it might be allowed to retain a communal name. Sir, if a thing is anti-national or anti-social it is always so and monetary consideration should not be allowed to moralize a thing which is intrinsically immoral. Sir, the secular Government as we have, we should follow a uniform policy for all the institutions and should not have one policy for one institution and a different policy for another. Sir, if I am characterised as communal for asking grants for the Islamia Hospital, the gentleman or the authority who provide money for the Hindu School are, I am afraid, no less communal. Sir, if the Government is prepared to follow a uniform policy for all the institutions they can legitimately demand that we should change our angle of vision, otherwise they are likely to be guilty of partisanship. Sir, this reminds me of a famous stanza of a poem of Kabiguru Rabindranath—

"তুমি মহারাজ! সাধু হলে আজ
আমি আজ চোর বটে"

Sir, the institution received a capital grant of Rs. 1,00,000 during 1946-47 and a recurring grant of Rs. 35,000 annually from 1946-47 to 1949 and another additional capital grant of Rs. 2,00,000 was sanctioned by the Government of undivided Bengal but unfortunately the institution has not yet received this amount. Sir, in all fairness the money provided for the institution by the then Government and passed by the Legislature should be paid by the present Government without any further delay. Sir, in order to qualify for this additional grant of Rs. 2,00,000 certain conditions were imposed by the Director of Health Services of West Bengal, and this institution has fulfilled all these conditions and informed the Government accordingly. Sir, I with all my friends on this side of the House respectfully request the Hon'ble the Premier to give the sanctioned capital grant of Rs. 2,00,000 immediately to the Islamia Hospital and continue the recurring grant of a modest sum of Rs. 36,000 at least, if not possible to increase the grant immediately.

Sir, I need hardly emphasise the necessity of more hospitals in West Bengal and particularly in the congested town of Calcutta. Sir, it is

needless for me to mention here that nobody feels the need more than the Hon'ble the Premier himself. Sir, before I resume my seat I may be permitted to quote here a line from the speech of the Hon'ble the Premier delivered during the discussion of medical demands last year. He said: "As regards the grant to the Islamia Hospital I assure that it would be revalidated". Sir, if the sentiments of the donors of the Hindu School are to be respected I demand that the sentiments of the donors of Islamia Hospital be equally respected.

Janab MD. SAYEED MIA : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি আমাদের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের বক্তৃতা শুনেছি। তাঁর মত একজন এশিয়া-বিখ্যাত চিকিৎসক আমাদেরকে যে সমস্ত বাণী শুনিয়েছেন, তাতে বাস্তবিকই ক্ষণিকের জন্য মনে হচ্ছিল তিনি আমাদের ডাক্তারি শিক্ষক এবং আমরা তাঁর ছাত্র এবং তিনি আমাদের অনেক কিছু মূল্যবান উপদেশ দিয়েছেন--তার জন্য আমরা তাঁকে আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। আমি সংক্ষেপে কয়েকটি কথা বলে মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়ের মারফৎ মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই।

আমাদের দেশে এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা পূর্ণোদ্যমে চলেছে এবং সমস্ত ভারত জুড়ে এই এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার বিরাট আয়োজন চলেছে এবং লক্ষ লক্ষ কোটি কোটি টাকা খরচ করে আমরা বিদেশ থেকে ঔষুধ ও যন্ত্রপাতি এনে থাকি। এই এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসাকে ভিত্তি করে আমাদের এই স্বাধীন পশ্চিম বাংলার চিকিৎসা বিভাগের বাজেট তৈরী হয়েছে। আমি এই কথা জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই আমাদের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে যে এই এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার পূর্ণতা প্রাপ্ত হয়েছে কি? এই চিকিৎসা আমাদের দেশের আবহাওয়ার উপযোগী কি? এই চিকিৎসা আমাদের ভারতবাসী এবং বাঙ্গালীর জন্য উপযোগী কি? আমাদের ধাতের সঙ্গে এটা খাপ খায় কি? এই বিদেশী চিকিৎসা, বিদেশী সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ইংরেজের আমদানীর সঙ্গে সঙ্গে এদেশে আমদানী হয়েছে। আমি মনে করি বিদেশী ইংরেজ যেমন এদেশ থেকে চলে গেছে তেমনি তাদের চিকিৎসার পূর্ণ আধিপত্যও তাদের সঙ্গে চলে যাওয়া উচিৎ ছিল। এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার সম্পূর্ণ অংশটা অন্ধভাবে এদেশ থেকে বিদায় না দিয়ে যেমন তার উৎকৃষ্ট অংশটা গ্রহণ করা উচিৎ, তেমনি আমাদের দেশে অন্যান্য যে সমস্ত চিকিৎসা প্রণালী প্রচলিত আছে তার উৎকৃষ্ট অংশটাও গ্রহণ করে আমাদের দেশী চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিকে উন্নততর করা উচিৎ বলে মনে করি। এই সম্পর্কে আমি বলতে চাই আয়ুর্বেদিক চিকিৎসার কথা। ভারতের প্রাচীনকাল থেকে ভারতবাসীর ধাতের উপযোগী করে তার প্রয়োজন মোতাবেক দেশীয় গাছগাছড়া থেকে আয়ুর্বেদিক ঔষধ তৈরী করে এই চিকিৎসার চরম উৎকর্ষ সাধিত হয়েছিল। এই চিকিৎসায় এখনও লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক চিকিৎসিত হচ্ছে এবং হাজার হাজার কবিরাজ এই চিকিৎসা ব্যবসায়ের দ্বারা জীবিকানির্বাহ করছেন। এদেশের গাছগাছড়ার দ্বারা বহু লোক চিকিৎসিত হয়ে আরোগ্য লাভ করছে, ও তাদের জীবন রক্ষা হচ্ছে। আয়ুর্বেদিক চিকিৎসা অত্যন্ত সস্তা এবং অল্প খরচে আমরা চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারি। এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থার জন্য বাজেটে যত টাকার প্রকাণ্ড হিসাব মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দিয়েছেন তার চেয়ে বহু কম খরচে আমাদের দেশী গাছগাছড়ায় লক্ষ লক্ষ গরীব লোকের চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারা যায়।

এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা এখনো পূর্ণতা প্রাপ্ত হয়নি বা চিকিৎসার সাফল্যের দিক দিয়া বেশী দূর অগ্রসর হয়নি। কেবল Surgeryর দিক দিয়া বহুদূর উৎকর্ষ সাধন করেছে এবং আমরা প্রয়োজন মত সেটা গ্রহণ করবো। সুতরাং আমি বলবো অন্ধভাবে যেমন আমরা এলোপ্যাথিকে বর্জন করতে পারি না, তেমনি অন্ধভাবে আয়ুর্বেদকে বর্জন করবো—এটাও উচিৎ নয়। তারপরে হোমিওপ্যাথির চিকিৎসার দ্বারাও আমাদের দেশে বহু লোক অতি সস্তায় চিকিৎসিত হচ্ছে। একজন উৎকৃষ্ট আয়ুর্বেদিক কবিরাজ এবং একজন উৎকৃষ্ট এলোপ্যাথিক ডাক্তার ও একজন উৎকৃষ্ট হোমিওপ্যাথিক ডাক্তার আমার কাছে সমান শ্রদ্ধার পাত্র এবং চিকিৎসা সম্বন্ধে তাদের সকলের মূল্য সমান। যদি তাই হয় তাহলে এই সকল চিকিৎসা প্রণালীকে ও এলোপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতির মত সমান সুযোগ সুবিধা দান করে উন্নতির চরম পর্য্যায়ে উন্নীত করতে হবে এবং আমাদের বর্তমান বাজেটে সেই চিকিৎসা প্রণালীগুলির উৎকর্ষের জন্য ব্যয় বরাদ্দের ব্যবস্থা থাকা উচিৎ। সুতরাং আমি মাননীয় প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে বলবো যে অন্ততঃ পক্ষে আয়ুর্বেদিক চিকিৎসার প্রয়োজনীয় উৎকর্ষ সাধন জন্য একটা Research Department খোলা উচিৎ এবং তার জন্য যথেষ্ট টাকা বরাদ্দ করা উচিৎ। প্রত্যেক জেলাতে ও প্রত্যেক টাউনে আয়ুর্বেদিক চিকিৎসা সুচারুরূপে শিক্ষার জন্য কলেজ খোলা উচিৎ।

(A VOICE : হেকিমীর জন্য নয় কেন?)

বর্ত্তমানে আমাদের দেশে কি প্রকার চিকিৎসা প্রণালী প্রচলিত হওয়া উচিত সে সম্পর্কে আমি দু-একটি কথা বলব। আমরা যখন স্বাধীন হয়েছি জাতিগঠনমূলক সমস্ত বিভাগের উন্নতি সাধনের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আমাদের চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিও নূতনভাবে গঠণ করতে হবে। সেই গঠণ করবার পণালী হবে বিভিন্ন চিকিৎসা শাস্ত্রের মধ্যে যতখানি উৎকৃষ্ট জিনিষ পাওয়া সম্ভব সেইটুক গ্রহণ করে একটি সর্ব্বাপেক্ষা উৎকৃষ্ট চিকিৎসা পণালী ভারতের জন্য এবং পশ্চিম বাংলার জন্য তৈরী করা কর্ত্তব্য। (A VOICE FROM CONGRESS BENCH : তার নাম কি হবে?) আপনারা চিন্তা করে ভেবে একটা নাম দেবেন।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY : সৈদপ্যাথি নাম দেওয়া হবে।

Janab MD. SAYEED MIA : আপনারা যা বলবেন তাই হবে। অতীতের বিভিন্ন যুগে আমাদের ভারতের উপর দিয়ে কয়েকটি সভ্যতার স্রোত বয়ে গিয়েছে। প্রথম আর্য্য সভ্যতা, তারপরে মুসলমান সভ্যতা ও শেষে ইংরাজ সভ্যতা—ভারতের সভ্যতার উপর ছাপ দিয়ে গিয়েছে; এবং সেই অনুসারে আমাদের দেশের বিভিন্ন চিকিৎসা শাস্ত্রও গড়ে উঠেছে। মুসলমানেরা এক প্রকার চিকিৎসা প্রণালী আমদানী করেছিল যার নাম হচ্ছে ইউনানি চিকিৎসা। হাকিম আজমল খাঁর দিল্লীর প্রসিদ্ধ Tibbia কলেজের ইউনানী বা হাকিমী চিকিৎসা দ্বারা আমাদের দেশের বহু লোকের চিকিৎসা হয়ে থাকে এবং এই চিকিৎসা ভারতের মধ্যে অত্যন্ত খ্যাতি লাভ করেছে। ইউনানী মানে হ'ল গ্রীক। গ্রীসবাসীগণের সভ্যতার চরম উন্নতির যুগে তাদের দেশে এই চিকিৎসা-পদ্ধতি প্রচলিত ছিল। এই চিকিৎসাকেও প্রয়োজন মত উন্নত হওয়ার সুযোগ দেওয়া উচিৎ।

আমি শুনেছি যে মাত্র দেড় লক্ষ টাকা আয়ুর্বেদের জন্য বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে। যদি আয়ুর্বেদের উন্নতির জন্য সত্যই একটি পরিকল্পনা কার্য্যকরী করতে হয় তা'হলে আমি বলবো ইহার জন্য আরও যথেষ্ট টাকা মঞ্জুর করা উচিত। আমাদের প্রধানমন্ত্রী বলেছেন যে দেশের প্রত্যেকটি মানুষ যেমন চিকিৎসার অপেক্ষায় বসে আছে, তেমনি আমি বলব দেশের প্রত্যেকটি গাছগাছড়াও আমাদের দেশের চিকিৎসার অন্তর্ভুক্ত হওয়ার জন্য অপেক্ষা করছে।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have nothing but congratulations for our Hon'ble Premier——(Hear, hear from Congress Benches.) for the brilliant survey which he has made about the condition of the country and what he proposes to do and what he has done. Sir, in spite of this brilliant survey I am sincerely of opinion that

নয় মণ তেলও পুড়বে না আর রাধাও নাচবে না।

(The Hon'ble DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: তের মণ)

Mr. SPEAKER: Let there be no interruption. You please go on with your speech.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Whatever it may be, whether it is 9 maunds or 13 maunds that does not matter at all. Sir, if I had the privilege, if I had the power to confer titles, I would have conferred on our Hon'ble Premier the title of فخر بنگاله، فخر هند meaning the pride of Bengal, the pride of India. A man is to be judged according to the Hadis, according to the Quoran, by his intentions and not by his actions because after all action is the result of an intention. The result of our action is in the hands of God. Therefore, Sir, for his brilliant survey, for all the things which he proposes to do for our country, for our community—I do not mean Muslim community—for the community in general, I am grateful to him. My Premier has talked of the United States of America and has talked of other advanced European countries and his ambition, Sir, is to give relief in the same standard to us, the poor people, to us the poverty-stricken people in the same way as the rich British, as the rich U.S.A. is conferring relief on their citizens. For this, Sir, I am much thankful to him. Not only I, Sir, but every man in our dominion, in our West Bengal, in our India should be thankful to him for his good intentions but, Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: Please make yourself relevant to the subject you are talking on.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: It is the subject, Sir. What I mean to say is that his plans are very good but perhaps he will not succeed for want of money. Therefore they must be modified. That is what I was coming to, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Very well, come to the subject.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, the Hon'ble the Premier, as I have said, is one of the gratest personages that India has produced. He has said that the same thing which is being done in the United States of America and in Britain will be done here. Sir, I would ask him a question. Does he not know what is the average income of a person of the United States of America or of an Englishman? It is about forty times that of a poor man of this poverty-stricken land. With his limited income he cannot be expected to have the same medical relief and other amenities which Americans or Britishers can have. In spite of your best intentions and good wishes and in spite of your patriotic idea that your Indian nation and your Bengali nation should be at par with the most advanced peoples in the world, I can tell you that that cannot be——(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Mudassir Hossain, I have to finish five demands today and I cannot allow such irrelevant speech to go on. I am giving you two minutes more but I would ask you to confine yourself to the subject matter under debate.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, my submission through you to the Hon'ble the Premier is that he should take over the district board, union board and private dispensaries and improve them in the best possible way and through them give relief to the people. The Hon'ble the Premier has just now said that the local bodies are not willing to make them over to Government. That is a fact I am well aware of. I am a member of a district board and this matter was placed before us in the board which did not like the idea of their dispensaries being taken away. I say you can force them to give the dispensaries up, and if the district board still refuses, you can as well supersede the board and you can take over the district board, union board and other private dispensaries and make then *chalu* and improve them and in this way give medical relief to the poor people of this poor province.

(Sri Sibnath Banerjee rose to speak.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to make it clear that I cannot allow more than five minutes to each member.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Dr. Roy-এর survey brilliant হয়েছে ; অনেক কিছু বলেছেন, কিন্তু একটা জিনিষ তার মধ্যে নেই, যেটা আমি মনে করি থাকলে ঠিক হ'তো, সকলে খুসী হ'তো, উপকার হ'তো। ডাক্তার কত আছে, nurse কত আছে এ সব বলেছেন, কিন্তু medicine কিরকম কতটা আছে সে সম্বন্ধে আমরা কোন কিছু খবর তাঁর কাছ থেকে পাইনি। অনেক সময় বিশেষতঃ Dr. Roy যা prescribe করেন, free prescription পাওয়া যায় কিন্তু ঔষধ পেতে বড় কষ্ট করতে হয়। ঔষধের তিনি চেষ্টা করবেন কি? (A VOICE: কেন গাছ-গাছড়া?)

সেটা আপনাদের জন্য। T. B. সম্বন্ধে যে সমস্ত scheme শোনা গেল ভাল। কিন্তু যমুনালাল বাজাজ কুলেশ্বরে যে জমি দিয়ে গিয়েছিলেন তা এখনও পড়ে আছে। After care এর জন্য সেখানে huts তৈরী করবার প্রস্তাব ছিল। সামান্য কিছু টাকা দিলে হয়ত কাজ আরম্ভ হতে পারতো এবং আরম্ভ হলে যাদবপুর বা কাঁচড়াপাড়া থেকে ছাড়া পেলে রুগীরা সেখানে গিয়ে থাকতে পারবে, এই একটা constructive suggestion আছে।

আর একটি কথা বলবার আছে যে দয়া করে ডাক্তার রায় যেন হাওড়া hospital এ একবার যান। সেখানে রুগীদের জোর করে নিয়ে যাওয়া যায় না। কারণ তারা জানে যে বাইরে থেকে হয়ত বাঁচবে, সেখানে গেলে নিশ্চয়ই মরবে; ডাক্তারের অভাব, টাকার অভাব, ঔষধের অভাব, সব কিছুরই অভাব সেখানে রয়েছে। আশা করি, সেখানে ডাঃ রায় শীঘ্র একবার যাবেন।

আর একটি কথা বলে, একটি গুরুতর অভিযোগ করে আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করবো। সেটি হচ্চে এই যে ডাক্তার রায় শুধু বাংলাদেশের নয়, ভারতবর্ষের শ্রেষ্ঠ চিকিৎসক সে সম্বন্ধে সন্দেহ নাই। কিন্তু তিনি আমাদের উপর অবিচার করছেন এবং তাঁর নিজের পরেও এখন অবিচার করছেন। তিনি সেই Wellington Squareএর বাড়ীতে রুগী দেখার চাইতে সমস্ত দিন বসে file দেখেন Writers' Buildingsএ; এটা আমি মনে করি তিনি তাঁর নিজের প্রতি অবিচার করছেন, এবং দেশের প্রতিও অবিচার করছেন। তাঁর প্রশস্ত স্কন্ধে অন্যান্য মন্ত্রীদের ভার না গিয়ে যদি বেশী করে Medical Departmentটাই দেখেন তাহলে আমি মনে করি বাংলা দেশের বেশী উপকার হবে এবং আমরা কৃতজ্ঞ থাকবো।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is no doubt that this particular portfolio of Medical and Public Health is in the hands of the ablest person in the province. Sir, he will have a better appreciation of the needs of the country in these fields than I or anybody else for that matter can have. In quoting extensively from the Bhore Committee of which he was a member he has given us a very gloomy picture of how far we are lagging behind our immediate and minimum requirements in respect of doctors, nurses, pharmacists, dressers and compounders, but, Sir, as has been pointed out by the honourable Speaker who last spoke, he has not mentioned that there is also dearth of medicine in the land. He has not indicated what steps are being taken by this Government for the manufacture of medicines and drugs. Is he satisfied that the quantities of different drugs that are being manufactured in this country by the local chemists are sufficient for the needs of the country? That is, Sir, about the drugs that can be manufactured here. Then there are other drugs which are needed and needed in quantities—the Sulfa-group of drugs, paludrine, atebrin and other drugs, and I want to know how long shall we have to look up to other countries for the supply of these drugs. He has not told us that he has a scheme or a plan on foot for the manufacture of these drugs. He has talked of prevention of malaria, and he has a scheme ready for anti-malarial work. He has indicated that in that work he needs extensive use of D.D.T. for spray purposes. Sir, we want to hear from him when we shall start manufacturing D.D.T. for our own use. Then, Sir, this is a malaria-ridden country. It is no use repeating it: it is a shame on our part to say so, and therefore I ask, what steps has he taken to increase the production of quinine, cinchona and other drugs that can be grown and manufactured in this country? He has told us that the ideal to be aimed at is prevention because he has found as an eminent physician that he is that prevention is better than cure. Sir, prevention—in order that we can achieve that objective he as a medical man knows better than we do—means that we must devise ways and means to build up a collective resistance of the nation to disease, and this resistance brings in the question of food. He must be able to provide better food to the nation in order that the nation can build up more resistance to disease. Sir, we know that this is a poverty-stricken country. We know that our income is very poor and we cannot afford to have milk, butter and any other food that the physician Prime Minister would prescribe for us. Even what food we can afford is adulterated. Milk is adulterated, more often than not with water from the street hydrant: the rice that we get is adulterated with stones and gravel, dust and other things.

In this connection, Sir, I want to pose him a question which is this. Ghee and other edible oils are adulterated with a particular kind of oil known as "white oil". Will he indicate to this House and through this House to the country, what are the uses beneficial to society to which this

oil can be put and why permits are issued to the importers or manufacturers of this oil so that it leaks out through the import channels into the black market and gets mixed up in our ghee, in our oil that we take.

Sir, my friends who spoke before have made out an excellent case for the Islamia Hospital, a case that will take a lot of rebutting. The principle that has been enunciated on behalf of the Ministry by the Education Minister stands challenged today and I shall look forward to the Hon'ble Premier either to defend or to reject outright the principle that has been enunciated by the Education Minister yesterday. Sir, as I have said, a very good case has been made out for the continuance of the grant to the Islamia Hospital. The name should not stand as a bogey or as a disqualification for a humanitarian institution which serves and caters for the needs of the country at large without any distinction of caste, colour and creed. If the Hon'ble Premier cared to visit the hospital he could satisfy himself that all the statements made from this side of the House are true. Hindus and Muslims and everybody that cared to go to the hospital have been received and received with equal welcome and the same quantum of attention was given to every patient that cared to go for succour to the hospital. To that excellent case again I add my own support. I respectfully beseech and implore that he will go into the case afresh and see his way to continue the grant made to the Islamia Hospital and the 2 lakhs that have not been paid in spite of grants made by the previous Government. He is a doctor. He knows that there is dearth of hospitals in Calcutta and he will see, being a doctor and a sympathetic one at that, with vision and imagination that this one which has been established by the munificence of a particular community does not die for want of funds.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, District Board, Municipality, Union Board—এরা ভালভাবে কাজ করতে পারেনা এই বলে দোষারোপ করা হয়েছে। ভাল কাজ করার জন্য টাকার দরকার—টাকা না হইলে ভাল কাজ হয় না। তারা যে সমস্ত টাকাই অপচয় করছে, সে কথাও বলা যায় না। যারা আজ সমস্ত জিনিষ সরকারী করতে চান তারা অনেক ক্ষেত্রে এই District Board ইত্যাদির কর্ণধার ছিলেন। তারা নিশ্চয়ই জানেন সেখানে কি অসুবিধা এবং সুবিধা আছে। সে কথা ভুলে গেলে চলবে না। সরকারী যে টাকা ছিল তা কেবল কলকাতার বড় বড় সহর অঞ্চলে ব্যয় হয়েছে। গ্রাম অঞ্চলের চিকিৎসা বাবতি যা কিছু রাখিয়ে ছিল--এই District Board, Union Board এবং Municipality এগুলি যদি তাদের হাত থেকে নেওয়া হয়, তবে আর ও ভালকরে চালাতে হবে। কেবল তাদের নামে দোষ দেওয়ায় কোন সার্থকতা নেই। তারা টাকা পেলে আরও ভাল কাজ করতে পারত। যা'হোক--এখন গভর্ণমেণ্ট এই কাজ হাতে নেবার ফলে, এখন Auxiliary Government হাসপাতাল ইত্যাদি হচ্ছে। এখন government আরও বড় বড় scheme করবেন বটে কিন্তু সেখানে যে টাকা ব্যয় হচ্ছে, সেই সংব্যয় সম্বন্ধে--যা ২।১টী কথা আমার জানা আছে তা সংক্ষেপে বলতে চাই। সেখানে ডাক্তারদের জন্য যে পরিমাণ দৃষ্টি দেওয়া হয়, সেই পরিমাণ সেখানে ঔষধ নাই। সে কথা ডাক্তারদের বললে তারা বলেন, তারা লিখেছেন। এই লেখা ব্যাপারটার কথা আমি আর একদিন বলেছি। কোন রকম প্রতিকার করার কথা বললেই বলা হয়--লেখা হয়েছে। উত্তর দেওয়া হয়--civil surgeon পাঠাবেন; transport difficulty ইত্যাদি নানা অসুবিধার কথা বলা হয়। কিন্তু সেখানে ওষুধ নেই। সেই ওষুধের যাতে ব্যবস্থা করা যায়, সে দিকে সরকার তরফ থেকে কিছু করা হয় না। দ্বিতীয় কথা--রোগীর চেয়ে--ডাক্তার, compounder, nurse, male, female, helper, kitchen staff, menial servant, sweeper ইত্যাদি বহু নাম--হাসপাতালের রোগীর চেয়ে এই সব কর্ম্মচারীদের সংখ্যা অত্যন্ত বেশী। ডাক্তারখানায় যে জিনিষপত্র আছে তা মোটামুটি ভাল কিন্তু ঘর-দুয়ারের অবস্থা অত্যন্ত খারাপ। ঘর-দুয়ার--সেই মামুলি ধরণের কাঁচা ঘর করে রাখা হয়েছে। পাকা ঘর করা হয়নি লড়াইর জন্য আর এখন তার জন্য চেষ্টাও করা হয় না। আর কাঁচা ঘর করায় সুবিধে এই যে যে কোন প্রকারে contractorদের পেট ভরাণ হয়। আমরা থানার ঘর দেখেছি--District Board এবং Government Bungalow ও দেখেছি--তাতে টিন ও asbestosর পাকা বন্দোবস্ত নেই--যার ফলে প্রত্যেক বৎসর ঘরে খুঁচি দিতে মোটা টাকা বের করা যায়। আমি বলি যেখানে ঘর করবেন, পাকা ঘর করুন। এবং যারা চাঁদা দেন, তাদের বলুন যে এই টাকার মধ্যে, এই specificationর ঘর করতে পারবেন কি না। আমার মনে হয়--যারা উৎসাহ পেয়ে চাঁদা

দিয়েছেন, ভাল ঘর করবার জন্য আরও কিছু টাকা যদি দরকার হয়, তা তারা দেবেন। আর ঘরগুলি ভাল করার চেষ্টা করা উচিত। খাটগুলি সে সব দড়ির খাট--ঝুলে ভূমিস্পর্শী হয়ে আছে। ছারপোকায় একেবারে ভর্ত্তি। রাত্রে একেবারেই নিদ্রা নেই। D. D. T.র ব্যবহার--anti-malarial ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে কিন্তু আগে নিজের ঘরের ছারপোকা তাড়াবার ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। সেই দিকে কোন দৃষ্টি নেই। তারপর নূতন ব্যবস্থা যা হচ্ছে--union, unionএ, থানায় ও জেলায়, সে দিক দিয়ে আমি বলি থানা, জেলা ও union --সব জায়গায় সমান size নয়। কোন থানায় ২৫ হাজার লোক, আর কোন থানায় দেড় লাখ লোক। সব থানাকে এক রকম বলে দেখলে চলবে না। তারপর সরকার থেকে যদি কোন নির্দ্দেশ না থাকে--তাহলে ঐ যারা-মাছি মারা কেরাণি--তারা যা করবার তাই করবেন। আমার সময় নেই—সামান্য ২।১ কথা বলে শেষ করছি। Municipalityর বাইরে এই scheme নেই। Municipality কেও এই schemeর মধ্যে ধরতে হবে। কারণ anti-malarial যদি কোন কাজ থাকে, তা municipalityর মধ্যেই আছে। তার পর গ্রামগুলির অবস্থা কি? গ্রামগুলি ডোবায় ভর্ত্তি। যত লোক সেখানে--তার চেয়ে বেশী সংখ্যা ডোবা। সেখানে কেরোসিন ছড়িয়ে কোন কিছু করবার উপায় নেই। গ্রামে যদি একটা plan করে কিছু ভাল করতে চাই--সেখানে land acquisition দরকার। তার জন্য যে procedure আছে--তাতে ৫ বছরের আগে সহজে কিছুই হবে না। আর ministerরা যে গ্রামোন্নতির স্বপ্ন দেখবেন--তাদের নাতিপুতিরা এসেও সেই স্বপ্ন পূর্ণ করতে পারবেন কিনা--এই land acquisition দৌলতে--তাতে আমার সন্দেহ আছে।

শেষ কথা মোটামুটি বলব। চাঁদা যেখানেই আছে, সেখানেই বিপত্তির সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। চাঁদা বড়লোকেরা দেয় এবং চাঁদা দ্বারা যে সমস্ত জিনিষ সৃষ্টি হয়--তাতে সেই সব তেলা মাথায় তেল পড়ে। যদি provincial revenue কাজে লাগাতে হয়, তাহলে এই চাঁদার দিকে লক্ষ্য করার দরকার নেই। এমন যদি কোন মহানুভব লোক থাকেন যারা চাঁদা দেবার সময় কোন নির্দ্দেশ দিবেন না, তাহলে তা মাথায় করে নেব। নতুবা চাঁদা ঘুষে পরিণত হয়। এইভাবে মনুষ্যত্বকে বিকিয়ে দেবার কোন দরকার নেই।

সময় নেই--এই বলেই আমি শেষ করছি।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Badrudduja and my friend Mr. Rahman have raised the question about Islamia Hospital. The position is that in 1946-47 a grant of Rs. 36,000 per annum was made for three years, and a capital grant of Rs. 3 lakhs was made to the hospital for its improvement and expansion. In the year 1946-47 the maintenance grant of Rs. 36,000 and capital grant of Rs. 1 lakh were paid. The grant in aid of Rs. 36,000 for the year 1947-48 was also paid during the year. The grant for 1948-49 has also been paid this year. The hospital authorities according to my knowledge have not applied to the Government for the continuance of annual maintenance grant during the next year and the subsequent years, and therefore no provision has been made for that purpose in the Budget estimate. (Cries of "They have applied" from Opposition benches.) The balance of the capital grant of Rs. 2 lakhs could not be paid to the hospital because the authorities did neither furnish to the Government detailed estimates of cost of construction of building which under the rules require to be checked and approved by the Government, nor could they raise funds sufficient to meet the balance——(Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: That has been done.) If I do not answer you then please rise to speak but not now. I understand from Mr. Badrudduja's statement that application has been sent for recurring grant and also that the estimates, etc., which were required by Government have been furnished. If that be so, I can give an undertaking here and now that the hospital gets Rs. 36,000 as maintenance grant and also that the capital grant of Rs. 2 lakhs will be given. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from Opposition benches.) My friends over there are talking about communalism, about there being some restrictions and so on and so forth. I have ceased to recognise that there is a Hindu cholera and a Muslim cholera or that there is a tuberculosis which is only for Muslims and not for Hindus. (Laughter.) These things do not affect me. I know my friends over there are discussing in this manner, because they think it is a good fashion, but that is not a fashion

which appeals to me as a medical man. For me the report that my friend Mr. Badrudduja has given is quite sufficient. He has suggested that that institution requires help from everybody, not merely from Government. If that institution has provided for 210,000 people in the outdoor and 1,110 people in the indoor, that hospital should never be allowed to die (Cries of "Hear, hear" from Opposition benches), and I fail to see why under any circumstances the question of Hindu School should be brought in along with Islamia Hospital. I have never thought of that matter. It is only at this particular moment that this thing has been brought to my notice.

The next point that has been brought before me is with regard to the point raised by Janab Sayeed Mia. He has told me: "কি রকম চিকিৎসা এখানে হবে সেটা এখানে বলা প্রয়োজন।"

Sir, I am an old man but am still prepared to learn how to arrange for the medical relief of our country, and I can easily understand his vague suggestion that there should be a hotchpotch or *khichuri* of allopathy, homeopathy, unani and kaviraji. I fail to see how when I am ill I am going to call Sayeed Mia. Even though he may start Sayeedopathy (laughter) and want to treat me according to that system I shall be very chary of approaching him or even asking him to treat me, and if he demands any fee I will point him to the door. The position is not really that. Let us appreciate the real position. The real position is for proper medical aid, the thing that is necessary is to have a substantial measure of fundamental knowledge of some basic sciences. You ought to know what the body is like—what is its composition, what is its anatomy, what functions it performs and how it functions in health and disease. Pathology, anatomy and physiology are the fundamentals of medical science. It is true that Ayurveda has got numerous good suggestions and description of what the treatment should be but the treatment is the smallest part of a medical man's outlook on health and disease. How a disease has been generated, how it has progressed in an individual and in a community—these are matters which affect us. When this matter came up before the Bhore Committee, we felt, although there were 30 or 35 best doctors, that we did not have the knowledge that Sayeed Mia possessed with regard to the advantages and greatness of Ayurveda and Unani. I confess I am absolutely ignorant of the basic proposition on which these particular sciences are based. I admit there are many who go to a kaviraj and get treated. I admit that they pay him even as high a fee as they pay to an allopath. I am very grateful that they know how to value their own services to the people, but when one says let us have গাছগাছড়া for the poor in the villages, I have every reason to be sorry. Are the poor in the villages to be satisfied with গাছগাছড়া and why should the rich people have paludrine, atebrin and streptomycin. We always speak about cheap treatment. Sir, the cheapest is not always the best.

The next point that my friend Mr. Mudassir Hossain has suggested, and I like his suggestion, is that if the Union Boards and District Boards are against you do away with them. I like his bold attitude. Of course I do not know whether I can *nachao* like Radha. Still I can say that he has made a suggestion which has given me a cue as to how to proceed in that matter. He has said: "Do not allow these institutions to perish but help them to continue to serve human beings."

My friend Mr. Sibnath Banerjee wanted to know how much medicines are being manufactured in India. Sir, I do admit that we have to import, much to our shame, a very large quantity of medicines. It is not merely our shame, but we have found repeatedly that whenever there is a big world war such as we have witnessed during the last 25 years, our country becomes so impoverished, so far as medicines are concerned, that on one occasion I remember I had to get diphtheric serum, 2,000 units—I could not get it

in Calcutta or Bombay—from Madras at a price which was 500 times more than the usual price. Unfortunately, Sir, the medicine arrived too late even in that case.

My friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh asked the same question. We have been approached and we have accepted more or less tentatively—because it depends upon the permission of the Central Government—the proposal to manufacture penicillin, streptomycin in Calcutta. We have also agreed to the Government of India's proposal to have a Central Drug Research Institute in Calcutta although they are starting one in Lucknow. But we feel that Bengal has been the pioneer so far as drug industry is concerned in India, and it ought to retain its position for all time to come if that is possible.

With regard to the question of drugs like paludrine and sulpha drugs probably Mr. Khuda Bukhsh does not know that they require a raw material which is derived from partial distillation of coaltar; and we have got no machinery for that. We have to import machinery, and it is very difficult to get it. I have tried but I have not succeeded.

With regard to quinine my friend Mr. Sarkar will be able to tell you more because he really deals with cinchona cultivation and its production but I may tell you that it has been an unfortunate revelation to us during our enquiry in the Bhore Committee that due to some influences India has not received within the last 50 years one-fifth of the total quantity which is required for the treatment of malaria and the whole thing done as a sort of monopoly with the Government of India or the Secretary of State. However, I think we are looking it up because as Assam is producing cinchona, in Madras they are increasing the cultivation of cinchona and also in our Darjeeling district we are increasing the area under cultivation.

Sir, with regard to my friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's proposition he asked a poser, a question. I shall not rather accept nor reject, as is the usual formula of the Congress, his proposition.

With regard to my friend to my left he said there are more staff than patients, more ponds than human beings. I do not know what statistics he has depended upon but I shall certainly enquire into those statistics and find out whether the Auxiliary General Hospitals can be renovated in the modern system.

As regards D.D.T. it is almost impossible to get sufficient quantity for the purpose of removing the bed bugs from the Auxiliary General Hospital beds.

With these words I oppose all the cut motions that have been put and I commend my original motion for the acceptance of the House.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, before you proceed to put the motions to vote, I beg leave of the House to withdraw all the cut motions standing in my name in view of the assurances that the Hon'ble the Premier has given.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: I also, Sir, beg to withdraw the motion that stands in my name in view of the assurance given by the Hon'ble the Leader of the House. By way of personal explanation, Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: No personal explanation is allowed at this stage.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Let me say, Sir, that it was never my intention to introduce communalism in my speech but unfortunately the Education Minister——

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you still persisting? Is there any objection to the honourable member withdrawing his cut motion?

(There being no objection.)

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I also beg leave of the House to withdraw my motion.

(There being no objection.)

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: After hearing the assurance and speeches by my Premier, Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw the motion standing in my name.

(There being no objection.)

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 3,53,31,000 for expenditure under the head "38—Medical" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that a sum of Rs. 3,53,31,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "48—Medical" was then put and agreed to.

39—Public Health.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 77,74,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health".

Sir, I find that the bulk of the cut motions refers to the question of providing rural water supply. Sir, it is a problem which is not only baffling in some respects but is exercising the minds of those who are responsible for providing water supply in the rural areas. A scheme for providing a source of water suply has been accepted by Government that there should be one source of supply for every 400 people. It is proposed to sink 1,500 new tube-wells or masonry wells and to resink 1,500 derelict tube-wells every year. Eight hundred and thirty-seven new tube-wells have been sunk in the year 1948-49 and 1,270 derelict wells resunk since the inception of the scheme in 1946. Thirty-one thousand, one hundred and eighty-four repairs have been done between 15th August, 1947, and the end of December, 1948. These repairs were of a petty nature and sometimes one tube-well had to be repaired once or twice or even thrice in the course of the year. It may be that the pumps are not of the requisite standard or that the people who use the pumps do not use that amount of care in using them and usually one part or other gets spoiled. In this connection I may draw the attention of the House to the fact that the work could have progressed much more rapidly but for the want of tube-well materials as well as cement which have been stumbling blocks. Our Public Health Engineer told us that the needs for the rural and municipal areas including the needs for the people for 3 months would be 10 lakhs feet of tubes and the Government of India could only give us one lakh or a little less than a lakh feet of tubes. These tubes, as you know, Sir, are galvanised tubes

which are imported from abroad and although I have been assured by the Steel Controller that they would give us a more liberal supply of tubes for tube-wells from the month of April, unless I get it it is very difficult for me to feel that I am safe. In many areas masonry wells have to be sunk. Next year we propose to sink 50 such masonry wells. The total cost of the scheme is Rs. 138 lakhs. Rupees 10 lakhs was spent in the year 1947-48; 15 lakhs were spent in 1948-49 and in the next year 1949-50 a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs has been provided for. It has been decided to maintain the tube-wells at Government cost in the rural areas and a skeleton staff has been appointed. There is also a scheme to provide municipalities with proper drainage and good drinking water and to make grant to the extent of two-thirds of the estimated cost of such projects. In the year 1947-48 Rs. 2 lakhs were spent on this. In 1948-49 Rs. 5,64,000 has been spent and in the next year a sum of Rs. 6 lakhs has been provided for. This sum is not included in the provision for water supply in some of the municipalities where refugees have gone for which money has been provided by the Relief Department of the Government of India.

As regards the development schemes under Public Health we can mention the following: as regards rural water supply I have already spoken about. With regard to water supply and drainage in municipal areas, as I have stated already, we have spent Rs. 5,64,000 this year. The projects, e.g., Kalimpong Water Supply Extension Scheme, the Serampore Water Supply Completion Scheme, the Asansol Water Supply Intake Remodelling Scheme, are still in progress. A five-year scheme which is estimated to cost Rs. 13 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 3,32,000 recurring has been prepared for the establishment of new maternity and child welfare centres on improved lines through the agency of local committees or bodies and of the opening of maternity and child welfare clinics in Government and non-Government institutions. Rupees 1,74,000 has been spent by Government on this account till November, 1948, and a provision of Rs. 2 lakhs has been made for the next year. I have mentioned already the question about vaccination against tuberculosis and the malaria control scheme.

In the Budget of the year 1949-50 there is a provision of Rs. 1 lakh for a scheme for social service. There is also a scheme for anti-leprosy work. Government now make an annual recurring grant of Rs. 237-8 towards the pay of the medical officer and his attendant and the cost of drugs for each clinic. They have now sanctioned a scheme for a larger number of these clinics. Thirty-three such clinics were established in Bankura, and a sum of Rs. 10,000 has been provided on account of these clinics both in the Revised Budget and in the coming year's Budget. Money is also paid to the British Empire Leprosy Association which does preventive work in leprosy. Government have also started work at Gouripur where a building has been erected for a leper clinic costing Rs. 9,36,000 non-recurring and Rs. 12,00,000 recurring has been sanctioned. In the year 1948-49, Rs. 2,24,000 has been provided and a similar amount has also been provided for the next year. I think, some 90 beds have already been created in the hospital at Bankura, and we hope to increase it to about 400 in the course of the year.

In this connection, in the matter of public health, as the name indicates, it is the public who must understand what is health and what is disease and how to prevent it. Unless the public are prepared—and I appeal through you, Sir, through the members of the House and through the Press, I appeal to the members of the public not merely to critise, but sometimes criticisms are very helpful—to criticise but also to collaborate and co-operate, particularly in the village area in every scheme before us and which we may be able to initiate. Without such help from the public, and particularly in the rural areas, it is not possible for the Government to proceed any further. The reason is this: if you think of sinking a tube-well in a particular area for providing proper drinking water to that area,

the people round about must agree to keep that tube-well, as far as possible, in working order. Often reports have reached us that bits of stones are thrown, probably by children or any one who is carêless, and the result is that when the pump begins to work, it breaks at some point or other which costs the public and the public exchequer some amount of money. There should be a Vigilance Committee in the village for the purpose of preventing children and they should be trained by the village elders so far as the protection of water supply sources is concerned. Similarly, if there are provisions—and there are certain areas where these experiments are being made, particularly in the Singur area where a provision for teaching how to dispose of the nightsoil and the refuse in a village—if only the village people care to accept the proposition and follow the directions of our officers, a great deal would be achieved. Simply the provision of a sum of money would not do; simply our trying to issue directions will not do; there must be some people who must be prepared to take up the matter seriously.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minues.)

(After adjournment.)

Janab MOLLA MOHAMMAD ABDUL HALIM: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 77,74,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to keep the tube-wells in the rural areas in good repair.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 77,74,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of Government.

JANAB MOLLA MAHAMMAD ABDUL HALIM : মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয় ! জন-স্বাস্থ্যের খাতে আগামী বৎসর খরচের বরাদ্দ হচেচ সেটা ৭৭,৭৪,০০০৲ টাকা আর আমাদের মোট revenue receipt হচেচ ৩১ কোটি ৮৩ লক্ষ, সুতরাং মোট আয়ের মাত্র শতকরা ২·৪ p. c. জন-স্বাস্থ্য খাতে বরাদ্দ হয়েছে। এটা বড় কম।

Mr. Speaker, Sir, বছরে বছরে tube-well বসানোর জন্য লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ হচেচ। পশ্চিম বঙ্গে আমার মনে হয় এমন গ্রাম বেশী নাই যেখানে tube-well নাই। তেমনি এমন গ্রামও নাই যেখানে জল-কষ্টের অভাব মেটানো গিয়েছে। tube-wellএর সংখ্যা দিন দিন বাড়ছে, অথচ জলকষ্ট নিবারণ মোটেই হচেচ না এর কারণ কি? আমার মনে হয় এর কারণ যত tube-well বসানো হচেচ সকলগুলি কাজ দিচেচ না। শতকরা ৫০টা tube-well অধিকাংশ সময় অকেজো হয়ে পড়ে থাকে। এর কারণ হচেচ যে tube-well মেরামতের সুষ্ঠু ব্যবস্থা Governmentএর নাই। এখন নিয়ম হচেচ কোন tube-well খারাপ হলে সেই গ্রামের লোক union boardএ খবর দেবে। সেখানে থেকে খবর যাবে local boardএতে। সেখানে থেকে mechanic এসে দেখে যাবে কি কি parts দরকার। সে ফিরে যাবে আবার parts নিয়ে ফিরে এসে মেরামত করে দেবে। একটা tube-well খারাপ হলে সেটা মেরামত করতে ১ মাস, ২ মাস লেগে যায়। এই রকম অধিকাংশ tube-well, petty repairsএর অভাবে খারাপ হয়ে পড়ে থাকে। আমার মনে হয় এর প্রতিকার হচেচ প্রত্যেক unionএতে অন্ততঃ পক্ষে একটা করে mechanic বাহাল করা। মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী বললেন, পশ্চিমবঙ্গে union boardএর সংখ্যা হচেচ ২,৭৫০। প্রত্যেক union একটা করে mechanic বাহাল করলে—২২১০ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ হতে পারে। কিন্তু সে খরচ অন্যায় খরচ হবে না, তাতে করে প্রত্যেক unionএর tube-well সব সময় চালু থাকবে। যদি এত খরচ করতে গভর্ণমেণ্ট কুণ্ঠিত হয় তাহলে আমার মনে হয় tube-well মেরামতের (petty repairs) সম্পূর্ণ ভার দেওয়া উচিত Union Boardকে। Union Board নিজের দফাদার কিম্বা clerk দিয়ে মেরামত করে নিতে পারে সামান্য কিছু খরচ দিয়ে। কিন্তু Governmentকে সমস্ত spare parts বিনা খরচে দিতে হবে। নদীয়ার কতক-গুলি unionএতে আমি দেখেছি এই প্রথা প্রবর্তন করার ফলে সেই সব unionএ সবগুলি tube-well

সব সময়েতেই কাজ করছে। আমি আশা করি Government দেখবেন যে এই প্রথা প্রবর্ত্তন করে সমস্ত tube-well চালু রাখা যায় কিনা। আমি শুধু petty repairsএর কথা বলচি। Resinking এর জন্য অবশ্য স্বতন্ত্র ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে।

JANAB MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয় : আমাদের মফঃস্বলে পল্লী-বাসিরা স্বাস্থ্যের অভাবে দিন দিন কিরূপ ধ্বংসের পথে চলেছে এ সম্বন্ধে বাস্তব জ্ঞান লাভ করতে হলে সেই সমস্ত জরা-জীর্ণ ও ক্ষয়প্রাপ্ত গ্রামে যেয়ে তাদের অবস্থা দেখলেই এ-বিষয়ে সম্যক জ্ঞান লাভ হবে। কত যুগ ধরে এই সমস্ত গ্রাম সরকারের দারুণ উপেক্ষায় সভ্য জগতের দৃষ্টির অন্তরালে তিল তিল করে ক্ষয় হয়ে চলেছে, এ সম্বন্ধে কেউ সংবাদ রাখা দরকার মনে করেন নাই। প্রত্যেক গ্রাম জঙ্গল ও আগাছায় পরিপূর্ণ হয়ে মশার আড্ডায় পরিণত হওয়ার জন্য ম্যালেরিয়া মহামারিরূপে গ্রামকে ধ্বংস করছে। বর্ষাকাল পার হতে আরম্ভ হলেই সমস্ত দেশটাই ম্যালেরিয়ার আক্রমণে হাসপাতালে পরিণত হয়ে যায়। আমার মনে হয় কেবল ডাক্তারখানা ও ঔষধ দিয়ে তাদেরকে এই ম্যালেরিয়ার ধ্বংসকর আক্রমণ থেকে রক্ষা করতে পারা যাবে না। ম্যালেরিয়ার হাত থেকে বাঁচবার প্রধান উপায় হচ্চে prevention is better than cure। এই মারাত্মক ম্যালেরিয়া ব্যাধিকে prevent করার জন্য একটা সুচিন্তিত পরিকল্পনা আজ পর্য্যন্ত তৈয়ার করা হয় নাই। প্রত্যেক গ্রামে ও প্রত্যেক অঞ্চলে যেয়ে বিভিন্ন স্থানের অবস্থা সম্বন্ধে সম্পূর্ণ জ্ঞানলাভ করে ম্যালেরিয়া নিবারণের সুনির্দ্দিষ্ট পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা উচিত। লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকার quinine বিতরণ করে আমরা দেশকে বাঁচাতে পারবো না। আমাদের দেশের লোকের স্বাস্থ্যের উন্নতি হবে কিসে এবং মশা ও ম্যালেরিয়া থেকে তারা বাঁচবে কি প্রকারে এই জ্ঞান যতক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত আমরা তাদেরকে দিতে না পারছি, ততক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত কেবল ঔষধ বিতরণে গ্রামের এই ক্ষয়ের পথকে, এই ধ্বংসের পথকে রোধ করতে পারা যাবে না। এই কলকাতা থেকে আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রীর quinine বিতরণের যে সকল বিধি-ব্যবস্থা করছেন তাতে গ্রামের লোক যে উপকৃত হবে সে সম্ভাবনা অল্প। এই black-marketing ও চোরা বাজারের যুগে, যাদের quinine পাওয়া উচিত, তারা সত্যিকার তাহা পায় কি না এ সম্বন্ধে যথেষ্ট সন্দেহ আছে। সাধারণতঃ গ্রামবাসীরা নিতান্ত মূর্খ, অজ্ঞ ও পশ্চাদপদ। ইহাদেব সম্বন্ধেই কবি বলেছেন--

ঐ সব মূঢ় ম্লান মূক মুখে দিতে হবে ভাষা
ঐ সব শান্ত শুষ্ক ভগ্ন বুকে ধ্বনিয়া তুলিতে হবে আশা।

যতদিন পর্য্যন্ত এই মূক গ্রামবাসীকে স্বাস্থ্য রক্ষা সম্বন্ধে শিক্ষিত করতে না পারা যাবে, ততদিন পর্য্যন্ত তাদেরকে ম্যালেরিয়ার হাত থেকে বাঁচান যাবে না।

The motion of Janab Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim that the demand of Rs. 77,74,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 77,74,000 for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that a sum of Rs. 77,74,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "39—Public Health" was then put and agreed to.

25—General Administration—General Administration.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 2,11,18,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration".

Sir, I have read carefully the different cut motions that have been proposed to this motion of mine and I propose to follow the same procedure as I have done with other two departments in trying to answer some of the points that have been raised in these cut motions. The Revised estimate under this head this year exceeds the Budget estimate of 1948-49 by nearly 12 lakhs of which, as it will be seen by looking at the Red Book which has been circulated, 9 lakhs was accounted for, for the cost of preparation of the electoral roll under the new Constitution. In the Budget estimates of the year 1949-50 there is shown an excess of Rs. 40 lakhs under this head

compared with the Revised estimate of the present year of which Rs. 27 lakhs are reserved for printing and publication of electoral roll under the new Constitution and Rs. 14 lakhs have been provided as a lump provision for the new set-up. Sir, at the time of partition several Partition Committees were formed to make recommendations regarding division of organisation, personnel and records of the various departments of the undivided Bengal Government. Sir, in 1938, Mr. Chapman, an I.C.S. gentleman, was appointed to enquire into the causes and assess the staff requirements of undivided Bengal in its various offices under the Government. He submitted a report and on that basis the staff was sanctioned. Since then the staff has been increased from time to time, even before the partition, on account of increase in the volume of existing work or introduction of new work. Such additional appointments, however, were made on a temporary basis. The committees appointed after the partition made certain recommendations with regard to the staff of the departments under the head "General Administration". It was soon found, however, that in some cases drastic cuts had been made in the organisation and personnel of many departments and offices. The situation was met by the sanction of temporary additional posts from time to time. Last year an officer, a high official of the Finance Department, was appointed by the department to assess the requirements of the Government in the present set-up of things. This assessment could not have been made at the time of partition or soon after as actual experience had to be gained regarding the working of the various departments before we could come to a fairly accurate idea of what were needed. The officer appointed by the Finance Department soon found, however, that the reduction in the strength of the various departments and offices and services under the Government cannot possibly be proportionate to the reduction in the area of the Province, and the reasons were as follows: The departments and the Directorates could not be reduced in number in a haphazard manner as there was to be a minimum number of personnel of various groups for each department. On the other hand, new problems arose—problems of development, problems of protection of the border areas, strengthening the administration of the border districts, increased deputation to the Government of India in connection with the affairs of the Central Government, provision of increased number of Stipendiary Magistrates in place of Honorary Magistrates which had been abolished some time in 1947. Towards the end of 1947 the Government decided not to have any Honorary Magistrate and the work that was being done by them had to be done by somebody, and therefore a large number of Stipendiary Magistrates had to be appointed. There are some Directorates and departments and institutions which have not been materially affected by the partition, for example, the Irrigation Department and the Agricultural Department. Even before the partition the bulk of the work done by these departments related to the districts which have come under West Bengal rather than those in East Bengal. Since the partition the activities of these two departments have grown considerably on account of schemes of agricultural development and execution of irrigation projects. Then again the Directorate of Factory, Boilers, Cinchona and Excise Departments or institutions like the Bengal Tanning Institute, Bengal Ceramic Institute, the Sericultural Institute, Berhampore, the State Medical Colleges and Hospitals and the Bengal Engineering College, Shibpur, could not be reduced because of the development of these institutions or departments. The Calcutta Police Directorate have not altered at all, because Calcutta has remained Calcutta even after the partition. As I have pointed out when I moved the Police Budget, the situation in the town has become more complicated and difficult after partition necessitating an increase in the Police Directorate so far as Calcutta was concerned. New problems have arisen in other directions. The Police Department had to bear a heavy additional burden because of security measures along the borders extending over 600 miles of communications. A very large sum of money, nearly a crore and a half, has been spent this year and a sum of about two crores and a half is likely to be spent next

year for this department. All these projects require employment of additional staff. Some departments like the Co-operative Department had all along been inadequately staffed. The Co-operative Department laid down certain standards for staff of various categories but they were never given effect to. It is well-known that the entire co-operative organisation in West Bengal has been and is in a very moribund condition. An attempt is being made to regenerate this department and additional staff becomes necessary. In the Labour Department the avoidance of industrial disputes and anxiety of labour welfare are some of the features with which the department has to concern itself and several industrial tribunals were set up soon after partition involving the appointment of a large number of judges and staff. The Forest Department had to be strengthened in order to give effect to schemes of afforestation which has a vital bearing not merely on the regeneration of the Province of West Bengal in general but also so far as food production and rainfall is concerned. The Department of Relief and Rehabilitation concerned with refugee relief and rehabilitation has expanded considerably. With regard to the refugees the bulk of the money is coming and will come from the Central Government. The Provincial Government has increased the expenditure on this department as a result of the partition. While some assessment has been made as regards the staff requirements in the various departments of Government these are being carefully looked into by the Government. The next step would be to prepare a salary structure. But as the report of the staff requirements as well as the salary structure have not been completed a tentative provision has been made in the budget of a crore of rupees which has been divided into various departments on an *ad hoc* basis. It may be that some of it would not be required or additional provision may have to be cut down according to the financial position and relative priority of the proposals affecting the various departments concerned. Now, Sir, let me give you in short a statement showing the staff under this department as well as the costs in paying the staff. The staff may be divided into three groups or categories, the secretarial staff, the technical and administrative staff in the directorates including the districts and the clerical and the lower staff. Sir, we have heard a great deal about the top-heavy administration and heard a great deal of sympathy for the miserable condition of the lower-paid staff. In the beginning I may say that if you cut the head of an organism like that of a lizard the tail may wag but I doubt very much whether the animal itself would function equally well afterwards. As regards the secretarial staff there has been some increase in number due to the causes I have already mentioned because we have undertaken various development schemes and put into execution many of the so-called nation-building departments. I believe that we have made a great deal of what we mean by the word "nation-building departments". Sir, every department of Government ought to build the nation in some form or other. The man must be protected from trouble, from worries, from death if he has got to develop. If the man is killed he cannot be developed. Therefore, I say the Police Department is also a nation-building department from that point of view. Therefore, Sir, the activities of these departments demand extra work on the secretariat because execution of each scheme requires careful scrutiny and proper direction by the directorate and the executive head. But whenever any additional Secretaries or Deputy Secretaries or Assistant Secretaries have been appointed for such additional work the posts have been retained on a temporary basis and they will not continue longer than is necessary. For example, in the Education Department we have appointed an Additional Secretary because of the reorganisation of the department regarding university and secondary education. The permanent Secretary is completely engrossed in the development of primary, basic and other types of education. The Finance Department, prior to the partition, dealt with only the budget; the work of audit was done in the Chief Minister's department and the taxes were on the Revenue Department budget. The whole matter has been reorganised and the subjects of taxation as well as of audit have now come

under the Finance Department. Naturally there is some increase apparently in the staff of the Finance Department with a corresponding decrease in the other departments. There has been a reduction in the staff in other ways, for instance, in the case of the Revenue Department, the Member, Board of Revenue, is, since the partition, also the ex-officio Secretary of the department and no separate Secretary has been appointed. In the Medical Department the Director of Health Services is also the Secretary of the Medical Department without any extra remuneration. The Works and Buildings and Irrigation and Waterways Departments have been separated. The Works and Buildings Departments have been placed in charge of a Joint Secretary—not a full fledged Secretary—whereas Irrigation and Waterways have been, along with Forests, Fisheries and Agriculture, placed in charge of one Secretary. The Labour Department has no Secretary but has only a Joint Secretary. That is the story of the Secretariat Directorate group. The next group is the group in which staffs have been recommended to provide for the appointment of technical experts and for the execution of development schemes, engineers, doctors and so on.

As will be seen on a reference to the development projects this year and the next year, more than 50 per cent. of the total expenditure on development projects in the year 1949-50 is provided for the Medical and the Public Health Departments, and 20 per cent. for the Education Department. It would be idle to contend that the staff that was appointed for ordinary routine administrative work should be sufficient for the execution of major new schemes. The Directorates like the Commercial Taxes, the Agricultural Income-Tax, Excise and Sales Tax need strengthening as they are revenue earning departments. It would be false economy not to provide adequate staff for these departments. A fair and proper assessment as well as adequate measures to prevent evasion of taxes involves the employment of adequate staff.

As regards clerical and other staff there are standards laid down for calculating the number, and the staff that has been suggested by the officer is strictly in accordance with such standard and no deviation has been allowed from such standard. The recommendations have been based on the assessment of the actual volume of work during the last two years.

Now, let us take the number. The total number of the staff under the Government of West Bengal —as we see from the brochure that has been circulated and, I hope, has been perused by the honourable members—is 107,965 out of which only 3,580 draw a basic salary exceeding Rs. 200 per month while 1,512 draw a basic salary exceeding Rs. 300 per month. The preliminary statistical report on the staff employed by the Government of West Bengal, published by the Finance Department, will show that of the gazetted officers only 177 get a salary above Rs. 1,000 including the High Court Judges; 444 get a salary of between Rs. 500 and 1,000; 1,600 get a salary of between Rs. 100 and 500; of the non-gazetted staff 79,000 get a salary between zero and Rs. 400 and upwards; and of the rest of the non-gazetted staff 26,000 people get a salary between zero and Rs. 101. These things have been circulated, and I do not want to go into further details.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Does anybody get zero rupee as salary?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sometimes that will require a little more calculation and some knowledge of arithmetic which you are incapable of understanding.

Now, Sir, compare their standard with the basic standard as obtained in 1939. If you take that basic standard of 1939 as 100, certain very curious figures have been found after calculating the results of the various improvements or alterations that have been made in the salary structure. Sir, if you take a person as having Rs. 100 in 1939—if he is a menial in a district—he is getting Rs. 350 today, and in Calcutta Rs. 332-3 the economy index

being Rs. 361, so that the amount which they are getting today is almost the same as the economy standard that obtains today. Take the clerks. The man who was getting a salary of Rs. 100 in 1939 in a district is getting Rs. 213; in a Directorate he is getting Rs. 204; in the Secretariat he is getting Rs. 192. But when you come to the higher officers—the Indian Police Service, the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Adiminstrative Service, Secretaries to Government, Commissioners, Chief Secretary, and Member, Board of Revenue—the figures will reveal that the man who was getting Rs. 100 in 1939 gets a net emolument today of 99·1 if he is in the Indian Police Service; of 88·3 if he is in the Indian Civil Service; and the Commisioners and others are getting 72·5 against 100 so that all this talk of top-heavy administration is mere moon shine and nonsense. Even assuming for one moment that you have the organism without the head, the total amount of money that you pay to this gazetted staff per month is about 3,00,000 rupees. Supposing all the heads are cut off and you have got a lakh of people to distribute that money to, you can only increase their salary by 3 rupees but, as I have said before, it can be done in the case of lower animals but not in an organism such as the Government. Therefore you will realise and those who will have the patience to read the brochure will be convinced that it is not a top-heavy administration but a broad-based administration. I do not deny for a moment that all these groups of the staff have got the full satisfaction. In the case of the menial—and I know my friend Mr. Banerjee will get up and say that it is a wrong calculation, and I will ask him to read this and find out the mistake—if he was getting Rs. 100 in 1939, the value of the salary that he is now getting is Rs. 350, or to put it in another way, if he was getting 15 to 17 rupees in 1939 in a district—the average being Rs. 15—he is now getting Rs. 52-5; in Calcutta if he was getting a salary of Rs. 17 on average, he is getting now Rs. 56-5; a clerk in a district, if he was getting Rs. 57-5 in 1939, he is now getting Rs. 122-5; in the Directorate if he was getting Rs. 75 in 1939, he is now getting Rs. 153-7; in the Bengal Junior Civil Service if he was getting Rs. 237, he is now getting Rs. 354; in the Bengal Medical Service if he was getting Rs. 200, he is now getting Rs. 383; in the Bengal Civil Service if he was getting Rs. 450, he is getting now Rs. 570. But when you come to the higher services like the Indian Police Service and the Indian Administrative Service, if he was getting Rs. 850 in 1939, he is getting Rs. 952 and Rs. 842 according to the standard which he is in; in the Indian Civil Service if he was getting Rs. 1,350, he is getting Rs. 1,185; if as Secretary he was getting Rs. 2,750, he is getting Rs. 2,750 now; if he was a Commissioner and was getting Rs. 3,000, he will be getting now Rs. 2,250. These are due to two factors—first of all, there has been an alteration in the salary structure so far as Indian Administrative Service is concerned, according to the direction given by the Government of India, and the second factor is that the income-tax structure has affected higher-salaried people much more than the lower staff.

Sir, I do not want to labour this point. I find among the cut motions there are many questions that have been raised by different friends round about here which I shall have the pleasure to answer as best as I can.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the communal composition of the entire administration and the urgent need for reconsideration of the whole position with a view to permit officers to revise their option in special reference to the interest of minorities.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about curtailment of civil liberties of people by the Government of West Bengal.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to implement the assurances regarding adequate representation of minorities in the various branches of the administration and in other spheres of life as well.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the miserable condition of peons and other low paid employees of the same category and the immediate necessity of enhancing their salaries and improving their prospects.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of the Government regarding acquisition of a huge area in the Barasat subdivision comprising several villages with a view to rehabilitate refugees from Eastern Bengal—a step sure to result in evacuation of thousands from their homelands.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of the Government regarding development of the Sundarbans area in West Bengal in all its aspects.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the communal and unsatisfactory character of the Advisory Board formed in Kagram-Talibpur Union in Murshidabad.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about undesirable interference of the Ministers with the normal duties of the Government officers.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about Government's repressive measures.

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to make provision for enhancement of salaries of low paid employees and to minimise the salaries of the high paid officials.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to make provision for the pay of Chowkidars and Dafadars from Provincial Revenues.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to abolish the office of the Divisional Commissioner.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure to provide any fund for increasing dearness allowance for the employees of the Provincial Government at par with that recently sanctioned for the Government of India employees serving in this Province.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of the Ministry.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the usefulness of organising the villages in order to establish Panchayet Raj envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi in order to drive away disunity and to make the village "a republic" in the trust sense of the word and make it a self-supporting and self-contained unit in the administration of West Bengal.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the propriety or otherwise of departmental order for associating a section of the local Congress members with the local police, executive and other departmental activities and thus giving such members an opportunity to carry on their oppressive activities to the detriment of the interest of general populace for serving their own selfish interests.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the inefficiency of the department and the absolute neglect of and indifference to and step-motherly eye towards Muslim interest of the Province of West Bengal.

Janab MUHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the indifference and negligence of the Government to assess and solve the acute problems of the district of Malda arising out of its being cut off from the rest of the Province.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of Government towards the Muslims.

Sir, I beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to check and remove corruption that has vitiated the public administration and public morals.

Sir, I also beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about failure of Government to reduce the top-heavy expenditure and to increase the grossly low pay of servants, clerks, lower grade officials of the Government including those of the office of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Sir, I further beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the rehabilitation of the riot-affected people according to the terms of section 25 of the Security Act, total number of people applied for such rehabilitation and how many people actually rehabilitated and the total number to be shown separately, the number of major minority community.

Sir, I also beg to move that the demand under this head be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the general policy of Government.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about (*i*) general policy, (*ii*) inefficiency of the Government to check bribery, and (*iii*) communal bias of the administrative officers of various Government departments.

Janab MOLLA MOHAMMAD ABDUL HALIM: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to protect the poor peasants from the damage and loot of their crops by a section of the people.

Mr. SPEAKER: Now the discussion begins.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, cannot the discussion be held over till tomorrow?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, no. We must go on.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: The Hon'ble the Premier in his brilliant survey has taken more than half an hour——

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry I cannot give so much time to any member.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, this is a most important subject and most of the members of this House are of the opinion that discussion on this subject should be held over.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, no. We will finish it today. The business of the House has got to go on.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will you not permit the Opposition, depleted as it is today, to do justice to the various cut motions?

Mr. SPEAKER: I can give you this much assurance that I will give full opportunity to debate this subject of General Administration. I will only make one request to the members that they should also try to help the expeditious disposal of the business. They should confine themselves to the relevant points to the best possible extent.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker কতটা time আমাদের দেবেন তার একটা approximate idea যদি দেন তা'হলে আমাদের পক্ষে সুবিধা হবে। মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যে time নিয়েছেন discussionএ, অন্তত: ততটা time দেবেন আমাদের এধারের সকলের জন্য।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, you must leave this matter to the Speaker as to what time is to be given to the individual members. If every member wants time as much as the Hon'ble the Premier has taken, then it will be difficult for me to allow such time.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I have been misunderstood. আমি বলেছি উনি একা যত time নিয়েছেন আমরা সকলে সেই time নেব।

Mr. SPEAKER: Certainly you will get time.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Shall I go on, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, within the brief space of time at my disposal, it is not possible to do justice to all the cut motions that stand in my name. As this is the most important subject, I am afraid it is not possible to cover the entire ground within such a short time. Nevertheless I shall try to be as brief as possible touching only salient points relevant to the subject-matter of the various cut motions.

I will first of all take up cut motions Nos. 2 and 4, because they are practically of the same character. Sir, in raising this question, I do not like to introduce any communal colour or complexion. I want only to impress upon this House as also upon the Leader of the House and through him on all the honourable members of the Government bloc that in view of the bitterness that prevails in the country, in view of the fact that the atmosphere is still surcharged with germs of suspicion and distrust it is time that leaders of public opinion not only in this Dominion, but also in the other Dominion reconsidered the whole position in the light of the developments that have taken place all over the country.

Sir, in January last year I had been to Eastern Bengal myself and there I contacted members of the Bar. As a matter of fact, I was asked to address the Bar on the peculiar position of minorities in East and West Bengal. I only emphasised the fact that minorities, wherever they might be, should have adequate representation in all spheres of life, in all domains of thought, in all fields of activity more especially in the administration, in the executive, the police and the judiciary, because these are the three departments, Sir, which alone could guarantee protection to the minorities. Till that spirit of mutual accommodation has been restored, till we have been able to restore mutual confidence and understanding, till we have been able to remove the bitterness that has been created by the partition, it is necessary that all classes of people should be adequately accommodated in the administration. That is possible only if the officers in each Dominion are allowed to revise their option to serve either East or West Bengal. Hindu officers belonging to East Bengal in sheer panic opted out for West Bengal, and Muslim officers belonging to West Bengal opted for East Bengal out of sheer panic and sense of desperation. They were cut off from their hearths and homes. Many of them now want to go back to their country homes, at any rate to stand by their own people, to stand by their families, to stand by their dependants, to stand by their friends, to stand by their associates, to stand by their relatives. That is the only way how the prevailing bitterness can be removed.

Last year myself and my esteemed friends Messrs. Abul Hashem, Abdur Rahman and Khuda Bukhsh submitted a representation to His Excellency Qaid-i-Azam on the occasion of his first and last visit to Eastern Bengal as Governor-General of Pakistan. We submitted certain suggestions to him, and for the enlightenment of the House I would place these suggestions before this House: "On the occasion of your visit to East Bengal we, the undersigned Muslim representatives of West Bengal, would respectfully invite Your Excellency's attention to the sore problem of minorities in your Dominion in the confident hope that Your Excellency will spare neither yourself nor your Government in implementing the assurances held out to minorities and the principles enunciated in your inaugural speech before the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on the 11th of August, 1947."

Our proposals which were placed on behalf of the minorities of Pakistan were—

(1) to declare Pakistan to be a secular State;

(2) to embody a charter of fundamental rights for minorities in the constitution as also to incorporate it in the Instrument of Instructions to be issued to the Governors of Provinces in Pakistan, guaranteeing protection of their lives, liberties and religion and providing against discrimination in any shape or form in political, economic and administrative spheres on grounds of race, caste, creed and colour.

(3) To provide for statutory protection of minority rights and interest as also for representations of minorities in the Cabinets, Legislatures as also in the services in Pakistan.

(4) To implement the declared policy through legislative and administrative measures by the Central and Provincial Legislatures and Cabinets of Pakistan.

(5) The Governor-General and the Provincial Governors of Pakistan to have special "responsibilities" for the protection of minorities as also for maintenance of law and order.

(6) Cabinets both Central and Provincial in Pakistan to include accredited representatives of minorities as well.

(7) To create a Ministry in both the Central and Provincial Governments of Pakistan for the protection of the rights of minorities therein.

(8) To allow Government officials to revise their option to serve either East or West Bengal.

(9) To ban all private armies.

(10) To encourage the growth of political organisations on non-communal lines and throw them open to all communities.

(11) To discard the policy of discrimination in the matter of issue of trade licenses as also in other matters affecting the life of the community.

(12) To allow normal trade relations and free movement of goods to continue between East and West Bengal as before partition.

(13) To restore and maintain normal socio-economic intercourse between East and West Bengal.

(14) To stop immediately unauthorised searches in trains, steamers and other places.

These are the 14 points, Sir, that were submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan on behalf of the minorities in East Bengal and other Pakistan areas, only because we felt that if the minorities in Pakistan were well protected, were guaranteed proper protection of their lives, liberties, language, religion and culture, we in India also might formulate silimar proposals and submit them before our Hon'ble Premier of the Central Government to implement the assurances that they held out in their Draft Constitution in the Fundamental Rights incorporated therein. Sir, for the last 2 or 3 days I have been raising this question, not to introduce any communal heat or controversy in the debate, but to plead the cause of a particular section of minorities whose claims have been ignored, for a particular group of men whose interests are not safeguarded, to plead for particular minorities who are nowhere in the picture. If it does amount to communalism I plead guilty to that charge. If love of a particular community, if pleading for a community which I have the honour to belong to, is a crime then I am a criminal and I plead guilty to that charge. All that I want to impress upon this Government and also upon the Government that exists in Eastern Bengal is that if they sit across a table, discuss various problems, more especially, the problem of administration affecting the minorities in both Bengals specially when distrust of the administrations by minorities in some shape or form still persists they might be able to explore the real avenues for a lasting settlement between the two great communities that inhabit this land of ours. Sir, I would not stress this point any further. All that I would like to

impress upon the Hon'ble Premier of this Province and the Leader of this House and upon the Premier of East Bengal as well and through them upon the Premiers of both the Dominions is that there might yet be a chance of reopening the question of option for East Bengal or West Bengal exercised by the Government servants at the time of partition out of sheer panic or desperation so that those who wanted to revise their option might be enabled to go to their respective Dominions or Provinces, to their homelands. And if that is done, Sir, much of the difficulties, much of the controversy, much of the communal jealousies, much of the bickerings, much of the complications, much of the troubles that are agitating the minds of people will be removed. It is for you Premier to take the initiative in the matter.

Sir, I will now take up my motion No. 5—"To raise a discussion about the miserable condition of peons and other low paid employees of the same category and the immediate necessity of enhancing their salaries and improving their prospects." Sir, this is a very ticklish question. The Hon'ble the Premier in his exhaustive analysis has indulged in a comparison which I do not very much approve of, that all those who do not want the head indulge in nonsense. I am afraid he has shot off the mark. I am afraid he has not understood the real position. He being the head, the administrative head at present, he is concerned with the head and not with the tail at all. He forgets that although the head is the most important part of the organism, other organs also equally contribute to the growth and evolution of the entire system. He forgets most conveniently that the low-paid officers are the most important limb of the administration. Sir, the basic pay of the low-paid employees, of peons, ranges between Rs. 13—17. The increment is one rupee every five years. With the dearness allowance and other allowances the figure is increased to Rs. 54 or Rs. 55 per month. The Hon'ble Premier said that their emoluments have come up to 300 per cent. with the dearness allowance, etc., added to their basic pay, whereas the higher paid employees do not get more than 15 per cent. or 20 per cent. or 30 per cent. or 50 per cent. of their basic pay as dearness allowance, etc. I want to ask a pertinent question, Sir. If Rs. 15 is raised to Rs. 45 can that in any way improve the lot of these unfortunate people. One particular individual has got to spend Rs. 30 to maintain himself in a city like Calcutta at present. Over and above this he has to incur expenditure on his clothing and other essentials of life—not to speak of his family. A small percentage of increase or decrease over the salaries of officers drawing a thousand rupees and above, does not take us away from the fact that they are able to enjoy all the amenities of life and all the luxuries of life even with or without that small increase or decrease. So the percentage basis comparison is not very convincing. All that I want to request you Hon'ble Premier on behalf of the low-paid people, is that in these days of increased cost of living, in these days of inflation, in these days of soaring prices, in these days of miseries of poor people all around, you should sympathise with the poor lot of these poorly paid people and it should be possible for you to increase their salaries in such a way that they can meet all their minimum demands and requirements, of life can cope with the soaring prices that are shooting up day in and day out, can make both ends meet and can also look after the members of their poor families. That is my submission to the Hon'ble the Leader of the House. He should not forget that the head is not everything; other parts are equally important, at times much more so. If the eye does not exist, if the heart does not exist, if the lungs do not exist, if important organs of the system do not exist, the head cannot function for a single minute.

Regarding cut motion No. 6—"To raise a discussion about the policy of the Government regarding acquisition of a huge area in the Barasat subdivision comprising several villages with a view to rehabilitate refugees

from Eastern Bengal—a step sure to result in evacuation of thousands from their homelands", I would like to submit, Sir, this question was raised on the floor of the House by my friend Mr. Abdur Rahman the other day and he gave a detailed account, a clear survey of the entire position. Sir, we have every sympathy for the refugees. I know their real conditions. They are suffering from a sense of frustration and insecurity. They are suffering from a psychological complex. We can well realise their position from our own position here. I do sympathise with them. All that I want to say is that the step that you take to rehabilitate them at a place should be such as not to result in the exodus of those people who are living there from before—in the evacuation of original inhabitants from their homes and hearth—I do not refer to Muslims or Hindus here, I mean only the original inhabitants of those areas. These refugees can well be accommodated in the Sunderbans or other areas. I am told by my friend Mr. Abdur Rahman that the Hon'ble the Premier assured him the other day that they were only making a survey of the places where these refugees could be conveniently accommodated without detriment to those who had been living there. I only want to reiterate that point and to refer to that assurance of the Hon'ble Premier so that the people might have their sense of security.

Now, Sir, I will come to another question about the policy of the Government regarding development of the Sundarbans area in West Bengal in all its aspects. This is a question, Sir, which has been discussed threadbare in the Press. The Government of West Bengal, I understand, have already appointed a committee to go into the whole question and the different departments of Government have been asked to formulate schemes which might lead to a comprehensive scheme being formulated with regard to the development of the Sundarbans. Sir, the Sundarbans is very rich in potentiality and, if developed, can yield forty maunds or even more of rice per bigha. If it is properly developed and the land-owning interests are abolished and Government look into the entire question of irrigation, navigation, embankment as well as industrial and food resources of the Sundarbans area, I think the Sundarbans alone might solve the food problem of this province as also the burning question of rehabilitation of the refugees. I would urge upon the Government to implement the proposals of the committee and ask the committee to go forward with the schemes taken in hand and utilise their resources and staff for those poor unfortunate people of the Sundarbans who have been miserably exposed to all dangers and who have often run the risk of being evicted from their own homes. I would appeal to the Government of Bengal to go forward with the scheme that they have taken in hand.

Then, Sir, I wish to raise a small matter concerning my own union in the district of Murshidabad. In this matter my friend, Mr. Shyamapada Bhattacharjee, will bear me out because he knows more about these things. Sir, I may tell you that both these villages are of the same importance, and so far as election is concerned, it was all right; but so far as nominations to the Advisory Board are concerned, one particular village Kagram had the advantage of a larger number of nominations while the other village Talebpur had only one nomination as against five given to the other. Sir, in this connection I will not bring in any communal question, but I say that one particular village has the advantage over the other village and naturally therefore the first village Kagram will dominate over the other village Talebpur to the latter's cost.

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

Now, Sir, I would like to raise another very important question, namely, the question of curtailment of civil liberties of people by the Government of West Bengal. About this matter, Sir, I am afraid that it will not be possible for me to do full justice within the short space of time allotted to me. This is an important subject fraught with very serious significance. Sir, I want to know how long you will permit me to speak.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have given you twenty minutes and that I think is sufficient time. You please continue for two minutes more.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, at this time we are passing through very great revolutionary changes all over the world, and we expected that in free India we shall have freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom from hunger, freedom from illiteracy, freedom from disease. But what do we find today, Sir? The picture that we find before us today is that we have no freedom at all. We have not been able to recover from our chronic poverty, from our huge agricultural indebtedness. Sir, if there is any attempt on the part of anybody to criticise the Government and its policy, that attempt is resented; not merely resented, Sir, but thwarted. Anybody who has got the temerity to attack the Government and criticise their policy, he is dubbed a communist or a revolutionary. Sir, I do not belong to either one party or the other: I am an independent member having no party label of my own. And I yield to none in my desire that all subversive activities must be stopped. Any attempt to undermine the foundation of Government must be stopped by all legitimate and constitutional means at our disposal. At the same time people must enjoy the freedom to criticise the Government for their blunders and failures. But what do we find today? We find, Sir, that this Government is unable to tolerate any criticism of their policy, any attack on Government, however constitutional. Sir, we attacked the British Government in season and out of season, Regulation III of 1818 and the Rowlatt Act and all the barbarous methods of terrorism and violence were employed by the Britishers to crush India's manhood and to hush into dead silence India's genuine urge for freedom. But, Sir, we have stood that test. India has gone through those long sufferings, through all sorts of tortures and tribulation, and through all sorts of misfortunes with a cheerful spirit, and has today achieved her freedom. Sir, oppression after oppression, repression after repression, tyranny after tyranny, shock after shock have not been able to crush us nor have they been able to crush the spirit of revolution in any country in the world. Such repression has led Ireland to sinn Feinism, Russia to Bolshevism, India to her long-cherished freedom. Sir, two world wars were fought to make the world safe for democracy, for social justice and civil liberty to all alike. But instead of that what do we find today? We find that shootings, firings, Security Acts, Ordinances have become the order of the day. But if the Hon'ble Ministers and the Prime Minister probe deep into the matter and understand correctly the real cause of this discontent at the present moment, the real cause of this ferment that is going on in the country they will have to realise that those embers of discontent that are smouldering in the ashes of unrealised hopes may burst into flames any moment and it would be impossible for the Ministers to check the growth of this revolutionary movement unless they adopt measures betimes and forestall the fast gathering clouds of discontent. Sir, Pandit Motilal Nehru once observed: you are talking of conspiracy; if you go on like that you will find one day that the whole of India is honeycombed with a net work of deep conspiracy. I am afraid, Sir, such is the state of affairs at present in the country. It is not that I subscribe to that idea for I know that by recourse to subversive activities we will not achieve our goal. But I must say at the same time that if the refugees are shot at when they stage a demonstration, if the student demonstrations are answered with bullets, we shall neither be able to ease the tension nor remove the present discontent in the country. You may by all means try to suppress it by the application of tear gas, by the promulgation of section 144 and other reactionary pieces of legislation, you may by all means try to crush the spirit, but you must try to realise at the same time the intensity of feeling that is working behind the present movement. If the people are going the wrong way, there is no denying the fact at the same time that the people are hungry, millions of

people are suffering from diseases, people are illiterate and want education and you have not been able to provide any so far. You might talk of liberty and freedom, but you have done nothing whatsoever to relieve the people of their distress. On the other hand their liberty has been crushed in the name of communalism, in the name of communism, in the name of socialism, in the name of this or that "ism". For the sake of saving innocent people Government must always take adequate precaution to suppress the gangsters, thieves and cut-throats. All deterrent measures to deal with their offences are necessary. But for decent people having peaceful avocations of life, if on suspicion a single person is clapped in jail and kept in detention for an indefinite period of time, Government will stand condemned. For that is the bureaucratic and irresponsible way of dealing with these things. That is not the way in which democracy should function. That smacks of the reactionary policy of an Andersonian rule; that smacks of the reactionary policy of a Dyer and O'Dwyer. Sir, we should try to forget all those days and take stock of the real situation in the country and adapt ourselves to the changed circumstances in the present political set-up in the country.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motions to the acceptance of the House.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আজ সাড়ে সাতটা বেজে গিয়েছে আজ থাক, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Let us sit till 8. If we do not continue now, we will not be able to finish and we will have to sit at 3 p.m. tomorrow.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: It is very unfair to me because I have got to remember all the remarks that have been made and to give an answer to those, but if you put it off till tomorrow, it will be very difficult. So, I suggest let us go on as long as we possibly can.

Mr. SPEAKER: It also depends upon the Opposition.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: There should be some consideration for the animal who has got to reply to all these criticisms.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then we may postpone now.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: No, Sir. I move that we continue as long as we can.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Tomorrow we begin at 3.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: May I suggest that formerly the Opposition often used to sit late, specially in the budget session. It is known that guillotine will operate. Therefore, there is no point while there is yet time to put off the discussion till tomorrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: If I remember aright, it was always with the consent of the Opposition. If you like to prolong the debate till 10 p.m. tomorrow, I have no objection. Let them come prepared for that. Even today if you want to continue till 10 p.m., I have no objection.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: At least, let us proceed till 8 p.m. today.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: You suggested we should be let off. We have not come prepared. It is already quarter to eight.

Mr. SPEAKER: In my view we should proceed till 8 and then we should adjourn till tomorrow.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: আজ অনেক দেরী হয়ে গিয়েছে, আমার কথা সব শেষ হবে না, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Hashem, let us go on till 8. I know the difficulties. Every member, when he begins to speak, wants to have his full play, but everybody cannot have full play. We have 20 to 25 minutes still left.

(At this stage Sri Sibnath Banerjee rose to speak.)

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Let Mr. Banerjee say now. Tomorrow I shall speak.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not understand this. Members who have moved their motions should get preference to those who speak otherwise. Let those who moved their motions speak first. Let us understand the situation first.

Mr. SPEAKER: The result is practically the same.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: No, Sir. It may be the same for you. It is not the same for me because I have to remember all the arguments and I do plead that it is not possible to continue like this from day to day. It is a great strain upon a person.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: May I be permitted to explain. If the debate is carried over till tomorrow, the objection that has been raised by the Hon'ble Leader of the House does not hold good because in any case he will have to come tomorrow and reply tomorrow. There are barely 19 minutes left.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please. I have decided that we shall sit till 8. There should be no further discussion on that. Now, with regard to speeches, if the Hon'ble Premier insists upon the movers of the motions speaking before other members are allowed to speak——

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: You have allowed Mr. Banerjee.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a matter of privilege. You have already allowed me to speak. At this stage, if the Premier wants otherwise, it will be very unfair to me and to the House.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, it is your discretion, it is your privilege.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, you already allowed me to speak and I am on my legs.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right, you go on. I have allowed you.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আজ যে সব বক্তৃতা হবে প্রিমিয়ারকে তার উত্তর দিতে হবে; তবে আজ দেবেন না, কালকে দেবেন। আমি জানি আমার কথার বেশী উত্তর দেবেন না।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY : আমার কথা বলবার দরকার নেই। আপনার কথা বলেই শেষ করুন।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE : একটু আগেই খুব প্রশংসা করেছি যে শরীরযন্ত্র সম্বন্ধে তাঁর মত অভিজ্ঞ লোক ভারতবর্ষে কমই আছে, কিন্তু সমাজযন্ত্র সম্বন্ধে তিনি যখন বক্তৃতা দেন তখন আমি বলব তিনি সে সম্বন্ধে একেবারে আনাড়ী। তিনি যে সমস্ত থিওরি এখানে দিয়েছেন তার উত্তর দিতে গেলে ১৫ মিনিট সময়ের জায়গায় ১৫ ঘণ্টা সময় লাগবে।

তিনি বলেছেন, টিক্‌টিকির মাথা কেটে দিলেও লেজ নড়ে। কিন্তু কোন কোন জানোয়ারের একটার বেশী মাথা থাকে—রাবণের যেমন ১০টা মাথা ছিল। আমাদের মিনিষ্ট্রির ১২টা মুণ্ড আছে। তার ২।৪টা কাটা গেলেও কাজ চলে। কাজেই মাথা কাটা নিয়ে যে analogy দিয়েছেন তা ঠিক হয়নি। (A VOICE : একেবারে যেন মল্লিনাথ!) মল্লিনাথের উত্তর মল্লিনাথ বা পাণিনি বা সুপদ্ম ব্যাকরণ থেকেই দিতে হয়। টিক্‌টিকির কথার কোন প্রয়োজন বা যুক্তি নেই। শরীরযন্ত্র সম্বন্ধে ডাঃ রায় যা বলবেন তা

বাধা পেতে দেব, কিন্তু সমন্বয় সম্বন্ধে যা বলবেন তা মেনে নিতে রাজী নই এবং আমি আশা করি এখানকার মধ্যেও অনেকে সেটা মানবেন না। যাঁরা classless societyর কথা বলেছেন কংগ্রেস থেকে তাঁদের মধ্যে প্রধান ডাক্তার ঘোষকে এখানে দেখতে পাচ্ছি না। তিনি প্রিমিয়ার হয়ে বললেন—"আমি Socialism চাই।" ডাক্তার ব্যানার্জি—তিনি কংগ্রেস প্রেসিডেণ্ট—তিনিও এখানে নাই। কিন্তু আমি আশা করি তিনিও ডাক্তার রায়ের যে thesis তা support করবেন না।

এই administrationটা top heavy administration নয়—দেখাবার জন্য তিনি বলেছেন যে, একজন যে ১৫৲ টাকা পাচ্ছিল সে এখন ৫২৲ টাকা পাচ্ছে—প্রায় 350 per cent. সত্য কথা। কিন্তু অন্য দিকে দেখুন, যে ১৫৲ টাকা পাচ্ছিল সে মাত্র ৪০।৫০৲ টাকা পাচ্ছে, অথচ ১,৫০০ শত যারা পাচ্ছিল তারা ২ হাজার ৩ হাজার পাচ্ছে। কাজেই উপরের দিকটা এই ভাবে হ'লে বলতে হয়—the difference between the highest and the lowest এ দেশে যা রয়েছে তা অন্য কোন দেশে নাই। Heavy এ হিসাবে আমি বলব না যে ডাক্তার রায়ের ওজন দু'শ পাউণ্ড আর ঐ চাপরাসীটা যে না খেয়ে শুকিয়ে রয়েছে তার ওজন এক শ পাউণ্ডও নয়। তার জন্য top heavy বলছি না। খরচের proportion যদি দেখা যায় তবে দেখব যে এটা কত top heavy হয়ে রয়েছে। ১৯৩৭।৩৮ সালে কংগ্রেসের যে Enquiry Committee বোম্বাইতে এবং বিহারে হয়েছিল—বাংলাদেশে সে বালাই ছিল না—তাতে সব জায়গায়ই স্বীকার করা হয়েছে যে ৪৫৲—৫০৲ টাকার কমে একটী লোকের চলে না। সেই Enquiry Committeeর রিপোর্ট ইতিহাস হয়ে রয়েছে। Assemblyর লাইব্রেরিতে পাওয়া যাবে। ডাক্তার রায় পড়ে দেখবেন—১৯৩৭।৩৮ সালে কংগ্রেস Enquiry কমিটি বিভিন্ন প্রদেশে হয়েছিল এবং সেখানে বলা হয়েছিল, একটা minimum wage হওয়া দরকার। সেই অনুপাতে আজকে তাদের যা মাহিনা দেওয়া হয় হিসাব করে দেখুন তা কোথায় গিয়ে দাঁড়ায়। ১৫৲ টাকার জায়গায় ৫২৲ টাকা হ'লে ৩৫০ per cent. হয় সত্য, কিন্তু ১৫৲ টাকা যখন পাচ্ছে তখন culpable homicide, slow starvation যারা করা হচ্ছে। অবশ্য যদি বলেন একদিনে inequality দূর হ'তে পারে না তবে তা মেনে নেব। কিন্তু যদি বলেন যা হচ্ছে তা ঠিক হচ্ছে তবে আমি বলব যে ঠিক হচ্ছে না এবং কংগ্রেসের নেতাদের থেকে সে কথা বললে শোভা পাবে না। Classless society হওয়া দূরে থাক, যে বৈষম্য ছিল তা আরও বর্দ্ধিত হচ্ছে, কম হচ্ছে না। এদের না খাইয়ে রাখা হয় এই অভিযোগ আমরা করছি। এ সম্বন্ধে লেবার ডিপার্টমেণ্টের আলোচনার সময় আরও বেশী করে বলব। আজকে এইটুকু বলব যে দাবী এখানে করা হয়েছে—এসেম্ব্লিতে যারা কাজ করছে এবং অন্যান্য গভর্ণমেণ্ট servants—এদের ব্যাপারে—Central Pay Commission যাদের British Government appoint করেছিলেন এবং যা জওহরলাল নেহরুও মেনে নিয়েছিলেন এবং বলেছিলেন যে "the State must be a model employer"—তাদের সম্বন্ধে এখন উলটো ব্যবহার দেখছি। যে Dearness Allowance বা যে grade ট্রাইবুনালের মারফৎ কারখানার শ্রমিকেরা পেতে যাচ্ছে, সরকারের অধীনস্থ চাপরাসী ও পিয়নেরা তা পায় না। লেবার কমিশনারের আপিসের যে সমস্ত চাপরাসীরা রয়েছে তারা যখন বলে—আমাদের জন্য কি ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে? আমরা কি পাচ্ছি? তখন লেবার কমিশনার বলেন—আমার হাতে কিছুই নাই, সবই সেক্রেটারির হাতে। যে লেবার কমিশনার নিজের অধীনস্থ লোকেদের কিছুই দিতে পারেন না তিনি অন্যের বেলায় জোর দিয়ে কি বলতে পারেন? Central Pay Commission বেতন ও ভাতা সম্বন্ধে একটা model accept করে নিয়েছেন, সে হিসেবে যেখানে মাগ্‌গী ভাতা হওয়া উচিত ৬০৲ সেখানে আপনারা Dearness Allowance দিচ্ছেন ২০।২৫৲ কি ৩০৲ টাকা। সম্প্রতি রেলের শ্রমিকদের strikeএর ধমক দেওয়ার ফলে দশ টাকা বাড়ানো হয়েছে। প্রথমে কর্ত্তারা বলেছিলেন—যা দেওয়া হচ্চে তাই যথেষ্ট হয়েছে। কিন্তু strikeএর ধমকের পর বল্লেন যে, Pay Commission যা বলেছেন তা ঠিকই বলেছেন কিন্তু আমাদের যে টাকা নেই, সেই জন্য আর বেশী দেওয়ার উপায় নাই। টাকা না থাকলে বেশী দেওয়ার সম্ভাবনা থাকে না সেটা বুঝতে পারি। কিন্তু এখানে এঁরা কি বলছেন? টাকা নাই এজন্য দিতে পারছিনে একথা নয়। এঁরা বলছেন—"যা দেওয়া হচ্চে ঠিকই দেওয়া হচ্চে। Lowest pay যার তাকে সাড়ে তিন শো per cent. দিচ্ছি—ঠিকই দিচ্ছি"। এই যদি এঁরা শোনান তাহলে অবশ্যই বলবো—ভয়ানক অন্যায় করা হচ্চে। যেমন চলেছিলো বৃটিশ আমলে, democratic শাসনেও যদি তাই হয় তাহলে আজ যা চীনে হচ্চে, যা নাকি ভারতের সীমান্ত বার্মায় হচ্চে তা অচিরেই এখানে ঘটতে দেখতে পাবেন। Dr. Roy——(The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy: আর যদি কিছু বলবার না থাকে তাহলে বসে পড় অবান্তর কথার সময় নষ্ট করে লাভ নাই।) আচ্ছা, তাহলে আমি আপনাদের অবান্তরটাই দেখিয়ে দি। আগে এই Houseএ cut motion অনেক Government Bench থেকেও notice দেওয়া হতো এবং সেগুলো move করা হতো। তারপরে গভর্ণমেণ্টের side থেকে উত্তর দেবার পর সেগুলি withdrawn হতো

কিন্তু আমি আজ দেখছি গভর্ণমেণ্ট থেকে যত cut motion ছাপান হয়েছে তার সবগুলিই move হবার আগেই withdrawn. অনর্থক তাহলে এগুলোর জন্য paper ও ছাপা খরচের অপব্যয় কেন? এতদিন দেখেছি কাগজে মাত্র সেইগুলিই—

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, it is for the members to give cut motions and it is their privilege to decide whether to move them or not.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, এখানে আমার শুধু বক্তব্য এই যে আমি ডা: রায়কে বলছি—যদি আপনার পার্টি মনে করে থাকেন যে পার্টির কেউ cut motion move করবেন না তবে আর সেগুলি মিছি মিছি ছাপানো হলো কেন?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is their look-out. You play your own part.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: এই অনর্থক কাগজ ও ছাপার অপব্যয় না হলে যে টাকাটা বাঁচত সেই টাকা থেকে এখানকার চাপরাসীদের হয়ত এক টাকা করে বাড়িয়ে দিতে পারতেন, অবশ্য এক টাকা ডা: রায় বা মি: সরকারের কাছে কিছুই নয়। (শ্রীসুশীল ব্যানার্জী: আপনার কাছেও এক টাকা কিছুই নয়।) আমাদের কাছে কিছু বই কি? সুশীল বাবুর কাছেও এমন কিছু নয়—permit যখন হাতে আছে। (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: কিসের permit?) এটা আমার সঙ্গে সুশীল বাবুর সঙ্গে স্বগত: হচ্ছে, আপনাদের সঙ্গে কিছু নয়। ওদিক থেকে যে cut motionগুলি কেবল ছাপা হয়েছে অথচ move হলো না, আমরা এখন আর সেগুলি সম্বন্ধে কিছুই করতে পারি না; তবে আমি অনুরোধ করব ডা: রায়কে সে সম্বন্ধে যেন কিছু কিছু উত্তর দেন। দেবেন সেন মহাশয় যে প্রশ্ন তুলেছেন—appointment of officers through Public Service Commission—, এটা যদি হয় তাহলে favouritism—nepotism—কার শালা আসবে কোন পদে—কার জামাই কোন post পাবে—এই সব ব্যাপার অনেকটা চেক হবে। (A MEMBER FROM GOVERNMENT BENCHES: এখন আর এ রকম হয় না।) খুব হয়—আমি ১২ বছর এই Houseএ আছি—এ রকম অনেক শুনেছি, ডা: রায় তার আগে ছিলেন, এ সব দাবি দেশবন্ধু C. R. Dasএর আমলে হয়েছে, আজকে সে সম্বন্ধে গভর্ণমেণ্ট কি করবেন বল্লে ভাল হয় এবিষয়ে যে cut motion রয়েছে—

Mr. SPEAKER: You should not refer to those motions which have not been moved in this House. You can refer to the subject without reference to the cut motions, because they have not been moved.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আমি cut motion সম্বন্ধে বলছি না। তার subjectটা সম্বন্ধে বলছি। ডা: রায়কে বলছি—যদি জানিয়ে দেন কি জন্য তাদের মুখ বন্ধ করলেন; move করতে না দেওয়ার কারণ তিনিই জানেন। অন্তত: আমরা যেন শুনি motionএর বিষয়গুলি সম্বন্ধে তিনি কি করবেন—কেন না এ সম্বন্ধে সকলের মনেই সন্দেহ রয়েছে। লম্বা বক্তৃতা দেবার সময় নেই। সংক্ষেপে বলছি, যে সমস্ত প্রশ্ন ওঁদের কংগ্রেসী মেম্বারদের মনে এসেছে সেগুলি অন্য সকল মেম্বারদের মনে আসাও সম্ভব। এতগুলি cut motion যে বন্ধ করলেন—কি কারণে করলেন জানিনে। ডা: রায় সে motionগুলি সম্বন্ধে যদি উত্তর দেন তাহলে ভাল হয়। Mr. J. C. Guptaও একটা cut motion দিয়েছেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: You can deliver your speech without reference to the cut motions.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: নাম করার প্রশ্ন নয়, উনি একটা move করতে চেয়েছিলেন সেইটা বলা—

(The member having reached his time-limit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: You wanted 15 minutes' time and I have allowed you the same. You can get only one or two minutes more and you must finish your speech by that time.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Not allowed? কিন্তু আমি মনে করি আমার অধিকার রয়েছে এখানে দাঁড়িয়ে আর একজনের কি মত সেটা আমি প্রকাশ করতে পারি। যাক, আমি চারটে বিষয় সম্বন্ধে বলব। তার মধ্যে একটা হচ্ছে Refugee problem. অনেকে সে বিষয়ে motion দিয়েছেন। তারপরে চৌকিদার এবং দফাদারের মাইনে কে দেবে—এই জিনিষটা বার বার কোরে শুনে আসছি। গ্রামের লোক যখন অত্যন্ত গরীব, সেইজন্য তারা চৌকিদার দফাদারদের মাইনে নিজেরাই দেয়, আর কলিকাতার বড়লোকদের

চৌকিদার বা পাহারাদার হচ্চে পুলিশ—তার যত খরচ সেটা State দেন। এই যে অভিযোগ এ সম্বন্ধে কোন প্রতিকার ডা: রায়ের কাছ থেকে পাবো কি না জানি না। মাননীয় ফজলুল হকের সময় থেকে এ প্রথাটা চলে আসছে। তারপর Government employees, তারাও এই দেশেরই গভর্ণমেণ্টের servant. তাদের কি সুবিধাটা দেয়া হচ্চে? শুধু একটা statistics দেখিয়ে 375 per cent. দিচ্ছি বল্লেই তাদের পেট ভরবে না। শুধু তারাই নয়, আজকে এ সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা হচ্চে জেনে এখানকার দু-একজন চাপরাসীও আমাকে বলেছে—আপনি ত এ সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলবেন Sir? আমি তাদের বলেছি—হাঁ, আমি নিশ্চয়ই বলব। কিন্তু বল্লে কি হবে? আমি অন্তত: একটা দাবি করছি, Central Government যা মাগ্‌গী ভাতা দিয়েছেন সেইটা তাদের দিয়ে দিন, তারপরে cost of living কমে কি না দেখা যাবে। এই রকম একটা assurance যদি দেন তাহলে ভাল হয়। নহিলে যে অসন্তোষ রয়েছে—তাতে এটা যদি মনে করেন নাম করা Communistদের ধরে আটকে রাখলেই অন্য সব লোকের মধ্যেকার অসন্তোষের ভাবধারা থামান যায় তাহলে ভুল করবেন। Railway strike গভর্ণমেণ্টের চেষ্টায় বন্ধ হয় নাই—রেলওয়েমেন্স ফেডারেশনের চেষ্টায় বন্ধ হয়েছে।

আমি civil liberty সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ বলতে চাইনে সময় নেই বলে, civil liberty মধ্যেকার মূলগত ব্যাপার নিয়ে মি: বদরুদ্দজা যা বলেছেন তারপর আর বেশী কিছু বলবার নাই। আমি শুধু কয়েকটা উদাহরণ দিতে চাই।

Railway strikeএর ব্যাপার নিয়ে যারা Railway Federationএর পরিচালনায় strike বন্ধ করবার জন্য চেষ্টা করেছে তাদের মধ্যে থেকেও গ্রেপ্তার করা হয়েছে। নামগুলি দিতে চাই না, সময় নষ্ট হবে। পরে দেব কিন্তু principle হিসেবে যারা strike চায় না তাদের ধরা হয়েছে—অর্থাৎ যারা নাকি strikeএর বিশেষ বিরোধিতা করেছে তাদেরও ধরা হয়েছে। এর কারণ আর কিছুই নয়, বোধ হয় আগে থেকে একটা list করা হয়েছিল, তার পরে রেলওয়ে মেন্স ফেডারেশান stikeএর বিরোধিতা করলেও আর অগ্র-পশ্চাৎ না ভেবেই লোক ধরা হয়েছে। আশা করি এ ব্যাপারটা সম্বন্ধে একটু বিবেচনা করবেন।

তারপর আমি এখন আধিয়ারদের সম্বন্ধে একটু বলব। জলপাইগুড়িতে ভাগচাষীদের ব্যাপার নিয়ে Sub-divisional Officer যে ব্যবস্থা করেছেন—যারা subversive activity করছে তাদের বিরুদ্ধে step নেয়াটা বোঝা যায়। (A MEMBER FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: জলপাইগুড়ি study আবার করে করলেন?) আমি কম জানতে পারি, কিন্তু যদি স্পীকার মহোদয় time দেন তাহলে আমি যে সব facts নিয়ে এখানে দাঁড়িয়েছি—(A MEMBER FROM THE GOVERNMET BENCHES: Facts না fictions?) বার বার কোরে এরকমভাবে interrupt করলে অনর্থক দেরী হয়ে যাবে; যদি interruption কম হয় তাহলে তাড়াতাড়ি বলা হয়ে যাবে। জলপাইগুড়ি একটা আর একটা হলো নদীয়া জেলার হরিণঘাটা। হরিণঘাটায় বৃটিশ আমলে চাষীদের যে জমি নিয়েছে compensation না দিয়ে সেই compensation তারা আজো পায়নি। ৪০৲ টাকা বিঘাপ্রতি এতদিন পর আজ তাদের দিতে যাচ্ছেন—(The Hon'ble DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: আপনি কত টাকায় বিক্রি করবেন?) হরিণঘাটার জমি তৈরী করে ফসল বিক্রয় করবেন যাদবেন্দ্র পাঁজা। (The Hon'ble DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: কত টাকা কাকে দিতে হবে?) তারা টাকা চায় না, তাদের জমি দিন। এ নিয়ে আন্দোলন করে ডা: ঘোষ এবং আরো কয়েকজন জেলে গিয়েছিলেন। আশ্চর্য্য ব্যাপার এই যে আজ পর্য্যন্ত সেখানে তারা টাকা পায় নাই। সেখানকার স্ত্রীলোকদের উপর পর্য্যন্ত লাঠি চার্জ হয়েছিল। Civil liberty ব্যাপারটা এমনি অবস্থায় এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে। কলকাতার ব্যাপার আপনারা সকলেই জানেন বলে আমি সে সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলছি না। এই যে জিনিষগুলি চলেছে এ সম্বন্ধে আমি প্রধান মন্ত্রীর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি।

আর একটা ব্যাপার হাওড়ায় অনুপূর্ণা ব্যায়াম সমিতি সম্বন্ধে সম্প্রতি হয়েছে। সমিতির সভ্যেরা সকলেই কংগ্রেসের সমর্থক। কিন্তু তাদের মধ্যে দলাদলি আছে। একদল অন্য দলের লোকদের Security Prisoners করছে। আমি কংগ্রেসের মধ্যে ছিলাম, B. P. C. C.তেও ছিলাম, অবশ্য হাওড়া কংগ্রেসের কর্মকর্তা ছিলাম না। সেখানে শ্রীপুলিন রায়, সমর বসু এবং আরো কয়েকজনকে ধরা হয়েছে। পুলিশের রিপোর্ট থেকে থাকলে বুঝতে পারতাম, পুলিশ রিপোর্ট, C. I. D. বা D. I. B. রিপোর্ট তাদের বিরুদ্ধে নাই। দুই দলের ভিতর শক্তিশালী দল দুর্বল দলকে জেলে পুরেছে, এ অভিযোগ সত্য বলে যদি বিশ্বাস না করতাম তাহলে এ অভিযোগ এই Houseএ আমি তুলতাম না। আশা করি প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় এসম্বন্ধে নিজে অনুসন্ধান করবেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: I am now going to adjourn the House till 3 p.m. tomorrow. As regards tomorrow's sitting, the honourable members must be ready to sit so long as tomorrow's agenda is not finished.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 8-5 p.m. till 3 p.m. on Thursday, the 24th March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in, the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 24th March, 1949, at 3 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 61 members.

Point of Privilege.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, as there is no question, I am rising on a matter of privilege.

কালকে আমাদের কাছে সেক্রেটারী মহাশয় Agenda বদ্লে পাঠিয়ে দিয়েছেন। Guillotine হয় ৩১শে মার্চ্চ। কিন্তু যে ভাবে programme করেছেন তাতে অন্ততঃ ৪ দিন curtail করা হচ্ছে এই discussion গুলো। আমার মনে হয় এটায় আমাদের right অন্যায়ভাবে কেটে নেওয়া হচ্ছে। আমি আশা করি আপনি এবিষয়ে একটু দৃষ্টি দেবেন যাতে আমরা discussion করবার যথেষ্ট time পাই। কালকে discussion করবার সময় দেখা গেল যে এত কম time পাওয়া গিয়েছিল যে অনেক জিনিস বলা সম্ভব হয়নি। বছরে একবার মাত্র সুযোগ পাওয়া যায়, সে সুযোগটা আশা করি আপনি কেড়ে নেবেন না। Guillotineএর যে time আছে সেই time এ নিশ্চয় হবে। কিন্তু একেবারে ৪টা দিন কমিয়ে দেওয়া অত্যন্ত অন্যায় বলে আমি মনে করি।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, there are no cut motions on many of the heads which have been put together. But if I find that as a matter of fact there is discussion to take place on any of them and it is not being done, I will take such measures as will be necessary to allow such discussion.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

THE WEST BENGAL SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL, 1949.

Extension of time for the submission of the final report of the Select Committee.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, the Select Committee on the West Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1949, has reached the concluding stage. Before submission of the report, therefore, Sir, with your permission I propose that the date for submission of the final report by the Committee be extended till the 30th March, 1949.

(No objection was raised to the proposal.)

Point of Privilege.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I want to submit on the question of privilege that it is a violent departure from the practice followed so far in this House. True, you have got every prerogative to shorten the discussion in any way you please. But then the Opposition has been hustled through these days. Several motions have been tabled and speakers have been asked to dispose of their motions in fifteen minutes. I hope you will protect our rights as you are the custodian of the rights of members on this side of the House as well as of the other side and you will not allow violent changes to be made in the procedure of the business as has been followed during the last ten years, under the Government of India Act, 1935.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. So far as the question of allowing proper debate is concerned, I am feeling satisfied that I have allowed all opportunities to the members of the Opposition to have a fair debate. I remember the days of United Bengal when people were given one, two or three minutes to finish their speeches. As a matter of fact, I have allowed the maximum privilege to the members of the Opposition in order to have their say. But certainly every member cannot have as much time as he wants.

So far as the alteration of the programme is concerned, it is the business of the Government of the day to alter it; and so far as the subjects for discussion are concerned, they have chosen that these should be finished within that time. But I have already stated that if I feel that the debate is being crippled and stifled, certainly I shall consider it. But let us proceed on. As a matter of fact, so far as General Administration is concerned, we had discussion yesterday and we shall have it today and every opportunity will be given to the members, but there must be some limitations to the speeches.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, it is for you to prolong the debate or not to prolong it. The time-table was fixed till the 31st March and you can prolong it or shorten it.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not wish to enter into a debate. I have already stated what I shall do, and I am sorry I cannot allow any further discussion on the matter

BUDGET FOR 1949-50

DEMAND FOR GRANTS.

25—General Administration—General Administration.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall take up my second motion first, namely, Government's repressive measures. It is now quite clear to all that repressive measure like the Security Act, promulgation of section 144, gagging of public opinion, even trying to influence our Press, and bullets, tear gas, *lathi* charge, bayonets—these are the only weapons, offensive and defensive, now available to this Ministry for their continuance. The reason is quite obvious. It is very unfortunate for us, the people of Bengal, that the present Ministry does not command majority either in this Assembly or outside.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Question!

Janab ABUL HASHEM: But, Sir, by a jugglery of parliamentary democracy and party discipline, swearing in the name of the sacred ashes of Mahatma Gandhi, they succeed in getting within this chamber a votable majority. But outside they have no moral victory or any majority. (A VOICE: Question!). Sir, in this House of 90—I am stating the figures from my memory, there may be slight mistakes here and there, and I shall be grateful if the Hon'ble the Leader of the House and others who question my statement in this House correct it—in this House of 90 there are 5 vacancies. So we are now 85. Out of this 85, 23 are Muslims--all sitting in the Opposition, 4 are Anglo-Indians, 2 Communists, 1 Indian Christian and 1 Labour—our friend Mr. Banerjee. These make a total of 31. If we deduct 31 from 85, we have 54. Mr. Speaker, you as a Speaker do not belong to any party, you represent us all. Fifty-four minus one is 53. Out of this 53 Dr. Roy and his Ministry really command the confidence of only 33 that support his coterie and 20 remaining do not agree with him. (Cries of "question" from the Government benches.) If there was scrutiny of hearts, then it would have been quite on the surface. Out of this 33,

we find 11 are Ministers, 8 are Parliamentary Secretaries, 1 Deputy Speaker and 1 Chief Whip. These come to 21 and the remaining 12 are otherwise compensated or are in the waiting list. Sir, in this manner in the name of democracy, in the name of parliamentary discipline, in the name of all that is sacred, an absolute minority having no command over others' respect is ruling this country. Therefore, they have no other sanction behind them except repressive measures—bullets, bayonets, *lathi* charges and tear gas. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Wonderful!) May be, Sir. We have so many wonderful things in this world and this is one of those wonders and may be the seventh or eighth wonder of the world.

Now, Sir, this Ministry has lost the confidence of all sections of our people. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Why don't you put in a vote of no-confidence? Test it.) Sir, I am so glad that my friend Mr. Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar has come fit to do his job here. He was ill and what Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy's experiences in drugs could not perform, my cut motion has succeeded in performing. (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: That is all lie. He stabbed me behind my back.) I am glad he has come fit today. Sir, he must withdraw the word "lie". That is unparliamentary. (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, I accept the request and replace the word "lie" by "fantastic fabrication".) That is all right. I have decided not to be provoked. That I have decided and so Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar will not succeed. (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Hiss like a cobra.) So, you must beware of my fangs. (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Poisoned fangs.)

Sir, I would appeal to the Premier to reconsider his own position and to take real steps which can successfully combat anti-social elements and give up all these repressive methods. Let him not trust so much the bullets and *lathi* charges of his constables. If he has any command over the people of Bengal, if he commands any respect and confidence of the people, then let him issue an appeal to the people, let his colleagues go out in the country and address masses and educate public opinion. The other day, the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan addressed a meeting at Rajshahi. (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sermon from the *ex*-Secretary of the Muslim League.) Yes, I am proud that I was. You will remember and the House and the world know that our friend Mr. Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar is a political turn-coat. I have not that discredit on my side.

Anyway, Sir, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan delivered a speech at Rajshahi. There he said addressing his people: the enemies have now changed their tactics of war. So, you must beware of them. He meant thereby that the enemies have changed the tactics. They are now not attacking you with arms from outside, but they have now concentrated all their energy and resources to create internal disruption. But what the Nawabzada omitted to say was that the enemies have changed not only their offensive tactics but the tactics of defence has also changed. Therefore, if the anti-social elements are trying to create internal disruption, then the real tactics to combat that will be also to make all efforts with all sincerity to create internal solidarity. This cannot be done unless we do something concrete which alone will create confidence and hope in the minds of the people. So long as we maintain big cars, palaces, Persian carpets, fresco paintings on the wall and if the ordinary labourers and agriculturists continue to live in their dens, there will be no safety from the activities of the anti-social elements. I can say, Sir, I have said it many times—it is my conviction and has ripened into faith—that no amount of bullets, *lathi* charges, tear gas, bombers will help us.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: No amount of Muslim League assassins' knives could cow down Calcutta.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, the Congress of post-partition days, which commanded respect and admiration equally of friends and foes, that Congress no more exists. Whatever remained of it died with the death of the great Master Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress that we have now is not that Congress and it does not command that respect. It is now a party. Therefore, Sir, in the name of the ashes of Mahatmaji this Ministry—and for the matter of that, no other Ministry—will be able to befool the people for a long time.

Sir, I come to my first motion, viz., Ministers' interference with the normal duties of Government servants. (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Another fabrication.) Is it our friend Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar speaking? Who else can speak things like this? Let him thank his Leader that he has not yet implemented his promise which he made on the floor of this House when I moved my cut motion regarding anti-social interference with the activities of the Enforcement Branch. If my friend Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar insists, I can push the matter further and show what is fabrication and what is not.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I would invite the honourable member to go outside and to make that statement outside the floor of this House and I shall have him dragged by that Enforcement Branch to the right place.

Mr. SPEAKER: That matter is not before the House.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, I am asking him to make the statement outside and prove before the Court or take the consequence.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: We will do so in proper time.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Come and make the statement outside the House if you have the guts. Are you afraid of making that statement outside?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Let the honourable member speak.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: We will bring a motion of no-confidence on the floor of this House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, I am prepared to face the motion. I invite them to move the motion tomorrow on the floor of the House and also to make a statement outside, if they have the courage to do so.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I have decided, as I have said, not to be provoked.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Because you have not the courage.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of privilege, Sir. I want to put to you the question that Dr. Roy put yesterday, namely, who is in the Chair? I put the question on the recommendation of Dr. Roy.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not a point of privilege. The Chair is on the Chair. Yes, Mr. Hashem.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I now come to my second motion. I know that unless we have on our side facts and good reasons and logic,

merely if we exhaust our lungs and exhaust other's ear-drums, that does not carry us anywhere. My motion is that the Ministers do abuse their powers and unduly influence the Government servants. Sir, to the outside world it looks like this that this country is being administered by highly-paid officers of the rank of the Indian Civil Service, Provincial Civil Service and like that. We have already heard about the resentment that there is in the country for the huge cost of administration and for the top-heavy administration, but the real fact is that we are not being actually governed by public servants; we are being governed not by Congress leaders of honesty and integrity but by workers and supporters of this particular coterie that in the name of the Congress is ruling the country. As far as my district is concerned, I know from my childhood that there are men like Sri Jadabendra Nath Panja, men like Sri Bijoy Bhattacharjee, men like Jitendra Nath Mitra and men like Abdul Hayet. They are the trusted leaders of Congress. If the Collectors, Judges, Superintendents of Police and other officers were instructed openly to follow the guidance and instructions of these men, we would have taken it as a blessing, but, Sir, they are nowhere. Actually persons without any talent very unfortunately—one of the gentlemen I have named may be a Member of the Cabinet, but that is neither here nor there—without any integrity, without any social integrity, only by virtue of their blind support to this coterie and following their instructions are dominating and ruling these public service men who used to enjoy confidence of the people with the net result that today the atmosphere has become so vitiated that no one gets justice from anybody unless he is able to give his blind support to this coterie.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Nonsense.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, the permanent officials, high or low, have all lost confidence in the security of their service. Things have come so far as that. If, Sir, a particular Collector, or a particular officer, or a Superintendent of Police, or a particular District Controller is unable to follow the instructions and orders which are conveyed to them from here over phone, he will either be removed or dismissed without any notice. That is the position, Sir. They have no independence of judgment.

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Sir, I want a few minutes more.

Mr. SPEAKER: You wanted 15 minutes' time. I have given you 18 minutes. I can only give you two minutes' time. You must finish your speech by that time.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, in that case I will feel that I am being gagged.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, he must withdraw that expression. It is a most indecent statement.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Hashem, it is very unfair to say that. As a matter of fact I have given you 18 minutes time. I have this chit with me. You wanted 15 minutes. I can only give you two minutes more.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, he must withdraw that expression "gagged".

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I withdraw it.

Sir, the Collector of my district gave necessary help for organising a conference, known as Krishak Conference, to respectable and highly-stationed Congressmen like Dr. Ghosh, Sri Annada Prosad Chaudhury, Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari. Things have come to such a pass that this Collector was taken to task and asked to explain his conduct in the presence

of Congress workers whose names I could mention, but as I have said I have decided not to mention names. Here if it is challenged I will ask those who would do so to stand up and in the name of the ashes of the Mahatma Gandhi to contradict me. I say that things have come to such a pass that unless one happens to be a member of the inner coterie, he finds nowhere justice and fairplay. We may not expect any favour from this Ministry in the form of permits and other things but we are entitled to get bare justice which is also denied to us unless we are blind supporters of this Ministry which do not command confidence anywhere.

Janab ABDUL WAHEED SARKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a well-known fact that corruption on an unprecedented scale is rampant in almost all the departments. Today I cite instances of zoolum practised by the myrmidons of the Khas Mahal Department in the district of Hooghly on innocent simple-minded cultivators. The story is this: one Sultan Badsha and another took settlement of ·36 of land of plot No. 45 of khasmahal land in Islampur, mauza Guptipara under Balagarh police-station in the district of Hooghly in 1941. Again he prayed for settlement of the whole of it in the month of August, 1948. The prayer was accepted by the Additional District Magistrate, Hooghly, and in accordance with the order of the Khasmahal Officer the said Sultan Badsha deposited Rs. 55 as *salami* and Rs. 5-8 as the annual rent for 1948-49 into the Hooghly Treasury in due course. Subsequently they got delivery of possession of the land and brought it under cultivation. After some time one Nanilal Sarkar who had come from Eastern Pakistan applied for settlement of the same plot on a higher *salami* and shortly thereafter a notice was issued that a fresh settlement of the same land would be made. On a representation being made to me by Sultan Badsha, I asked the Khasmahal Officer who came to see me on a personal business not to deprive the poor man of the land whereupon the latter told me to send the party to him which I did with a letter of introduction. To my utter surprise the Khasmahal Officer wrote back to me the next day that the land had already been settled with another person. Thereupon I wrote the Collector, Hooghly, supplying him all the details and asking for his intervention in the matter. In the meantime the other man had trespassed upon the land and destroyed the crops raised by Sultan Badshah and I reported this also to the Collector with whom I personally discussed the matter and who assured me that justice would be done to him. Instead of producing the desired effect, the opposite party assumed a still more threatening attitude and collected a large number of armed men to dilapidate the huts built on the land by Sultan Badshah and erected huts. Thereupon the Collector passed orders calling upon Sultan Badshah to pay a higher *salami* which he did on the 12th November, 1948. One would have expected that Sultan Badshah's troubles were over but this was not to be. On the 17th November, 1948, yet another notice was served on Sultan Badshah prohibiting him from possessing the land in question on the ground that the order of settlement of the plot with him had been held in abeyance. The matter has since been represented to the Member, Board of Revenue, on the 20th November, 1948, whose orders are being awaited up till now. Many other instances of this nature have come to my notice and I shall advert to some of them.

A number of plots had been settled with one Ali Hussain Mulla of Multala on a *salami* of Rs. 210 being the highest bid at a public auction. The bid was accepted and he was directed to take possession which he did but he has since been directed to refrain from depositing the *salami* on the ground that the land would be settled afresh with one Nani Sarkar.

Plot No. 1528 of one Abdul Goni Bepari of Islampur was resettled with one Rangabala Dasi, wife of Lakshi Kanta Mandal of Banalichar.

Similar is the story of the dispossession of plots Nos. 717 and 270 which were originally settled with one Chand Bux of Islampur on a *salami* of Rs. 159 but subsequently resettled with another person.

It will appear from what has been stated above that in all these cases the lands were originally settled with Muslims but they were dispossessed and fresh settlements were in each case made with non-Muslims without rhyme or reason. The minority community can justly claim protection from infringement of their rights. Corruption and inefficiency should be put down with a strong hand. Only the other day Acharya Kripalani, *ex*-President of the Congress, declared in a public meeting, "Government today are not in a position to teach idealism and morals to the public because their own employees are corrupt. Unless Government undertakes radical measures to improve the situation there is no hope for the country".

Cut Motion No. 16 to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to make provision for enhancement of salaries of low paid employees and to reduce the salaries of high paid officials.

Sir, no attempt has yet been made to enhance the salaries of the low paid employees of the Government beyond allowing interim increments from time to time. This is hardly commensurate with the requirements. In some of the Provinces the report of the Pay Commission appointed by the Government of India for the Central Government employees has been given effect to. But nothing of the kind has been done in this Province. The poor employees are suffering the pinch and cannot keep the wolf from their doors and naturally feel discontented which results in loss of efficiency. At the same time the salaries of the high paid officials should be ruthlessly cut down. It is a pity that the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi in this respect are honoured more in their breach than in observance. In this country where more than half the population does not know what a square meal is, officers are paid at the rate of 38 to 40 thousand rupees, the ratio of the highest to the lowest being 300:1 a year. What can be more ridiculous than this? In my general discussion of the budget I have said that the ratio of the salaries of the highest and lowest paid officials in this province is something like 300:1. Nowhere in any country laying pretensions to civilisation is the disparity between the salaries drawn by the most highly paid official and the least paid public servant so glaring as in this country. In England the proportion works out at 25:1. This huge disparity again is a fruitful source of discontent amongst the low paid employees. It is indeed derogatory to the position and dignity of the Hon'ble Ministers that officers subordinate to them and working under them should draw emoluments higher than the Ministers themselves and the sooner this system is abrogated the better it would be for all concerned. It therefore stands to reason that the fat salaries of the officials should be scaled down and the savings thus effected be utilised in granting increments to the lowest paid employees who are in dire necessity of help.

With these words I commend this cut motion to the acceptance of the House.

Sir, as regards the cut motion regarding the failure of Government to make provision for the pay of the chowkidars and dafadars out of provincial revenue, I may say that these people are a very useful body of public servants. As is known to all of us, particularly who come from the rural areas, that it is the chowkidars and dafadars who maintain law and order in the villages, detect offences, arrest offenders, supply useful information to the police and do various other things. They are also called the "rural police". But what do they get in return? A glorious sum of Rs. 8 per month which is not considered sufficient for a half-day meal of an officer of the Government. These people who have to perform very responsible duties, eke out their miserable and precarious existence and are paid by union boards, whose slender resources often render them unable to pay them regularly with the result that very often even the pittance payable to the chowkidars fall into arrears for several months together. The result is that the poor men with their family have often to starve. As is well known the union boards, which should be more rightly called "Disunion Boards"

often run inefficiently, collection of taxes is neglected and chowkidars are not paid. To remedy this state of affairs, it is essential that the chowkidars and dafadars should be paid out of the provincial revenues. The rent of the chowkidari chakran lands which are now handed over to the union boards may be resumed and fresh settlement be made and the rent thus derived may be appropriated by the Government. Other means may be devised to re-imburse the Government for the additional expenditure involved consequent on the payment of the salaries of the chowkidars and dafadars out of the provincial funds. This will also have the effect of improving the efficiency of the union boards. As constituted at present these boards do nothing except maintaining the staff of the chowkidars for little or nothing remains in their hands for expenditure on rural sanitation, water-supply, roads and such other useful purposes after the payment of the chowkidars. On all these considerations I submit that provision should be made for payment of the salaries of the chowkidars and dafadars out of the provincial revenues. The Hon'ble Minister may also consider whether it will be feasible to allot the requisite funds in the police budget in consideration of the fact that the chowkidars and dafadars are really part and parcel of the police force.

The next cut motion is about the failure of Government to abolish the office of the Divisional Commissioner.

Sir, the point raised by me in this cut motion is not a new one and has been discussed on many previous occasions on the floor of this House. I regret to observe that contrary to the teachings and the policy laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, the same top-heavy administration is still continuing. In particular I desire to point out that the posts of Divisional Commissioners are still retained. On previous occasions it was talked about that these functionaries who act like so many post offices are in reality useless appendages. Official papers from the District Officers intended for the Government are greatly delayed as they have to be forwarded through the Divisional Commissioners and this often leads to administrative inefficiency. Whatever justification there might have been for these fat salaried officers before, there is not the slightest justification for them, now that the size of the province has been reduced to less than one-third of its previous size. There are now only 14 districts comprised in this province and the District Officers can efficiently correspond directly with the department concerned without the intervention of the Commissioners, thereby saving waste of much valuable time and money. A welcome change has been effected in the Department of Education where the corresponding posts of the Divisional Inspectors have been abolished. There is no reason why retrenchment cannot be effected in the field of General Administration and Police Departments by the abolition of the posts of Divisional Commissioners and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police. The district headquarters are all within easy reach of Calcutta, and whatever the distance may be, it can be shortened with the help of the modern amenities, viz., telephone, aeroplanes, etc. It is really a matter of regret that this point has got to be discussed at length in this House.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motions to the acceptance of the House.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall be very brief because the time at my disposal is very limited. My esteemed friends, Janab Syed Badrudduja and Sri Sibnath Banerjee, have spoken at length in support of the subject matter of my first cut motion. I endorse every word of my friends regarding the pitiable condition of the low-paid employees of the Government.

Sir, the object of my moving this cut motion is not to criticise the Government unnecessarily but only to bring to the notice of the Government about their sufferings so that Government may take sympathetic

consideration about their cases for increment of dearness allowance. Sir, a white paper was issued by the Government in March, 1949, on the revision of pay of lower-paid Government employees of West Bengal. Unfortunately, the Government quoted only comparative figures showing the increment paid by the various Provincial and the Central Governments, but they have refrained from quoting the gradual rise in the cost of living index side by side so that we can study whether the increment given is in consonance with the cost of living index. I do not know, Sir, whether this is an omission. Sir, it was mentioned in the white paper that the general opinion of the Provincial Governments on the subject of implementation of Central Pay Commission's recommendations was that "the investigation of the question of increased emoluments should be directed more with reference to the special conditions prevailing in and the limitation imposed by the financial resources of the Province than merely with reference to the detailed recommendations contained in the Report of the Central Pay Commission".

Sir, to this my reply is that after the attainment of Independence, it has become incumbent upon the Government both of the Centre and the Provinces, to see that the remuneration of the low-paid employees should be such as may enable them to meet at least the bare necessaries of life in accordance with the minimum standard of life to be fixed by the Government. Sir, the Government is the biggest employer and as such they should set an example so that other employers may emulate. Sir, the Hon'ble Premier last evening said that the pay in the case of the lower-paid employees had increased by 300 per cent., but I would request the Hon'ble Premier to tell the House if even with this increase in their emoluments compared with their former pay they can maintain a minimum standard of life for themselves and their families. Sir, I should like to know from our popular Government what is their conception of minimum standard of life. As our popular Government is fully aware of the difficulties of the low-paid employees as a result of the decrease in the purchasing power of money, I do not like to take the time of the House by giving a catalogue of difficulties, which they are facing every day. I appeal to the Hon'ble Premier to consider the desirability of granting increased dearness allowance at par with the recently sanctioned dearness allowance to the employees of the Government of India, who are serving in this Province.

Sir, in my second motion I would like to discuss the policy of the Ministry regarding one or two things. I would like to know from the Government what attitude they are going to take regarding the employees of the Central Government who opted out for Pakistan immediately after partition and subsequently changed their option and returned to Indian Union. The House is well aware of the fact that the employees of the Central Government were given an option to opt out provisionally either for the Indian Union or for Pakistan. Sir, some of the employees of the Central Government who first opted out for Pakistant subsequently changed their option and came back to the Indian Union. Probably they did this due to panic or ill-judgment but subsequently when they realised the actual position, some of them who belonged to West Bengal, changed their option. I do not know whether the Hon'ble Premier is aware that very few of them were allowed to join their substantive posts. A very large number of such employees of the Central Government have been either dismissed or not yet allowed to join. Sir, I am not aware whether the Hon'ble Premier would say that as they are the employees of the Central Government, Provincial Government has no responsibility in the matter. Sir, through you I may inform the Hon'ble Premier that on the adverse report of the local police they have either been dismissed or debarred from joining their posts. Sir, I do not see any reason why should they be considered as enemies of the State. Mere exercising the provisional option for Pakistan should not be considered as a sufficient reason for their disloyalty to the State. Sir, we all know that whatever the police says is not always true.

Members of the Ministerial Benches including the Hon'ble Ministers themselves know, at their costs, that the police do not hesitate to implicate even the most innocent persons. Our police has got a very bad legacy and with the dawn of Independence there has been very little change. I can cite concrete instances where police has implicated innocent persons or given false reports. Sir, I am citing here a concrete case. Janab Syed Amzed Hossain, a respectable gentleman of thana Kankshal in the district of Burdwan, made a representation to the District Magistrate, Burdwan, to return his gun which was confiscated. The District Magistrate rejected his prayer on the grounds that the police report was that he has removed his family to Pakistan and was trying to sell his property, which was an undiluted false report by the police. Sir, the object of my citing this concrete instance is not so much to give prominence about the seizure of the gun of Janab Syed Amzed Hossain but to show how the police give reports which has no bearing with actual facts. Sir, I make the statement about the police report mentioned here with full responsibility and demand of the Hon'ble Premier that he should make an enquiry into the matter. Sir, a banner headline has appeared in today's "Statesman"—"Improved Relations with Pakistan". Sir, when the two Dominions are maintaining a cordial relation and we even hear of joint defence of the two Dominions, why should the Government be cruel on the poor employees of the Central Government who exercised their provisional option for Pakistan. Sir, I would request the Hon'ble Premier to find out the number of such cases from the offices of the Central Government situated in West Bengal and personally review all the cases of persons who have been either dismissed or detained from joining their substantive posts on police report. Sir, one can easily imagine the difficulties of a man who has lost his job or who is not allowed to draw his pay in these hard days.

Sir, my next point is about the employment of Muslims in Government services of West Bengal. The question would not have worried me if I could be satisfied that after the attainment of Independence all appointments under Government are made strictly on merit and through competitive examinations conducted by the Public Services Commission. In that case the boys of our community would have taken their chances along with others but to our utter disappointment we find that, not to speak of appointments in the lower grade, even higher grade appointments carrying big initial salaries are being made without reference to the Public Service Commission. When the Congress was in opposition they always deprecated the idea of appointing candidates direct by Government or, for the matter of that, by the Ministry.

Sir, I know that Government has got the power to appoint candidates temporarily without reference to Public Service Commission, but the difficulty in this method of recruitment is that it is not always possible to select right type of candidates because there is the apprehension of the extraneous influence of relations, friends and pressure of party members.

Sir, the thing which was condemned by the Congress so long, why is it that when they are in office, they are taking recourse to methods which they themselves severely condemned. I find one of the members of the Government Bench has tabled a motion to this effect. Sir, if all the appointments are made, be it temporary or permanent, through Public Services Commission it will save the Government from adverse criticism. Sir, we occasionally find that appointments of members of the minority community are being made in Pakistan both in the Judicial and Administrative branches. I do not know, Sir, whether these appointments are made in pursuance of any policy of Pakistan Government or it is made according to any inter-Dominion agreement. I would like to know if there is any agreement and also the terms of such agreement.

Sir, when the appointments are not being made strictly on merit I would request the Government to see that there is adequate representation

of Muslims in all branches of Government services, and I demand that these appointments are made through competitive examination conducted by the Public Services Commission so that our deserving boys may get a chance to come in.

Sir, with these few words I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been seeing these days a strange phenomenon in the horizon of this democratic sky. The strange phenomenon is that out of 55 cut motions under the head "General Administration" 24 cut motions were tabled by the disgruntled নির্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী and, Sir, the further phenomenon is that these cut motions were not allowed to be moved by these persons.

Mr. SPEAKER: This has been referred to repeatedly. What is the use of repeating it? Please come to the point. Your time will be up.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: No, Sir, I shall finish within 10 minutes everything.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please go on

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: This represents nearly 44 per cent. of the cut motions. Again today they have been prevailed upon by the নির্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী in power not to move them. Something behind the scene has taken place which prevented the disgruntled নির্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী from moving their cut motions. I regard this action of the disgruntled নির্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী as anti-social and anti-patriotic, unworthy of the patriots which they pretend to be. I also regard, Sir, that the action of নির্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী in power in prevailing upon disgruntled নির্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী under threat of moral violence is worse than physical violence. (Cries of "hear", "hear" from Opposition Benches.) It is in this way নির্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী jointly and severally by their action are murdering, killing the democracy and stifling its voice. This is a thing, Sir, which can never be countenanced by a democratic National Assembly. This conduct smacks of Fascism, Nazism, Totalitarianism and even worse.

Sir, now I come to my first motion as regards organising the villages. I quote from my speech which I delivered at the time of the debate of the Draft Constitution:—

"India lives in villages. Now, I come to Mahatma Gandhi. Towns and cities are the creations of the Imperial Pathans, Moghuls and British for exploiting the resources of the country. In my humble opinion any constitution which ignores the villages is not worth the paper on which it is written. The unit of administration and constitution should be village, from village we go up to union, from union we go up to thana, from thana we go up to subdivision, from subdivision we go up to district, from district we go up to province, from province we go up to Centre. In order to organise the village and establish সুরাজ or স্বরাজ and to drive away disunity we organise a village panchayet or parliament where all development, welfare measures and disputes and quarrels will be settled. In order to co-ordinate the work of the village there will be a union parliament, then there will be a thana parliament, subdivisional parliament, district parliament and provincial parliament and then a Central Parliament for the entire Union. In this way freedom and liberty will be brought at the door of everybody. This was the dream of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, and I thoroughly appreciate it and call upon all the well-wishers of the country to come and translate the advice to fruition and give it an effective direction and shape.

"Sir, the western form of democracy is not suitable to our genius. It is foreign to the soil of Bengal or India. We must evolve our own system which should be a wonder of the world. Every one knows that every village down from ancient times was a self-contained Republic."

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. Is it permissible for an honourable member to quote from his own speech delivered on the floor of this House *in extenso* in the manner in which the honourable gentleman is doing?

Mr. SPEAKER: A member ought not to read *in extenso*.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: So far as that, I have finished. It requires no ruling.

Sir, I am gratified to find that this point was taken up by the Congress members of the Constituent Assembly who are the real leaders of the people. Sir, I am further gratified to find that this enunciation of the policy was accepted by Dr. Ambedkar and his Drafting Committee, and it was given as a directive principle on the provinces. So, Sir, I beg with all humility through you of our Hon'ble Prime Minister and of the honourable members of the Council of Ministers that you should follow it and translate it. Sir, kindly read the messages and act up to the messages and also the directive principles of the Constituent Assembly. I beseech you, Sir, in the name of humanity, in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, with folded hands to take into consideration this directive and organise the village, turn it into a homogeneous whole and make it fit for democracy, make it the first unit of democracy and the lowest rung in the ladder—though it may be lowest rung it will be based on solid foundation—and freedom will be brought to the door. That is, Sir, what I have to say with regard to the first motion for organising the villages.

Then I come to the second motion about associating Congressmen with police, Magistrates and other departmental activities. Sir, so far as our Hon'ble Premier and his party are concerned, I have no doubt that they are patriotic men, they will lead the way to show the right path.

(At this stage the member reached his time-limit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Five minutes more, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, I can give you only two minutes more.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I am not going to abuse anybody (laughter). It is a very important thing. I say from my heart, I sincerely say——

Mr. SPEAKER: Please go on.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I again quote from my speech: "They imagine that the British Government has transferred power to them alone and not to Muslims or others. This is altogether a hypocrisy of the first magnitude. I cannot imagine a more damned fraud than this much hated idea. They are exploiting and dominating the country from the top to bottom. Not only this, the smaller fries in the districts, subdivisions and villages are interfering in the day-to-day district and police administration and the police and the magistracy are quivering at their behest and sometimes they take the law into their own hands. The police and the magistracy think that they are entirely powerless and they apprehend that, if they do not act up to their behest, they will lose their jobs."

I beg to submit, Sir, to our Hon'ble Premier that this is a fact. I have seen it with my own eyes, and I can testify to it and I say this with the full responsibility of a member. Sir, this is a fact. Only I beseech you

to remember that Magistrates and policemen should not consult these small fries in the district, subdivision or village. That is my prayer with folded hands. I am not going to abuse anybody. I have a mind to help you in every possible way, so that your administration may be better. That is my second point.

As regards my third point, about negligence of Muslim interests, kindly allow me to quote an extract from the speech of Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy whose death we mourned here the other day: Allow me, Mr. Speaker, to quote in this connection an extract from the speech of the Hon'ble Sri Kiran Sankar Roy, now our Minister of Law and Order. He said, when he was Leader of the Opposition, "You may have right on your side, you may have reason on your side, you may have justice on your side, but all those are of no avail if you have no effective vote on your side. Your cry becomes a cry in the wilderness'." Sir, whatever prayer we may make will be of no use, unless you kindly consider our claims. You must think that Muslim minorities are your responsibility, are your charge, and you must do everything not only for their protection, not only for their advancement, but also for creating a favourable atmosphere so that they may have every faith in you and in your administration, and therefore I pray and I submit to you that you will kindly make arrangements by giving them posts according to their number in the Executive Service, in the Judicial Service, in the Police Service, in the Defence Service and in all other services. If you accede to that, a loyal set of people will serve you and will die for you and for your country which is also their country.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Then who will serve if all die?

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমাদের দেশে দুর্নীতি এবং দুষ্কৃতি যেভাবে দিন দিন বেড়ে চলেছে তাতে মনে হয় যে বাস্তবিক আমরা স্বাধীন হয়েছি বলে মনে হয় না। গান্ধীজী বলেছিলেন "ভারত তখনই স্বাধীন হবে যখন ধনী-দরিদ্র-নির্বিশেষে সকলেই সমান অধিকার লাভ করবে"। নয়া দিল্লীর গগনচুম্বী প্রাসাদ আর দারিদ্রপিষ্ট শ্রমিকের জঘন্য বস্তীর মধ্যে যে পার্থক্য চোখে পড়ে তার আর একদিনের জন্যও বজায় রাখা সম্ভবপর হবে না। আজ এই স্বাধীন ভারতে গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র প্রতিষ্ঠা করতে হলে আমরা গান্ধীজীর সেই আদর্শ কার্য্যকরী করব এবং প্রত্যেকটী লোককে সমান অধিকার দিয়ে সমান ধন-সম্পদের অধিকার দিয়ে তাদেরকে সমান সুখ সুবিধা ভোগ করতে দেব।

এইভাবে যদি আমরা স্বাধীনতা ভোগের ব্যবস্থা করতে না পারি তাহলে বর্তমানে প্রচলিত দুর্নীতি এবং দুষ্কৃতির ফলে দেশের মধ্যে যে বিশৃঙ্খলা ও অরাজকতার সৃষ্টি হবে তা নিবারণ করবার কারও শক্তি হবে না। পবিত্র কোরানের মধ্যে একটা কথা আছে যে পৃথিবীর মালিক এবং অধীশ্বর সেই ব্যক্তি হবে যে সুবিচারক, ন্যায়পরায়ণ এবং সংকর্ম্মশীল। আমাদের দেশে সুবিচার ও ন্যায়পরায়ণতার বড়ই অভাব হয়েছে এবং অন্যায়, অনাচার ও দুর্নীতি দিন দিন বেড়ে চলেছে। এইভাবে চললে আমরা কি আমাদের স্বাধীনতা রক্ষা করতে পারব? আজকাল পৃথিবীর চতুর্দিকে যখন বিবাদের ও বিশ্বযুদ্ধের কাল মেঘের আভাস দেখতে পাচ্ছি সেই অবস্থায় সমস্ত দেশ দুর্নীতি ও দুষ্কৃতির মধ্যে আপাদমস্তক ডুবে থাকলে আমরা কি ভারতকে সেই ধ্বংস থেকে রক্ষা করতে পারব? আমি আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী ডাক্তার বিধান চন্দ্র রায়কে জিজ্ঞাসা করছি এই দুর্নীতি দমন করবার জন্য তিনি কি কিছু ব্যবস্থা করতে পেরেছেন? মন্ত্রীমহোদয় আমার কথা শুনছেন না।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: আমার কান আছে, আপনি যা চেঁচাচ্ছেন না শুনে করি কি।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: আমাদের দেশের মধ্যে যে দুর্নীতি; অন্যায় ও অনাচার চলছে আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয় কি তা দূর করবার জন্য কোন কার্য্যকরী ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করেছেন? আমরা ত তার কোন লক্ষণ দেখতে পাচ্ছি না। প্রত্যেক দেশের রাষ্ট্রের শাসনতন্ত্রের মূল নীতি হচ্ছে দুষ্টের দমন এবং শিষ্টের পালন। দুষ্ট তাদেরই বলব যারা চোর, ডাকাত, বদমায়েস এবং রাষ্ট্রদ্রোহী। তাদেরকে দমন করাই হবে রাষ্ট্রের উদ্দেশ্য এবং লক্ষ্য। আর যারা রাষ্ট্রের অনুগত এবং বাধ্য, যারা শান্তিপ্রিয়, নিরপরাধ ও নিরীহ, সেই সব প্রজাদের গভর্ণমেণ্টকে রক্ষা করতে হবে। কিন্তু আমরা দেশের চতুর্দিকে যে রকম কুশাসন দেখতে পাচ্ছি তাতে

মনে হচ্ছে যে দুষ্টের দমন না হয়ে দুষ্টের পালন হচ্ছে এবং শিষ্টেরই দমন হচ্ছে। শিষ্টকে ধ্বংস করাই যেন বর্ত্তমান সরকারের নীতি হয়েছে। প্রত্যেক অঞ্চলেই আজ কংগ্রেসের নামের দোহাই দিয়ে, কংগ্রেসের আদর্শ বিক্রী করে এবং কংগ্রেসের আদর্শকে ধূলায় লুণ্ঠিত করে নিজেদের স্বার্থসিদ্ধির জন্য এক শ্রেণীর লোক নানা-প্রকার দুর্নীতির আশ্রয় গ্রহণ করেছে। এই কংগ্রেস গভর্ণমেণ্ট সেই দুর্নীতিকে দমন করা ত দূরের কথা আরও প্রশ্রয় দিচ্ছেন। আমাদের রাষ্ট্রের অফিসার এবং কর্ম্মচারীও তথাকথিত কংগ্রেসীদের ভয়ে এই দুর্নীতিকে দমন করতে ভয় পাচ্ছেন।

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, may I remind you that it is prayer time?

Mr. SPEAKER: You may speak after the prayer.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমি বলিতেছিলাম আমাদের দেশের দুর্নীতির কথা। এই দুর্নীতি দমনের সত্যিকার চেষ্টা আজ পর্য্যন্ত হয় নি। আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী ডাঃ বিধান চন্দ্র রায় একজন ভারতের শ্রেষ্ঠ চিকিৎসা-শাস্ত্র-বিশারদ। তিনি মানবদেহের সমস্ত ব্যাধি ও উপসর্গের চিকিৎসা করতে পারেন কিন্তু যে পশ্চিম বঙ্গ রাষ্ট্রের তিনি কর্ণধার ও ভাগ্যবিধাতা হয়েছেন সেই রাষ্ট্রের দেহের রোগ ও উপসর্গ কি, তিনি কি তাহা নির্ণয় করতে ও নিবারণ করতে পারেন না? আমি বলব যে মোটেই তাহা নিবারণের চেষ্টা তিনি করছেন না। যদি তিনি তাহা করতে অকৃতকার্য্য হন তাহলে আমি বলব তিনি রাষ্ট্রের ভাগ্যবিধাতা না হয়ে অন্য যোগ্যতর ব্যক্তিকে স্থান দিন। মোটের উপর আমরা চাই এই রাষ্ট্র হতে সমস্ত দুর্নীতি সমূলে উৎপাটিত হোক। দ্বিতীয় কথা হচ্ছে অফিসারদের সম্বন্ধে। মায় মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলী থেকে আরম্ভ করে নীচের দিকের সমস্ত অফিসার যেন দেশের সাধারণ লোকের কোন অভাব অভিযোগ বা আবেদন নিবেদন শুনতে রাজী নন—এই কলকাতার Writers' Buildings থেকে জেলার কর্ত্তৃপক্ষ পর্য্যন্ত সর্ব্বত্র ঐ একই কথা। জেলায় যখন কোন মন্ত্রী যান তিনি যেন চক্ষু কর্ণ বন্ধ করে যান। ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট যা বলবেন--ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটের বিনা হুকুমে, বিনা ইচ্ছায় তিনি একটা কথাও বলবেন না। এবং কেহ আবেদন নিবেদন করলেও তিনি বধির বা অন্ধ সাজেন। এই বধিরতা ও অন্ধত্ব দূর করতে হবে। তা না হলে কোন গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র বাঁচতে পারে না। যে চরম অন্যায়, অত্যাচার ও অবিচার দেশের মধ্যে হচ্ছে, মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলীর নিকট তার প্রতিকার চাই। আর গান্ধীজী যে একটা বড় আদর্শের বাণী বলেছেন, যে বাণীকে আমরা বর্ত্তমান দুর্দ্দিনে একমাত্র উদ্ধারের উপায় বলে মনে করছি, তাহা হচ্ছে এই--"সত্যিকার গণতন্ত্রকে যদি আমরা বাস্তবে পরিণত দেখতে চাই তাহলে সমাজের নিম্নতম ব্যক্তিকেও শীর্ষস্থানীয় ব্যক্তির সহিত সমভাবেই ভারতের শাসন ক্ষমতার অধিকারী বলে গণ্য করতে হবে"। যদি প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহোদয় গান্ধীজীর এই বাণী কার্য্যকরী না করতে পারেন তবে তিনি সসম্মানে প্রধান মন্ত্রিত্বের পদ ত্যাগ করুন, তাঁকে আমরা এই অনুরোধই করব। তৃতীয় দাবী হচ্ছে--মুসলমান বলে কোন দাবী আমি পেশ করব না, সাম্প্রদায়িক, এই শব্দটা আমরা introduce করতে চাই না। কিন্তু সরকারী চাকুরিতে প্রবেশ করবার অধিকার থেকে বঞ্চিত রেখে এই minority, সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের উপর চরম অন্যায় অবিচার হচ্ছে। যদি রাষ্ট্রের অধিবাসী হিসাবে, রাষ্ট্রভক্ত প্রজা হিসাবে তারা রাষ্ট্র পরিচালনার অংশ গ্রহণ করতে চায় তবে তাদেরকে সেই অধিকার থেকে বঞ্চিত রাখা এই ধর্ম্মনিরপেক্ষ গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রের সম্পূর্ণ অন্যায় হবে।

তারপর top heavy administrationএর কথা বলব। এই দেশের বর্ত্তমান administration রাষ্ট্র ব্যবস্থার মাথাটা বড় পর্ব্বত প্রমান হয়েছে এবং রাষ্ট্রের দেহটা শুকিয়ে কঙ্কালসার হয়ে গেছে। আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী ডাঃ বিধান চন্দ্র রায় মহাশয়ের ডাক্তারি বিজ্ঞান সম্বন্ধে বহু অভিজ্ঞতা থাকা সত্বেও তিনি তাহার প্রতিকার করছেন না। প্রকৃতির সাধারণ নিয়ম অনুসারে মাথাটা অত বড় হওয়া উচিত নয় এবং দেহটাও এতটা শুকনো কঙ্কালসার হওয়া উচিত নয়। সেবার আমি গিয়েছিলাম tropical হাসপাতালে। সেখানে একটা শিশু বিভাগ আছে। সেখানে দেখলাম ছোট ছোট ছেলেদের মাথা অস্বাভাবিক বড় আর দেহটা কঙ্কালসার। সেখানের ধাত্রীরা বহু চেষ্টা ও যত্ন করে তাদের প্রতিপালন করছে। আমি জানি না সেটা কি রোগ। আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী ডাঃ বিধান চন্দ্র রায় অভিজ্ঞ চিকিৎসক হিসাবে বলতে পারেন--রোগটা কি এবং কি করে তা দূর করা যায়। এই রুগ্ন ও শীর্ণ শিশুদের মত রাষ্ট্রের top heavy administrationএর topটা ক্রমানুয়ে বড় হয়েই চলছে, আর তার নিম্নভাগ এমন ভীষণ ভাবে উপেক্ষিত হচ্ছে। এই অন্যায় ও অস্বাভাবিক অবস্থা আর চলতে দেওয়া যেতে পারে না। রাষ্ট্রদেহের সকল অংশের সমান পুষ্টিসাধন করে রাষ্ট্রদেহকে পুনর্গঠিত করতে হবে।

বর্ত্তমান বাজেটের ব্যয় বরাদ্দের পরিমাণ দেখে আমাদের ধারণা হয়েছে যে সাধারণভাবে সমস্ত সরকারী বিভাগসমূহ পরিচালনার খরচ এবং বিশেষভাবে উচ্চ রাজকর্ম্মচারীদের বেতন ভাতা বাবদ খরচ এতটা বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে যে তার শেষ পরিণতিতে রাষ্ট্র দেউলিয়া হয়ে একেবারে অচল অবস্থার মধ্যে পড়তে পারে। সুতরাং এই ব্যয় বৃদ্ধি বন্ধ করার বিষয়ে অবিলম্বে তদন্ত করার জন্য প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের তত্ত্বাবধানে পূর্ণদায়িত্বশীল ও সম্পূর্ণ নিরপেক্ষ একটি তদন্ত কমিশন বাহাল করা অপরিহার্য্য হয়ে পড়েছে এবং এই সমস্ত বিষয় তদন্ত হওয়া আবশ্যক। যথা—

(১) রাষ্ট্রের কার্য্য সুপরিচালনার জন্য কতটি বিভাগ রাখা উচিত।
(২) কোন বিভাগের কি পরিমাণ করণীয় কাজ এবং সেই অনুপাতে কর্ম্মচারী বেশী রাখা হয়েছে কি না।
(৩) অফিসের establishment খরচ অত্যধিক কি না।
(৪) উচ্চ রাজকর্ম্মচারীদের বেতন যথাসম্ভব কমিয়ে আরও বেশী কর্ম্মচারী বাড়ান যেতে পারে কি না।
(৫) নিম্নকর্ম্মচারী সায় পিয়ন চাপরাশীদের সংসার যাত্রার উপযোগী বেতন ভাতা পাচ্ছে কি না এবং তাদের বেতন বৃদ্ধি করা উচিত কি না।
(৬) আমাদের এ্যাসেম্ব্লীর নিম্নস্তরের কর্ম্মচারী ও পিয়ন চাপরাশিদের বেতন বৃদ্ধি হওয়া উচিত কি না।

এর পর আমি আর একটি বিষয়ে বলব। মালদহ যেভাবে পশ্চিম বঙ্গ হতে বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে গেছে তার জন্য নিত্য প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষ পত্র সরবরাহ বিভাগ মালদহ পাঠাবার ব্যবস্থা করেন নাই। সেখানের রাস্তা কারবারের অবস্থাও প্রায় অচল। এখান থেকে যে সব মন্ত্রী মহোদয় ও নেতা গিয়েছেন তাঁদের কাছে করজোড়ে আমাদের দুঃখ কষ্টের কথা নিবেদন করেছি। কোন ফল হয় নি। এই দুঃখ কষ্ট বর্তমানে সহ্যের সীমা অতীত হয়ে গেছে। সেদিন সরবরাহ সচিব সেন মহাশয় বললেন যে তিনি অচিরে special trainএ জিনিষ পাঠাবার ব্যবস্থা করবেন। Special trainএর ব্যবস্থা যদি করা সম্ভব হয় তবে এতদিন কেন করা হয় নি? মালদহ জেলার ও পশ্চিম দিনাজপুরের লোক পশ্চিম বাংলা থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন হওয়ার ফলে এবং নিত্য আবশ্যক জিনিষপত্র—কেরোসিন, কাপড়, সুতা, কয়লা, টিন ও অন্যান্য লোহার জিনিষের দারুণ অভাবের ফলে জনসাধারণ একেবারে নিরুপায় হয়ে পড়েছে। কেরোসিনের অভাবে তাদেরকে মাসের পর মাস অন্ধকারে থাকতে হচ্ছে, বস্ত্রের অভাবে উলঙ্গপ্রায় হয়ে পড়েছে। লোকের দুঃখ কষ্টের কথা বলে শেষ করা যায় না। আমরা পূর্বে অনেক আশার কথা শুনেছি—এখন কথা খরচের সময় নয়। যে ভাবেই হোক—ordinary trainএ হোক বা special train যোগেই হোক—সেখানে অবিলম্বে কাপড় চোপড় ও নিত্য ব্যবহার্য দ্রব্য পাঠাবার ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে।

তারপর আর একটা বিষয় হচ্ছে—কলকাতার গত হাঙ্গামা সম্পর্কে কত লোককে কি ভাবে rehabilitated করা হয়েছে—তাদের সংখ্যা কি—major ও minority communityর সংখ্যা কি—তার মোটামুটি একটা খবর পেলে আমরা খুসী হব।

এই বলে আমার cut motion commend করছি।

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if we cast a look to this head of General Administration, we find that the expenditure under this head has been increasing by leaps and bounds. In 1948-49 the expenditure was Rs. 1,81,51,000 but the expenditure for 1949-50 is estimated at Rs. 2,21,72,000. Although there has been this heavy increase in expenditure, the efficiency of the department has not increased proportionately. The Hon'ble Premier in his introductory speech said that the administration is not top-heavy, but broadbased. Sir, I cannot subscribe to that view. It is well known that in the course of the general discussion of the budget the majority of the members of the Government benches made scathing criticism and recorded their protest against the top-heavy administration. In the face of the extreme financial difficulties and a deficit budget before the Government, we fail to understand how the Government do not care to decrease the salaries of I.C.S. and other high officers. No device has been made to decrease the pay of highly-paid officers. Instead of reducing the salary of highly-paid officers in some cases their pay has rather been increased. I will cite by way of example that the other day I found it has been mentioned in one of the leading newspapers that the allowance of the Private Secretary of the Hon'ble the Premier has now been raised to Rs. 700 whereas it is mentioned in the said paper that in joint Bengal the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister used to draw

Rs. 200 as allowance per mensem. Sir, the I.C.S. people are our own countrymen and if they are patriotic sons of Bengal or of India, I do not find what earthly reason is there that they will not serve their country if their salary is reduced. The I.C.S. men should try to forget their old prestige and honour during the British regime. I appeal to Government to reduce their salary and I also appeal to the civil service people to accept a lower salary.

I will now cite one example of the Finance Department to show how top-heavy it has become. Previously there was one Secretary and one Deputy Secretary and in times of emergency another Deputy Secretary was posted. But now we find that there are one Secretary, one Special Officer, four Deputy Secretaries. Besides there are a number of Assistant Secretaries. If such is the state of affairs in the Finance Department whose duty is to control the finances and to reduce the expenditure I do not know what is the condition in the other departments. In a poor province like Bengal, in my opinion, Sir, it is nothing but a criminal wastage of public money by the Government to pay such a high salary to its servants.

Coming to the police, Sir, we find that the administration of the Calcutta Police has fallen too low, the police has failed to maintain peace and discipline while their expenditure has increased by leaps and bounds. Then there are anti-smuggling, anti-robbery, Enforcement, C.I.D. and other branches to check corruption, bribery and robbery in the country. But so far as our knowledge goes, robbery, bribery and smuggling have been increasing. For work of the same nature, Sir, I find no reason whatsoever for maintaining four separate branches of the Police Department which I have just now mentioned. Whereas there are four experienced police officers in charge of those four branches with lots of officers under each of them, all their work could have been done, I think, if one experienced officer was placed in charge of the entire work. So far as the Police Department is concerned, I find that the Government is not trying to reorganise the department. Sir, if you want to bring real peace and tranquillity in the province, if you want the province to prosper in a peaceful atmosphere, you must organise the Police Department at once. In this connection I may cite one example which the Hon'ble the Prime Minister perhaps knows better than me. In 1828 such state of affairs existed in the police administration of London and what did Mr. Peel, the Prime Minister, do? In order to eradicate corruption from the country, with a firm hand, he reorganised the entire police force in London and to perform that he had taken a great risk. He had to discharge 5,000 policemen and 6,000 policemen were forced to resign from their services, in their places 3,000 honest, upright and educated men were selected under his supervision and with these 3,000 men an ideal police force was formed, and as a result the entire police force was organised. If our Hon'ble Prime Minister, who has got a great name as patriot and servant of the country, wants real benefit of the country, I hope he will also try in the same line to reorganise the police, not by increasing in number but by increasing in efficiency. Everyone knows that it is the duty of the police to take bribe, it is customary for them to take bribe (laughter). That must be changed. We must bring about a complete change in the police administration.

Now, Sir, I would like to point out another point. The point is undue interference of petty Congressmen in the day-to-day administration of the country. We find that the Magistrates are powerless, the Subdivisional Officers are powerless, the police officers are powerless before Congressmen. I am not speaking of the high Congressmen—the Congress leaders—but I am talking of the petty Congressmen who interfere in the affairs of the day-to-day administration of the country, who take the law into their own hands. I will cite one example of which I have personal experience. The other day the Additional District Magistrate went to my municipality to

make a confidential enquiry. As soon as he reached the Municipal Office, he said "After the Hyderabad issue I do not think that a Muslim should remain Chairman of a big municipality like the Garden Reach Municipality. In this way if I fail, I will take recourse to the Security Act." But after the inspection, the man was so much satisfied and so much pleased that he said "I am sorry for what I have said. I was compelled by some Congressmen who made allegations against you." Sir, I will request you to consider that if Congressmen in the name of administration, in the name of justice, interfere in the administration in this way, how can we, the minority community, live here? That is the kind of civil liberty that is being enjoyed by us here. I am not blaming the officers, but we have never seen such shameful exhibition of selling one's principles, one's own interest. So, I will request the Hon'ble Prime Minister to look after the interests of the minorities. You speak of civil liberty. This is the kind of civil liberty we enjoy. There are lots of examples in which petty Congressmen have taken the law into their own hands. When the Government is going to enact laws for the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive? In Madras this is going to be done, but here we find petty Congressmen have taken into their own hands both the Executive and Judiciary in the name of law and order in the country. I would appeal to the Prime Minister to look into these affairs. I know there is much want of discipline in the administration. If we cannot maintain discipline in the country, administration cannot be run smoothly and there will be chaos and disaster in the country. I will cite another example. I suspended one Hindu nurse. She appealed to the Additional Magistrate and the Additional Magistrate at once passed a stay order. As soon as I went to the Magistrate and showed him that the Chairman has the right under rule 5 of the Model Rule to do so, he at once withdrew the stay order. He was persuaded by the local Congress President to do so. In this way the administration is going on. These post-freedom patriots, who came with the slogan of "Jai Hind" in their mouths on the night of the 15th August are doing all these things in the name of the Congress and time has come when Government must check this anti-social activities of petty Congressmen with a firm hand.

Sir, with these words I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Janab MOLLA MOHAMMAD ABDUL HALIM: Mr Speaker, Sir, my cut motion refers to the failure of Government to protect the peasants in respect of crops belonging to the Muslims of Nadia. I have been crying myself hoarse over it. I do not know if I have been able to impress the Government with the urgency of the situation, but Sir, this much I know that I have done my duty. I have this consolation that I have placed my finger on the plague spot and it is now for the Government to cure the malady. I am sure, Sir, that if the Government stiffens its back and takes a stern attitude, all these happenings will be things of the past tomorrow. These acts of lawlessness and tyranny are thriving on the indifference and inaction of the police. If the police changes its attitude, these villains will go into hiding. Let the police show by demonstration in actual practice that the law protects the Muslims. Let the police show to the miscreants to whatever community they may belong that the arms of law are long enough to reach them. If this is done, all these happenings, I am sure, will vanish in thin air in no time. I hope, Sir, Government will see that the officers and the police change their attitude accordingly.

Sir, the village police is a burden on the union fund. I do not know why this is so. In the town they have not to pay for the police. Why in the village we have to pay for the police? The burden should be lifted off the union fund and the amount so released, though not much, could be utilised for village uplift, to build up a decent library in every village. We have no village library in the mofussil. In a free country, I think,

there is a library in every village. Ours is a free country but there are no libraries worth the name in the rural area. Unless and until you build up libraries, you cannot build up a nation. In the budget you have not provided any amount for the purpose. I will appeal to the Government to see what they can do in this respect.

Sir, nowadays justice has become a tardy and costly commodity. A poor person sorely aggrieved goes to the court for redress. He goes to the court on the day fixed for hearing but he finds the Hakim absent or is otherwise busy and the case is adjourned. It is adjourned from day to day, days roll into months, months into years and the case is kept pending. Just imagine how a poor person suffers in attending court so often. Out of sheer disgust the poor fellow cries out: "ছেড়ে দে মা কেঁদে বাঁচি". It is the duty of the Government to see that at least in petty cases there is more speedy disposal. If that is not done, you punish those who seek justice and it would be putting a premium on crime. I hope, Sir, that Government will see that this malady is also cured.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday the Hon'ble Premier while moving for the voting of this demand remarked that every Department ought to be a nation-building department, even the Police Department according to him was a nation-building department, and proceeded, in brief, to give his reasons for that assertion. Today, Sir, I shall have occasion to tell you exactly what type of nation-building department the Police Department under the Hon'ble Premier today is? Sir, this police behave in a manner that perhaps suit the Ministry and their supporters, however large or however few their number. As an instance I shall quote their behaviour in the Indian Association Hall where the Secretariat employees wanted to gather and sit in conference. Sir, not only did the Police cordon off the place thereby preventing the Secretariat officials and employees from gathering there, but subsequently they beat them up in the Secretariat building itself. Sir, that is one instance in Calcutta. I shall have occasion to multiply instances not only in Calcutta but in the mafassal. Sir, I shall now try and give you a picture of their behaviour in the mafassal, how with the connivance and help of the majority community, and specially their fighting arm, the *goalas*, they carry on depredations on the Muslims. Not only they turn a deaf ear and a blind eye to the plight of the Muslims and to their grievances, but actively help and co-operate with the majority community. The other day at Jadabpur Refugee Colony which shelters 12,000 men from East Bengal, there was a fracas. Everybody knows that. My intention today is to refer not to the incident in detail but to the part played by the Police. Sir, in doing so I shall have to give you a background of the situation. The refugees have settled on a plot of land belonging to one Lailka who happens to be a relative of some Birla.

Mr. SPEAKER: He is not related to Birla.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I may be wrong, Sir. I stand corrected. That was what I was informed. Anyhow, Sir, the owner of that plot of land is one Lailka. Contrary to an agreement arrived at between himself and the refugees with the intervention of others he and his men came and tried to demolish the huts. A fracas ensued. Now, Sir, who was responsible for this fracas? Not the refugees surely. The Police instead of arresting Lailka and his men arrested somebody else who probably had nothing to do with the fracas. But, Sir, my point is they should have gone to the bottom of it and tried to pick out and arrest the men who were really responsible for it. They should have arrested Lailka. They did not do so. Sir, this is the sample of members who constitute the Hon'ble the Premier's nation-building Department.

Now, Sir, I come to the Congress Government's directives to the local officers to consult the Congress men in the day to day discharge of their

duties. Sir, possibly the Government felt, as they were losing ground or there was no likelihood of their gaining any ground when power was transferred to them by Mountbatten & Company, that they would be able to drag the gullible public to their side if favours were distributed through their agencies. Sir, everything today is done through Government agency. In order to obtain the ordinary necessaries of life one has to approach the Civil Supplies Department or some other Department of Government. In the matter of issuing permits Government issued directives to the local officials that they should consult the Congress leaders there, so that people had to approach the Congress leaders first and through them go to the officials in order that they might be supplied with the necessaries of life, and that is how this Government felt that they would be able to extend their influence over the masses. Sir, what has this resulted in? This resulted in exactly a thing that they were not prepared to contend with, a thing that they had not foreseen. This resulted in creating more enemies of the Congress, more dissatisfied elements. Sir, I will suggest to Government that if the Local Congress were sincere, if they were honest, possibly the end they had in view would have been achieved, but the fact is that they are not honest, they are dishonest and they distribute favours to their own men, and that is why the people who have eyes to see and ears to hear can find the local Congress in its true colour. The result is mal-administration in everything. The result is that the people who cannot approach the Congress leaders in the area do not get their necessaries commodities necessary for their very existence. That is why, Sir, I have no sympathy for the Congress party, but I have sympathy for the poor down-trodden people of my own Constituency, the Muslims. Sir, the Muslims are neither fifth columnists, nor they are disloyal, nor do they cherish designs against the State, and, therefore it is the bounden duty of the Congress to look after them. Sir, treat the Muslims in any manner you like but as long as they are in your State it is your statutory responsibility to feed them, to clothe them, to give them a fair share of ration, a fair share of kerosene and a fair share of everything. But, Sir, this is what they have been denied, because the Congress Government have ordered, perhaps have issued only directives, that everybody should approach the Government authorities through one particular political party. Sir, I would beseech you, I would implore you that please leave the Government officers alone; let them use their discretion and that is only how I expect that justice will be done to me and my community.

Sir, coming to the popularity of the Congress I have heard this afternoon members shouting that Congress is a very popular organisation. Why not put it to the test? Well, I have it proved that in Darjeeling the Congress was floored. There is a seat vacant in the metropolis of Calcutta. Why not put Congress popularity to test? Why are you keeping the seat vacant in this Assembly caused by the death of Mr. Satish Bose of revered memory when this Assembly will probably continue till 1951 or possibly it may be dissolved a little earlier but there are signs that it will continue till 1951. Why not put up a Congress candidate and put the Congress to test in the matter of filling up this vacancy? By holding an election in the metropolis of Calcutta it can be put to test whether the Congress has increased in popularity or has become less popular.

Now, Sir, turning to the recruitment of Muslims it is a matter of shame to find that there is only a trickling in of Muslims that is happening in one or two departments of Government, notably the Civil Supplies Department where I had occasion to notice a few. The point that I want to stress is that this recruitment is not as a result of the acceptance or acknowledgment of the birthright and just claims of the Muslims of this Province for a fair share in the administration of the country but, Sir, it was imposed on this Province of West Bengal from high by an Inter-Dominion Agreement. Even so we have not been told exactly what is the percentage of Muslims

that are going to be recruited. I understand, Sir, that circulars have been issued to the different departments asking them to take in Muslims but we have not been told, nobody knows what the circular is or what the contents of the circular are and how the Muslims will be chosen. Here what I want to stress is that whatever be the percentage that you have decided on as a result of the Inter-Dominion Agreement please implement it and you will have to implement it, but let this be done through the agency of the Public Service Commission. Let not a coterie of men or coterie rule influence the taking in of the Muslims. Sir, when a certain percentage or a certain quota has been fixed for them, it must be open to all the Muslims to compete in the open and come into the Government service; it should not be in the pocket of a department or a directorate. They should refer all the appointments, all the vacancies to the Public Service Commission where all the Muslims will apply and one Muslim may have just as good a chance to enter Government service as any other.

Sir, referring to the communal character of the administration I shall again have to refer to the Hon'ble the Education Minister's speech which he made in reply to the cut motion objecting to the renaming of the Islamia College.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Is that relevant?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Yes, it is relevant; it also comes under General Administration. Under General Administration we can point out how the country is being administered, I can touch on the communal aspect and the communal trend of the administration and if, Sir, I am not permitted to do so how then can I criticise the working of the Government. Shall I be permitted to go on, Sir, since you have not objected and I take it, Sir, that I can.

Mr. SPEAKER: You will make it relevant, I believe.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Yes, Sir. The Hon'ble the Education Minister said that the name Islamia has been changed but the names Mohsin and Sakhawat have been retained. I want to ask him that Hindus living in Bengal for so many hundred years side by side with Muslims, has he not been able to understand .... .

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. The honourable member refers to a matter which was amply discussed on the Education Budget and he asks the Education Minister certain questions knowing well that he cannot get up now and reply to his questions in the course of the discussion of the General Budget. It is therefore irrelevant and improper I hope, Sir, you will give your ruling on this point.

Mr. SPEAKER: The honourable member should address the Hon'ble Minister who is responsible for this demand and he is not entitled to address any other Minister when this demand is on.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I hope the Hon'ble Premier will ascertain from his colleague if he, after having lived in this country side by side with the Muslims for several hundred years . . (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I have not lived a hundred years.)

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Even after having lived for so many hundreds of years you have constituted yourselves a separate nation distinct from us. That is our regret.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: If he does not know the difference between these two things I can only feel sorry for him.

Sir, I would request the Hon'ble Premier *to ascertain from his Hon'ble* colleague and tell this House if he knows the difference between a private individual and the name of a community. Sakhawat is the name of a private individual and Mohsin is also the name of a private individual. If today I am permitted to retain my name Khuda Bukhsh, or Sir, because it is a secular state now shall I be called upon to change my own name? As long as the Hon'ble Premier and his colleagues retain their own names, I think I shall be allowed to retain my own name and the Hon'ble Premier should not confuse between the words "Hindu" and "Islamia" in relation to Khuda Bukhsh and Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. Sir, I have finished my general remarks and now I have some startling revelations to make.

Now, Sir, I come to the cut motion raised in regard to Ministerial interference. Sir, I shall, first of all, refer you to a case that is now pending in the court of the Additional Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. B. K. Bhattacharjee. Sir, you may have heard that on 24th August 1948.......

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, he is referring to a *sub judice* case.

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you referring to a *sub judice* case? If it be a *sub judice* case, you cannot refer to it.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I am not going into the merits of the case. Let me make my submission clear and then you may issue your ruling, Sir.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, I suggest if the honourable member seriously wants to say anything he can appear before the court and swear by an affidavit. But it is highly improper to refer in a cowardly fashion here.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am not referring to the case (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Do not try to hoodwink the House.)

Mr. SPEAKER: We have got to wait till he finishes.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: If I speak on a *sub judice* case it is for you to give your ruling, but I am only referring to the incidents that relate to that case. Now, Sir, on 24th August 1948 the Shampukur police-station registered what is known as the Shambazar Tram Burning Case. The police arrested 7 or 8 persons of which they sent up 3. Sir, when the case came before the Magistrate, the Magistrate found - I am quoting from the proceedings and so this cannot be *sub judice* and the rest I shall not quote—"that people who were indentified were not sent up" .

Mr. SPEAKER: I call you to order. Under rule 12 you cannot refer to any matter of fact on which a judicial decision is pending.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. I would seriously suggest that if the honourable member has really anything responsible to say and any facts to adduce, he is free to do so by way of an affidavit before the court. It is highly improper to waste the time of the House by bringing in irrelevancies and thereby becoming perfectly out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am only guided by the rules of this House and the rule of the House says "You cannot refer to any matter of fact on which a judicial decision is pending." Therefore you please do not refer to that case.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I may tell the House that an Hon'ble Minister had occasion to write to the Deputy Commissioner of Police that these people would not be sent up.........(Interruptions).

Working under whose instructions the Deputy Commissioner wrote a letter to the Shampukur police-station that those people would not be sent up? The Magistrate summoned them,—that is another story. Again, this is on record; it is from the proceedings of a court record that I am quoting. There was a petition that those gentlemen who were accused, and who were subsequently sent up by the police because the Magistrate was adamant, would not be able to attend court because they would be engaged in the electioneering campaign of the Hon'ble the Home Minister at Malda.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I am sorry I have to get up again, Sir, to point out that I have never seen anything so very atrocious—when the late Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy is not here and cannot by any means give a reply—to make references to him for although no names were mentioned it was made abundantly clear that he has the late Mr. Roy in mind. Sir, it transgresses all bounds of decency that even a dead man has not been spared. I would suggest, Sir, that if the honourable member thinks that in any case the proceedings were not proceeded with, he is free even now to go and file an application to the Magistrate or by way of a petition to proper persons get the proceedings in motion again. I may assure him that if any Magistrate or any police authority would not entertain a petition Government would see to it that no irregularity does take place. So he should go to court and move a petition there.

Mr. SPEAKER: I find, as a matter of fact, the Hon'ble Minister about whom a reference is being made is no more and, as such, I should like to see that no reference be made to him.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, it was farthest from my desire to attack a Minister who is no more in the land of living, but I have only given an instance as how the law is functioning.

Now, Sir, I have something more to add and I am quoting from facts. The Hon'ble the Premier said the other day that if a hundredth part of what was said by an honourable gentleman who had chosen to make an allegation against another very honourable gentleman were true, he would see that the very honourable gentleman did not find a place in his cabinet the next day. Sir, I want to draw his attention to what is happening in his own department, namely, the Local Self-Government Department. The Calcutta Anti-Corruption Department submitted a report to the Chief Secretary in regard to cases investigated against two topmost officers of the Bengal Fire Service on serious charges like drawing false travelling allowance bills, illegally acquiring and consuming petrol, using Government machineries for private use, employing the fire service men for personal use and for corruption and maladministration. The Anti-Corruption Department submitted its report to the Chief Secretary stating that *prima facie* cases have been made out and suggested immediate suspension of the two officers concerned for further investigation. I have been told that the Chief Secretary.. . . .

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you referring to confidential documents?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: No, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then, how are you quoting those facts?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I have got the facts from a reliable source.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Will you give me the name of the person who gave the document to you because I want to sack him?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Why should he give out the name?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May I ask the name through you, Sir?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: No, I will not give out the name. I am committed to secrecy. I am drawing the Hon'ble Minister's attention to these malpractices. Here I have got the name, Sir, but I am not bound to disclose it. If you want, Sir, I can confidentially give the name to you only.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I again ask, Sir, to have the name through you.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the honourable member is not bound to disclose the name. (Cheers from Opposition benches.)

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, the Chief Secretary directed that suspension orders be issued but the Secretary to the department had seen to it that no action was taken on that order with the result that evidence was being tampered with and destroyed and loyal officers were being victimised.

Sir, I would again draw the attention of the Premier to another letter. I got a copy of it; it was sent under a registered cover and I have got a receipt also. The letter is written to the Secretary of the department and signed, telling him in what particulars he was being victimised. He was a loyal officer of Government, wanted to do good to the Government, stand by the Government in checking corruption and nepotism. He has been victimised. He wanted protection from his superior officer and that has also been denied. This is how the Government is alienating everybody all around, even their loyal staff. In this connection I am reminded of a speech by the Hon'ble Sardar Patel at Ambala on 6th March, where he said how the Government officers were to be taken to task. If there was a general complaint the service people must not be taken to task. It was easy to make a general complaint and I have quoted instances where they have done so.

Now coming to other instances of corruption, favouritism, nepotism and every other "ism", that is baneful to any administration, I shall ask the Hon'ble the Premier that when a post of Deputy Controller of Rationing was advertised, why it stated that the minimum qualification for the post was Intermediate, the post carried a salary of Rs. 800—what is the obvious conclusion? In Bengal when graduate and barrister M.L.A.s are drawing only Rs. 200 per month .(Laughter) . why is it not possible for Government to get better qualified men for Rs. 800 and why only Intermediate was prescribed as being the minimum qualification for a salary of Rs. 800? (At this stage the member reached his time-limit but was allowed to conclude his speech.) Then, Sir, there were wicked men who said that the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister spent his holidays at Darjeeling at Government cost.

Sir, again coming back to the humiliation that has been meted out to my community .

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: What is the implication? He might make it more explicit. I am offering a correction. I spent my holiday not only in Darjeeling but also in Sikkim and up to the border of Tibet.

Janab MD. KHUDA BAKHSH: At Government expense: that is the point I want to make.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member is perfectly ignorant. I had to go on a particular mission and certainly I combined with that mission Government business.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order. Is he speaking on a point of personal explanation?

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Yes, when you are meanly insinuating as is your wont.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order. Is the Minister in order to use the word "meanly" and all these things? He is a barrister who has never seen the Judge's chamber.

Mr. SPEAKER: "Meanly" is unparliamentary and you must withdraw it.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I bow down to your ruling and I hope there will be no occasion for me to protest against an insinuation at any time. People may have freedom of speech but they may be explicit.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, coming to my motion I shall again draw your attention how the Muslims are being treated. There is police report and gun licences are being taken away from them.

Sir, as an instance of injustice of this Government the last thing that I want to say is that they are denying the employees of the Legislative Assembly of overtime allowances. This is nothing new. This has been mooted and debated for a long time. Even Mr. Suhrawardy whose name may be an anathema to many, but who is my leader, agreed .. (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: What is the implication of the word "even"?) It was decided by him. ....

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you referring to the Legislative Assembly? You need not refer to that.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Are you taking it up Sir? If I get an assurance that you will take it up, I will not press it.

Mr. SPEAKER: The ordinary courtesy is to consult the Speaker whenever questions of this department are discussed. As a matter of fact in the Centre it is not discussed at all.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Here we have occasion to discuss that because Government are blind. They do not see how the Assembly officials work. They come at 9 o'clock and stay till 11 p.m. sometimes. This Assembly is not on par with other Assemblies. There the Assemblies meet at 11 o'clock.

Mr. SPEAKER: Leave that question to me.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Thank you, Sir.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, গঠনমূলক পরামর্শ দেওয়া যায় বটে, নেওয়াও উচিৎ কিন্তু এমন একটা অবস্থার মধ্যে আমরা আছি যে, যাঁরা ভারপ্রাপ্ত তাঁদের পক্ষে পরামর্শ, নেওয়া সব সময় সম্ভব হয়ে ওঠে না। তাঁদের মনে মনে একটা ধারণা হয় যে, বাইরের যাঁরা আছেন; তাঁরা বিশেষ অভিজ্ঞ নন্, ভিতরের খবর রাখেন না, অনেকটা আনাড়ি নাড়ীর খবর আমরাই রাখি, অতএব ঐ ব্যাপারগুলি সহজে গ্রহণ করা যায় না। আমরাও বাইরের লোক দেখি যে, যাঁরা ভিতরে আছেন তাঁরা কাঁচ পোকার মতন হয়ে আছেন, যে যায় তাকেই নিজেদের মতন করে নেয়। এই যে administrationএর যারা বাহক, এর যারা ধারক, তাদের নিজেদের মত বদলাবার দরকার হয়নি, কিন্তু আমাদের সকলের কিছু কিছু মত বদলাবার দরকার হয়েছে। কংগ্রেসের পক্ষের লোক, যাঁরা রাতদিন সরকারের বিরোধিতা করছেন তাঁদের পক্ষে সরকারকে সমর্থন করবার জন্য খানিকটা বদলাতে হয়েছে। আমরাও যারা বরাবর সরকারকে সমর্থন করে এসেছি, বিরোধিতা করবার জন্য আমাদেরও খানিকটা মত বদলাতে হচ্চে। কিন্তু সরকারের যাঁরা চাকুরে লোক, তাঁদের আর বদলাবার দরকার হয় না। তাঁরা জানেন যে, যে-কেউই আসুন না কেন তাঁদের খপ্পরের মধ্যে, মুঠোর মধ্যে পড়তে

হবে। এটা আজ থেকে আরম্ভ হয়নি, আমাদের স্বাধীনতালাভের আগে অত্যাচারী সাম্রাজ্যবাদ এঁদের দিয়ে এইভাবে কাজ চালিয়েছিলেন। তাঁদের কাজ এখনও চলছে; সেই দপ্তর, সেই কেরাণী একই রকম আছে, তার কোন রকম পরিবর্তন হয়নি।

Janab ABUL HASHEM : খালি discipline নষ্ট হয়েছে।

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED : এখনও তাঁরা সেইভাবেই চলছেন। এই যে রাজত্ব এটাকে কেরাণী রাজত্ব বলা চলে। Expert, Director ইত্যাদি যা আছেন এঁদের নিজেদের যে স্বকীয় কোন মত আছে ব'লে আমি জানি না। চিঠিপত্র যা কিছু প্রথমে আসে, সেগুলো যায় departmentএর head clerkএর হাতে, তারপরে আসে একটা clerkএর কাছে। Clerk যা করে দেবেন তার উপর যত অভিজ্ঞ লোকই হোক না কেন, নামটা সই করে উত্তর দেওয়া ছাড়া, তার আর কোন কাজ নেই। যদি তাঁদের কোন যোগ্যতা থাকতো, তাহলে তাঁরা এখানে বরাত বিক্রয় করতে আসতেন না। এ হয়েছে কি, তাদের কাছে যাওয়া, আর একজনের মেয়ের বিয়ের জন্য যেমন ব্রাহ্মণের কাছে জানতে গিয়েছিলেন, গিয়ে দেখেন যে, ব্রাহ্মণের তিনটি কন্যাই বিধবা, তা এঁদের কাছে যাওয়া আর এঁদের পরামর্শ নেওয়া মানে ঐ ব্রাহ্মণের নিকট বিধান লওয়া।

Agriculture Department বলে যে আমরা দেশ সোনা দিয়ে মুড়ে দেবো। কই কোন agricultural expert আছেন, যাঁকে ২৫,০০০ টাকা মূলধন দিচ্ছি। কোন চাষীর বা গ্রামবাসীর ২৫,০০০ টাকা মূলধন নেই, কিন্তু একজন যিনি expert হয়ে এসেছেন তাঁকে ২৫,০০০ টাকা মূলধন দিচ্ছি, তিনি দেখিয়ে দিন না যে ঐ ২৫,০০০ টাকা দিয়ে তিনি মাসে ৬০০।৭০০ যা Government থেকে পাচ্ছেন, সেটা কামাই করতে পারেন; সেটা কেউ পারবেন না। তাদের দোষ দিতে চাই না, কারণ তাঁদের অভিজ্ঞতা নাই, চিন্তা নাই, কেবলমাত্র যাঁরা কেরাণী তাঁরা এঁদের দিয়ে সই করায়। যত বিভাগ হচ্ছে, ততই কাজের অধঃপতন হচ্ছে, উন্নতি ত কিছু হয় নি। এই department, সেই department, তার উপর department, অমুক department, এই রকম করে ভাগ বণ্টন হ'য়ে কেরাণীর দপ্তর আর Superintendent প্রত্যেকটাই বেড়ে যাচ্ছে, top-heavy হচ্ছে, কেবল মাথাই ভারী হচ্ছে। এতে হয় না। আমাদের মন্ত্রীদের অবস্থা যা আগে থেকেই দেখে এসেছি এখন ততটা জানি না। এঁদের ত কাজ বদলী আর promotionএর দরখাস্ত লওয়া, এর অভিযোগ, তার special তদ্বির, এই সব শুনতে শুনতেই তাঁদের অধিকাংশ সময় যায়। (A VOICE : যায় না।) যদি না যায় সেটা খুব ভাল কথা। হরেন্দ্র চৌধুরী মহাশয় বলছেন যে যায় না। যদি না যায় তার, তাঁরা খানিকটা বোঝবার, চিন্তা করবার জন্য, কেমন করে দেশের মঙ্গল করা যায় তার জন্য সময় পাবেন। আমি একটা suggestion করি যে একটা department একজন রাখে কেবল নিয়োগ আর বদলীর কাজ হবে। তাতে অন্যান্য Ministerদের মাথায় কিছু কিছু কাজ করবার অবসর দেওয়া হয়।

তারপরে আমার বক্তব্য এই, Commissioner এবং Board of Revenue তুলে দেওয়া এবং Judicial আর Executive একত্র করা সম্বন্ধে। এই সব সম্পর্কে প্রত্যেকেই আপনারা আলোচনা ক'রে এসেছেন যে, এটা থাকার দরকার নেই। এ যে দরকার নেই, এ আপনারা সকলেই জানেন। কিন্তু দরকার নেই, তবুও ২ বৎসরের মধ্যে কেন তোলার চেষ্টা হয় নি? অবশ্য এর বিপক্ষে বলারও আছে। প্রত্যেক জিনিষেরই পক্ষে ও বিপক্ষে যুক্তি আছে। বলা হবে, Commissioner যদি চলে যায়, তবে revenue appeal শুনবে কে। Board of Revenue যদি চলে যায় ত অমুক হবে তমুক হবে ইত্যাদি। কত জিনিষের ত পরিবর্তন হলো, এর আর কি পরিবর্তন হবে না? যদি না হয়, তবে একথা বলা হয়েছিল কেন? বলার ত কোন সার্থকতা নেই। আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রীর কাছে এবং মন্ত্রিবর্গের কাছে, এই কথা বলি যে, Commissioner এবং Board of Revenue এই তোলবার জন্য এবং Judicial আর Executive একত্র করার জন্য। তাঁরা আগে আগে যেরকম চিন্তা করতেন, সেই চিন্তা দিয়ে দেখুন যে, তোলা যায় কিনা। যদি না যায়, স্পষ্টই তাঁরা বলে দিন যে তোলা যায় না আর যদি তোলা যায়, তাহলে বলুন যে এতদিনের মধ্যে আমরা তুলছি।

Top-heavy administrationএর কথা একটা বলেছেন, আমি মনে করি যে top-heavy আছে। কিন্তু যতবার commissionএর দ্বারা কমাবার চেষ্টা হয়েছে, ততবারই কেবল চাকরী বেড়ে গেছে। যেখানে যেখানে যত retrenchment ইত্যাদি প্রস্তাব হয়েছে, প্রত্যেক সময়ই চাকরী বেড়ে গিয়েছে। তাই আমি এ প্রার্থনা করি না যে আর একটা committee বা commission বসান এবং কমাবার ষড়যন্ত্র করুন। কেন

না যাদের দিয়ে করাবেন, তাদের পরামর্শ নিয়ে, ঠিক আপনারা সেই বাড়াবার খপ্পরের মধ্যে পড়ে যাবেন। এ করানো কখনো হবে না। Top-heavy করান না হোক, আমাদের কতকগুলি কাজ এমন আছে যাতে লোকে গ্রামের মধ্যে চলে যায় এবং সেখানে Secretariat দপ্তর বসান। এই কেরাণী Cliveএর বংশধরদের মধ্যে থেকে দেশোদ্ধার হবে না। যদি গ্রামের মধ্যে যাওয়া যায় ত তার আবহাওয়ার মধ্যে থেকে কিছু কাজ হতে পারে। এ নূতন কথা নয়, বারবার বলবারও সময় নেই। সেই পন্থাটা নেওয়া হয়নি। জানেন সবাই কিন্তু সেই পন্থাটা নেওয়া হয়নি, এইটাই হোলো দুঃখের কথা।

আর একটা কথা বলবো এই সাম্প্রদায়িক ব্যাপার সম্বন্ধে। আমরা ধর্ম্মগত নিয়মে মুসলমানরা সংখ্যালঘু হয়ে গিয়েছি। যতক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত এটা না উল্টে যাবে ততক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত এরকম কান্নাকাটি থাকবে। কিন্তু আমি বলি যে, এই জিনিষটা কাঁদাকাটি করে কিছু যে হবে বলে ত মনে হয় না। যদি আমরা নিজের উপরে নিজেরা খানিকটা বিশ্বাস না করি, তাহলে কেবলমাত্র আমাদের দুঃখ আছে, দুর্দ্দশা আছে বলে যদি কাঁদি তাহলে যাদের বারা দুঃখ পাই তাদের অত্যাচারী নাম দিন আর যাই দিন, তাদের অত্যাচার করবার খানিকটা সুযোগ হবে। নেড়া মাথা দেখলেই অনেকের চড় মারতে ইচ্ছা করে, সেই রকম ইচ্ছাই বেড়ে যাবে। অতএব আমাদের ওদের উপর নির্ভর করার দরকার নেই। আর দিনও পরিবর্ত্তন হবে। অত্যাচারিত হতে হতে অত্যাচার সহিবারও একটা শক্তি হয়। অনেকে বলেন আমরা দেখেছি যে, সেখানে বাঘ নিশ্চিহ্ন হ'য়ে গিয়েছে কিন্তু হরিণ নিশ্চিহ্ন হয়নি। সে হরিণ অত্যাচার সহ্য করে করে সেখানে টিঁকে আছে, কিন্তু বাঘ সেখানে না খেয়ে খেয়ে মারা গিয়েছে। অতএব অত্যাচারকে ভয় করলে চলবে না। দুঃখ আছে, সহ্য করতে শিখতে হবে।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, the incidents that took place day before yesterday and yesterday reminded me of a story. An old man was dying, and he brought his son near his face and whispered in his ear:—

"ওহে দেখো, অমুক যে আমার কাছ থেকে এত টাকা ধার নিয়েছিল" "So and so took so much money from me".

The son said: "আ-হাহা, বাবা কি সজ্ঞানে মরছে"! "The father is dying with full consciousness".

Then he went on to say: "আমি যে অমুকের কাছ থেকে এত টাকা ধার নিয়েছিলাম"।

At once the son said: "ঐ দেখো, বাবা আবার বিকারভুল বক্‌ছে"। "Father is again talking at random". (Laughter.)

One day I was told that I was Fakher-e-Hind, Fakher-e-Bangala. Next day I am the biggest demon that is in existence.

Sir, I shall divide my answers into two groups. I shall first of all try to give my answers to certain questions that have been raised. The first question is about the position of minorities in the service and whether the option clause could not be continued. I think that is one of the questions which my friend Mr Badrudduja had put in. Sir, the position is that immediately after the partition of the province, the West Bengal wing of the joint Government submitted that there should be a standstill agreement for a period of six months after the date of transfer of power and officers should remain where they were irrespective of their option. This suggestion was turned down by the East Bengal wing of the Government who were adamant in their view that the officers should immediately be transferred to the Government of their choice. In view of such determined attitude of the Government of East Bengal, the Government of West Bengal therefore did not think that any useful purpose would be served by reopening the question.

Sir, the next point that I want to refer to is the question of admission of the minorities into the service. As far back as 19th November 1948, the West Bengal Government at the direction of the Centre issued a notification to all persons and all officers concerned, and which runs thus:—

"The Government of West Bengal have come to the following decision regarding reservation of vacancies in West Bengal public service for the various communities:—

(*a*) there will be no communal reservation where recruitment is by open competition;

(*b*) in cases of promotion no preference will be shown on communal grounds;

(*c*) only when filling posts by direct recruitment on a non-competitive basis the percentage shown in column 2 of the table below will be reserved for the corresponding communities shown in column 1 of that table."

And then comes the table in which it has been said that the non-Muslims excluding scheduled caste Hindus be given 65 per cent.; scheduled caste Hindus 15 per cent.; and Muslims 20 per cent. Sir, these percentages correspond approximately to the present population of the various communities in West Bengal. Mr. Badrudduja also suggested that I should take the matter up because I believe a similar announcement has been made in East Bengal and discuss with the Premier of East Bengal whom I may meet very soon to see as to how the two notifications have been given effect to and compare notes. Besides this, with regard to the protection of minorities after a good deal of discussion, we have now appointed Minority Boards, both in this province as well as in East Bengal, and I hope and trust it will be possible for these Minority Boards to function in the way they should function and give assurance and protection to the minorities that come to them with their grievances. As you are aware, Sir, the Refugee Properties Act has been passed in this Assembly, and I understand from the papers today that the Evacuees Properties Act, a corresponding Act, is being put before the Assembly in Eastern Bengal, and I doubt not that it will be passed, because it is a matter on which the two Dominions have agreed.

The next question that I want to answer is about the chaukidars as to why chaukidars and daffadars should not be paid out of the provincial revenue. As I mentioned before, the Blandy Committee had taken this matter up in 1936 and recommended that two-thirds of the payment of salaries of chaukidars and daffadars should be met out of provincial revenue, but with two reservations, namely, (1) that the daffadars and chaukidars should be paid more decent salaries than they were getting and they should be of a better type than they were and, secondly, that as the chaukidars and daffadars would be paid two-thirds of their salaries out of the provincial revenue, the corresponding portion of the cost of police service in the municipal areas should be paid for by the municipalities. Those who know something about the municipalities in West Bengal will admit that such a proposition is not possible to achieve at the present moment.

Sir, the next proposition that I have to put forward before the House is the question about which an assurance has been asked for by Janab Syed Badrudduja about the policy of land acquisition in the Barasat subdivision in the district of 24-Parganas. Sir, a press-note was issued in which the whole position was given very clearly and I am surprised to find that both my honourable friends have overlooked this particular press-note which says "The attention of the Government of West Bengal has been drawn to some press reports as well as individual representations alleging that Government proposes to evict the inhabitants of a large number of villages lying on the West Bengal and East Bengal border with a view to settling the refugees from East Bengal. This allegation is totally unfounded and seems to be based on ignorance of the actual state of things. The real position is that 15 villages in the police-stations Dum Dum, Khardah and Barasat and 16 villages in the police-station Habra in the district of 24-Parganas have been notified under section 4 of the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948, that the vast tracts of land lying waste and unproductive in these areas are proposed to be acquired for development

under the said Act." These police-stations are not situated on the border of East or West Bengal, nor does the notification under section 4 imply that the present inhabitants of these villages will be deprived of their agricultural and homestead lands in order to make room for refugees from outside. The notification is merely preliminary to the preparation of development schemes and simply authorises the local authorities to enter upon and survey the lands. Under the rules, as soon as a development scheme is prepared, all interested persons are given an opportunity of making their representations, if any, against the scheme and these representations are duly considered by the Collector of the District or any other officer authorised by him. It is a settled policy of Government to exclude the agricultural and homestead lands as far as possible from the areas covered by the new development schemes. Government expect that these facts will set at rest all misapprehensions that might have been created by the press reports which are obviously based either on ignorance or on distortion of facts by interested people.

Sir, that is all I have got to say on this point.

The next question that I take up is the question of Malda. Gentleman who spoke about Malda said "অনেক কথা শুনেছি, এবার কাজ করতে হবে।" May I repeat the same thing to them and say "অনেক কথা তাদের কাছ থেকে শুনেছি—যদি কাজের কথা তারা কিছু বলতেন বড় খুশী হতাম।" I would have been glad and it would have been a very great help to me if I had heard something constructive instead of their saying something destructive. Nobody knows more than I do the difficulties of Malda and he does not know what I know or perhaps he does not want to know that the area of the railway between Godagari Ghat and Malda although it is running on the O. T. Railway runs through Pakistan territory and for nearly three months no trains were allowed to go through that territory until the wagons were taken away by the Pakistan Government. It is after a great deal of persuasion, after getting the O. T. Railway people here, after getting the E. B. Railway people here and after consultation with a view to come to an agreement that at last we have come to a settlement with regard to this particular problem. Sir, as a matter of fact this is not really a Provincial Government affair. It is a question for the Central Government and yet the Provincial Government took it up—I myself must have spent at least 5 to 6 hours on the Malda question—and I am glad to inform my friend from Malda that I hope that the agreement arrived at between the East Bengal Government and our Government, between East Bengal Railway and the O. T. Railway, will be given effect to and Malda will be relieved of her distress. No body is more distressed than myself inasmuch as Malda and West Dinajpur are not getting what they should get and that is the reason why I pleaded and have partly succeeded in getting the Central Government agree to have a barrage and rail and road communication between the southern part and northern part of Bengal. It has been a fearful headache with all those who are concerned with the development and progress and welfare of these areas and I can tell my friend from Malda that he need not worry about it; it is not due to any unwillingness on our part; it may be our inability because of circumstances beyond our control.

Sir, about the riot victims he has asked certain questions. I am afraid it is not possible for me to give the figure just now nor do I consider it desirable to do so now but I can send a statement to him if he so desires regarding the number and so on.

Sir, as regards the question that has been asked, why is it that this proportion of minority communities and this ratio which I have read is not being given effect to, probably my friends here forget that at the time of Partition 25,000 Government employees opted from East Bengal to West Bengal. We at first could take in some as against those who opted for East Bengal from West Bengal. Remember that East Bengal is a much

bigger area than West Bengal but yet the number that came from East Bengal was much larger than the number that went from West Bengal and it took us nearly 9 months or 10 months to get absorbed 19,000 men here and I believe there are still a few who have not yet been employed All these people were put in their places only recently and therefore it was not possible for us to make such appointments on a communal basis. When new appointments will be made the scheme that I have just mentioned will be given effect to.

Sir, with regard to my friend who said something about the Private Secretary getting Rs. 700 allowance I do say, Sir, I have no Private Secretary and therefore he cannot get any allowance 700 or 70,000.

Sir, with regard to the other suggestions that have been made, particularly by my friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh I am glad that he is not a lawyer but he is absolutely beyond the facts on every count about which he had mentioned. The ones that I know of I can at once give you the answers. First he said something about beating of the clerks in the Secretariat. This is absolutely unfounded. Then he said something about demolition of the cottages. He forgot, he was clever enough to put Layalka as the brother-in-law of or the brother-in-law of the brother-in-law of Birla but he forgot that the whole area where the event occurred was an area which has been bought by the West Bengal Government from a gentleman called Mr. Layalka for the erection of a central workshop and it was part of his duty under the contract to fill the low land which lay in the vicinity. Unfortunately for Mr. Loyalka he took 10 lorries with men to bring mud and earth to cover the low lying place and would you believe that of the 10 lorries, 8 lorries have been burnt by these so-called refugees for whom tears flow from my friends here. They actually put their shovel into the petrol tank, took petrol out and burnt the thing. I did not know about it till I heard it here when I was sitting in the Assembly and I went and sent my Inspector-General of Police to find out exactly what had happened. At that moment the police were not there. If police had been there at least these trucks could have been saved.

Similarly, Sir, he is talking about the Local Self-Government Department. I can only tell him.. ..

Mr. SPEAKER: The Hon'ble the Premier will continue afterwards. In the meantime the House stands adjourned for 15 minutes.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, with regard to his other charge about the Local Self-Government Department, let me inform my friend that I know about the report of the Anti-Corruption Department, and that the report of the Chief Secretary and that of the Local Self-Government Secretary were placed before me today, and I have ordered the suspension of both these officers. I hope that would satisfy the gentleman. But the matter has to be enquired into very carefully.

Now, I take my friend Mr. Hashem's charge that a Magistrate was taken to task for doing something. I can only say this that I am responsible for the Home Department which issues instructions to the Magistrates, and as far as I know, there was no Magistrate who was taken to task for anything within the purview of instructions. If he has got any other information, that has nothing to do with me. I will ask my friend over there and his colleagues over there that if there are abuses—and human institutions are full of abuses—it is only fair, proper, judicious and right that they should inform the person in charge of that department. I am always accessible to the members—they can telephone me, they can come to me

and tell me their affairs. I am sure, Mr. Hashem will probably tell you that whenever a thing has been brought to my notice it has been looked into immediately. He cannot deny that. Sir, if as these gentlemen say that they are loyal citizens of the Indian Dominion and go on repeating that they have forgotten the Muslim League, it is up to them to co-operate. True co-operation would be to bring to the notice of those who are responsible for the administration of the departments, all the laches that are taking place, and I can assure him and every member of the House that I am no respector of persons. I shall see, so far as lies in my power, that justice is done. (Noise and table thumping.) Sir, I am not fond of clap trap and I do not want to play to the gallery. It serves nobody in fact, because the moment you charge the Ministry, naturally the Ministry goes on the defensive. Therefore you do not get exactly what you want. I do not know whether you want anything seriously, because if you want anything seriously it is up to you to bring it to the notice of the department concerned.

Sir, there are two other points that Mr. Hashem has made, on which, of course, not only he but others also have spoken, viz., with regard to the Security Act, that it has not been worked properly and that there have been *zulums* in certain cases, and the case of Hooghly has been mentioned. Sir, I do not want to refer to it because it is a long story and I know also the part that my friend played in that *zulum* affair. As I have said many times here, I repeat again that hard words do not break any bones. Mr. Hashem, Mr. Mudassir Hossain, Mr. Sibnath Banerjee and others have been surprised that so many cut motions have not been moved, and, in fact, Mr. Sibnath Banerjee, an economist that he is, thinks that it would pay all the sweepers and menials at least two rupees if he could cut down the publication and printing cost of these papers. What they are surprised at I will tell you. They are surprised to see the solidarity and discipline in the Congress party; they are surprised how could the members of the Congress come here and act as one body. (Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: What is happening in the Central Assembly?) Sir, I won't yield to any interference. I know what these people want; I know what this Opposition want. They want to create disaffection among the members of the Congress party. I shall not have it. When there is disruption in the Congress party, I shall not be here. I refuse to accept that charge. My friend over there says "Nirjatita Congress". "Nirjatita Congress" is his expression, but I do say that the Congress people have remained silent, discreetly silent, more silent than they should be when they see that every one of the members of the so-called Opposition behave like three tailors of the Tolley Street, every one feels that he speaks on behalf of a large minority. Mr. Hashem has given a long list of the Opposition Benches and therefore this Ministry cannot hold its place. I ask him, today and now let him put a motion of no-confidence against me if he dares to. May I tell him that of the members of the Muslim group there are at least one or two regarding whom I may say if they are not members of our group. Does he not know that every member of the Muslim group is a class by himself, he is a great man, every one wants to talk. Therefore it is a matter of discipline and self-discipline on the part of the Congress members to allow the so-called Opposition a free play to the gallery. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh has said, "Have the courage and hold an election". All I can say is that if there is an election, a Congressman will come from South Calcutta. Look at the results of the Malda election and the Bankura election. This is a matter which can be only decided at the polls. I dare to suggest, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh might try and use all his influence and all his methods but he would not be able to dislodge the Congress from the hold it has. I have heard that Congressmen are bad and that Congressmen are disrupting the whole thing and doing this and that. I for one am an enemy of corruption, whether it is done by a Congressman or a non-Congressman. Anyone who is guilty of corruption has no place in any civilised society. You have got to remember this that if you want to carry your development scheme in different parts

of the districts, you must carry the people with you, not only the people but those who work for the people. It is the Congress and Congress alone that has worked amongst the people, not the Muslim League. (Cries of "Question" from the Muslim benches.) Let them go to the people and work amongst the people instead of shouting and pleading here for this and that. Let them gather in the districts and sense the feeling of the people.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir. Do you think he is in order in addressing the Muslim League which now stands liquidated here in West Bengal?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is no point of order.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I am perfectly in order. Mr. Hashem has declared here on the floor of the House that he is proud that he had been the Secretary of the Muslim League.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a personal explanation. I said that with reference to the past. No Muslim League exists today.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am glad you have recanted it.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I have not recanted. I am still proud of it. I said in Bengal the Bengal Muslim League does not exist today.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: My lady protesteth too much.

If the Government were to work the various schemes in the district it has got to get help of the people and we want men who work among the people to give us help. If there are any members of the Congress who have done anything wrong it is up to them to show what it is, to say who they are, and I can assure you here again that they will have no mercy from me. It is no use on the floor of this House, when these men are not here to support and to reply to vague insinuations, to try in an indirect way to lower the prestige and the strength of the Congress. I say to the members of the so-called Opposition.........

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: It is no point of order. Will you kindly ask him not to interrupt me because it interrupts all my mental faculties?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I am on a point of order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes, what is it?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: The Hon'ble Premier is saying that it was not fair to make vague insinuations with regard to persons who are not here. I want to know whether in the Assembly any person other than the members of the Assembly are entitled to be present and whether the members of the Assembly are debarred from making any reference to outside persons.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: So far as I have understood this thing, Mr. Abul Hashem made certain allegations with regard to the Congress organisation. So I think the Premier is perfectly in order in refuting the charge.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not want to waste the time further. What I want to say with all sincerity of purpose is instead of talking here and instead of giving long sermons here, let them work in villages, let them get the people to their side, because after all

water-supply is not a communal problem, relief of distressed is not a communal problem, the making of roads is not a communal problem. There are thousand and one avenues in which the two communities can work together instead of trying to come here and making suggestions, insinuations and innuendos which practically do not give them any help in the long run.

With these words I oppose all the cut motions and move that my motion be accepted. (Loud applause.)

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

Ayes—12.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab
Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab
Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Banerjee, Sri Sibnath
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Mudassir Hossain, Janab
Muhammad Idris, Janab

Noes—37.

Bandopadhayay, Sri Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prosad
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra
Chatterji, Sri Haripada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sri Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sri Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sri Kanailal
De, Sri Kanai Lal
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda
Ghose, Sri Bimal Kumar
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra
Maiti, the Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari
Majhi, Sri Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sri Krishna Prasad
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan
Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sri Jajneswar
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra
Walker, Mr. J. R.

The Ayes being 12 and the Noes 37, the motion was lost.

(When cut motion No. 4 was going to be put by the Deputy Speaker.)

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I want to make a small submission.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Not now; afterwards.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of privilege, Sir. Let me make my submission, Sir, because it is a privilege of the House.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What is your point?

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, my point is that the previous cut motion has not been properly voted. In this connection I want to point out that while the cut motion was being voted, only this much was read, namely, that the demand be reduced by Rs. 100. The rest of the motion which should have been read was not read. I submit, Sir, that while putting the next cut motion you will kindly read the whole motion. To my mind the previous voting was not absolutely proper, but I do not want

to raise the point now, because the result will be the same. Being an old member of the Assembly I think that for propriety and correct procedure the whole motion should be read.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, I am also an old member of this House and I know the procedure in this House. I can well remember certain occasions when the cut motions were read out in this House. I can also remember certain occasions when they were not read. This year from the beginning of this Session Mr. Speaker has been following this procedure of not reading the whole thing. Perhaps, Mr. Banerjee, you were not in this House and so you do not know.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: I was not here, but all these days you were doing something wrong.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: A Daniel has come to judgment!

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, what is the subject matter of the cut motion?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order papers are there. You can know these things from those papers.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and a division called.

(While the Division bell was ringing.)

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, unless it is read out I shall call division for every motion.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, this is the first time I have heard a member threatening the Chair. Let him call division even on half a motion. Let him go on.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Nothing can be done at this stage while the bell is ringing.

The division was then taken with the following result:—

Ayes—12.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab
Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab
Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Banerjee, Sri Sibnath
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Mudassir Hossain, Janab
Muhammad Idris, Janab

Noes—36.

Bandopadhayay, Sri Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prosad
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra
Chatterji, Sri Haripada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sri Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sri Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sri Kanailal
De, Sri Kanai Lal
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra
Maiti, the Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari
Majhi, Sri Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sri Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan
Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sri Jajneswar
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra
Walker, Mr. J. R.

The Ayes being 12 and the Noes 36 the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abul Hashem that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and a Division taken with the following result:—

Ayes—12.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab
Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab
Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Banerjee, Sri Sibnath
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Mudassir Hossain, Janab
Muhammad Idris, Janab

Noes—36.

Bandopadhayay, Sri Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prosad
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra
Chatterji, Sri Haripada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sri Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sri Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sri Kanailal
De, Sri Kanai Lal
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra
Maiti, the Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari
Majhi, Sri Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sri Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan
Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sri Jajneswar
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra
Walker, Mr. J. R.

The Ayes being 12 and the Noes 36 the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Abul Hashem that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

Ayes—12.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab
Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab
Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Banerjee, Sri Sibnath
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Mudassir Hossain, Janab
Muhammad Idris, Janab

Noes—36.

Bandopadhayay, Sri Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prosad
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra
Chatterji, Sri Haripada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sri Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sri Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sri Kanailal
De, Sri Kanai Lal
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra
Maiti, the Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari
Majhi, Sri Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sri Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan
Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sri Jajneswar
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra
Walker, Mr. J. R.

The Ayes being 12 and the Noes 36, the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg leave to withdraw all my cut motions.

The following three motions of Janab Mudassir Hussain, viz.—

That the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, enumerated in cut motions Nos. 34-37,

were then by leave of the House withdrawn.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab S. M. Abdullah that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

Ayes—13.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab
Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab
Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Banerjee, Sri Sibnath
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Mudassir Hossain, Janab
Muhammad Idris, Janab
Serajuddin Ahammad, Janab

Noes—36.

Bandopadhaya, Sri Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syamaprosad
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada
Chakravrty, Sri Satish Chandra
Chatterji, Sri Haripada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sri Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sri Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sri Kanailal
De, Sri Kanai Lal
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra.
Maiti, The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari
Majhi, Sri Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sri Krishna Prasad
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan
Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sri Jajneswar
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, the Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra
Walker, Mr. J. R.

The Ayes being 13 and the Noes 36, the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

Ayes—13.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab
Abdullah Janab, S. M.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab
Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Banerjee, Sri Sibnath
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Mudassir Hossain, Janab
Muhamad Idris, Janab
Serajuddin Ahammad, Janab

Noes—36.

Bandopadhayay, Sri Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prosad
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra
Chatterji, Sri Haripada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sri Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sri Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sri Kanailal
De, Sri Kanai Lal
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra
Maiti, the Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari
Majhi, Sri Nishapati

Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sri Bankubehari
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan
Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sri Jajneswar
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra
Walker, Mr. J. R.

The Ayes being 13 and the Noes 36, the motion was lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,11,18,000 for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that a sum of Rs. 2,11,18,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—General Administration", was then put and agreed to.

25—General Administration—Debt Conciliation.

The Hon'ble Sri NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 80,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "25—General Administration—Debt Conciliation".

এই সম্বন্ধে বেশী করে বলা নিষ্প্রয়োজন আমি মনে করি। আশা করি সকলে আপনারা এই প্রস্তাব অনুমোদন করে নেবেন।

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-18 p.m. till 3 p.m. on Friday, the 25th March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 25th March, 1949, at 3 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 59 members.

Charges against the "Swaraj".

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, before you proceed with the business of the House, I want to draw your attention to a fact. Yesterday I handed over to the Hon'ble Deputy Speaker while he was in the Chair, a copy of the "Swaraj". In that paper they have published a news to the effect that I made a statement to some press representative that I had never the intention to introduce any controversial matter here but I did so being pressed by the Congressmen themselves. Sir, this is contrary to truth. I never gave any press statement to anybody. I would therefore request you, Sir, on a point of privilege, to ask the press representatives not to indulge in this sort of kite flying and publish unauthenticated and unauthorised news.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will consider this matter.

Budget for 1949-50

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS.

27—Administration of Justice.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 70,17,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "27—Administration of Justice".

Sir, I find that there are hardly any, barring one, cut motions tabled under this item. But I think it will be fair for me to make a few observations in moving my motion.

Last year, in the course of my budget speech while replying to the discussion on the Demand for Grant under this heading, I stated "that it was the motto of Government to strive to make justice reach every door step particularly the door step of the poor in every nook and corner of the country, and with that end in view certain steps are being taken both with regard to rural as well as industrial justice". Sir, on the subject of the Administration of Justice in rural areas, I may take this opportunity to inform the House that soon after the present Ministry came into office this matter was taken up for consideration and an elaborate questionnaire was sent out on the 4th March, 1948, to no less than 48 addresses including the Bar Library and Bar Association of the Calcutta High Court, District Bar Associations and officers of the type of District Judge, District Magistrate, Divisional Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner for opinion. So far 33 replies have been received up to the 4th of September, 1948. No reply had been received from 15 of the addressees. Reminders were sent to them. Further addressees

were written to for opinion in December, 1948, and some of them have asked for time to communicate their views to Government. I may therefore say, Sir, that this matter has been under Government's active consideration and we have already received a mass of materials and it may be possible soon to entrust all those materials for consideration to a competent body in order to devise what reforms and on what lines should such reforms be introduced and what system of administration of rural justice should be considered most suited to the needs of our people. Sir, on the subject of industrial justice also I had referred in my speech last year that problems of administering justice in the industrial areas were receiving Government's attention. What could be a proper system in the administration of justice in industrial relations whether through courts or through some other instrument to ensure that justice could be really prompt without being hasty and undue turmoil and agony in industrial relations might be eliminated was a problem that was engaging the Governments's attention. To cover this sphere of industrial relations for the administration of justice considerable discussions took place between the Central and the Provincial Governments. The views of this Government had been forwarded to the Centre and we had taken the initiative in making certain proposals of a fundamental nature. I am glad, Sir, to be able to inform the House that the result of these discussions and deliberations—which may be known to many in this House by now—has taken shape in the form of Labour Relations Bill which is being sponsored by the Government of India. In that Bill, Sir, machinery has been sought to be provided from the bottom upwards, beginning with Works Committees and Conciliation Officers and Labour Courts and Industrial Tribunals and even appellate tribunals in their proper spheres both in order to administer justice readily, promptly and effectively in matters of dispute arising out of industrial relations on the spot as well as to ensure conditions of unanimity and standardisation in spheres which are applicable generally throughout the country and on a national scale. This Bill is expected before long to become law and inaugurate a new era for a magnificent experiment in the administration of justice in industrial relations in this country, and I am sure every one will eagerly await the enactment and be rightly proud of the fact that perhaps it will be the first of its kind—a new system of administration of justice in a new sphere which has hitherto fore remained without any specific provision to that effect being made for it.

Sir, I must not omit to mention another sphere, viz., the sphere of administration of justice relating to juvenile delinquencies. Soon after the present Ministry came into office, what weighed most urgently in our mind was the problem of juvenile delinquents and uncared for children with particular reference to Central Children's Court and an institution called the House of Detention for juveniles which has existed in this country for the last 34 years. In that connection, as is well-known, a very large number of unfortunate juveniles has drifted into the city, who as uncared-for children, gradually drift into delinquencies and crimes of different kinds. This is perhaps one of the most evil and tragic human legacies which the National Government inherited from the black past. It is well-known that the causes which contributed to the growth of juvenile population of this description were manifold, the chief amongst them to be mentioned is the most tragic and outrageous famine of 1943. Another contributory cause, as is well known, was the shameful carnage of Calcutta, beginning on the 16th August of 1946. Then Sir, these causes were further reinforced after the partition by the exodus of refugees in very large numbers driven to seek shelter and refuge in West Bengal by the intolerable condition in Pakistan which compelled them to leave their hearths and homes. But that again, apart from the question of refugee problem as such, has created the problem of a large number of juveniles gradually drifting into crimes.

Sir, in the course of my visit to institutions in another province which is the most advanced in this direction, namely, Bombay, I have had occasion to witness the tragic side of how uncared-for children, who might have been under the protective wings of their parents or under the educative influence of schools, found themselves roaming at large in the streets of Bombay as they do practically in every other city of India, and in an invisible manner they are gradually increasing the number of such unfortunates. Sir, immediately after this Government assumed office, a committee was set up in order to study the problem and the state of affairs relating to the Central Children's Court, the House of Detention, and other institutions which concerned themselves with running homes for children of this description during the period of after-care or during the period of their custody under directions of the Central Children's Court. Sir, from the record we found that originally a juvenile court and a juvenile house of detention were established in the city of Calcutta as early as in the year 1914. At that time the whole institution was devised for the purpose of protection of children of the Anglo-Indian and European communities. I am not against that, but I think that not only Anglo-Indian and European children, but uncared-for children of every community, irrespective of caste, creed or religion, deserve and demand the protective care of the State where Providence has deprived them of the softening fond care of their parents to look after them. When I visited the House of Detention in the Central Children's Court here, I may pertinently mention that it was the first occasion that a Minister of Government, as I discovered, had cared to visit that institution. What did I find there? In the course of the last 34 years, there was not a single report brought out on the condition, working and the system of administration relating to this sphere of administration of justice. What did I find again was that children below the age of 16 years, and in many cases children of tender ages, say, 10, 11 or 12 years, were kept waiting in that dismal atmosphere of that house of detention for months and months. I have noticed cases where they were made to wait for over six months. Perhaps they were fined about two rupees and thrown out of doors of the house of detention without knowing where to go to. And it is such children that become the victims of gangsters and organised criminals. Human materials that might have been socially useful and rehabilitated thus create an enormous social problem for the State. These are the conditions I have found there.

Sir, a committee was set up, and thanks to the untiring efforts and labour of the committee, a report containing most useful materials was prepared and submitted to Government on the 16th of April, 1948. For this, Sir, it cost Government nothing, not a pie more than the paper on which it was printed and the cost of printing, and Government had to provide not more than mere facilities of transport to the members of the committee to visit various places. My thanks are due to officials and the heads of non-official philanthropic organisations concerned with this line of work, thanks to whose help it was possible for the first time since the establishment of the House of Detention and Central Children's Court to have a report now in the possession of the Government. For this Sir, my thanks are due, if I may be pardoned to mention the name, to Mr. S. Barman of the Committee who was in charge and an authority on the subject of Borstal Institution and administration of juvenile justice and who had studied the subject both here and in European countries. My thanks are also due to our ex-colleague, an honourable member of the Assembly in undivided Bengal, Miss Mira Dutta-Gupta, who as an educationist took a very careful and keen interest and untiring pains in order to enlighten us on the compilation of the report. Thanks to them, the Government have in their possession this report and later the Superintendent of the House of Detention was deputed to Bombay to make an exhaustive study and suggest the line on which the insitutions of West

Bengal should be reformed. We have also received a useful report from that officer containing a mass of materials on the subject which, I expect, will be made available for public information before long.

Sir, these are some of the aspects which have engaged Government's attention indicating what we have been trying to do in this direction.

Sir, in this connection it will not be out of place to mention that the long-standing question of reforms of the Judicial system has also received Government's consideration. Various suggestions have been received from different quarters, but, Sir, Government has felt that this is not a subject which can be tackled with any amount of haste. This is a subject in which reforms are effected not for a year or two or even for five years or ten years, but perhaps the foundation of a system of administration of justice would be laid through these reforms for centuries and that needs the utmost care from experts on the subject. Along with the question of reforms of the Judiciary is involved the question of separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. These are issues which cannot be taken piecemeal and therefore Government has decided to consider in a comprehensive manner all these issues in all their bearings and from every point of view and then to devise reforms, suited to the needs of our province, to usher in real reforms, not in haste but without any delay either, and for this purpose it is expected that a committee will be set up before long which will take charge of the mass of materials which have come to Government's possession.

Sir, I may inform the House also that the Government of India has decided that Judges will not in future be recruited from the Indian Administrative Service. The Government of West Bengal, is, therefore, constituting a Higher Judicial Service for West Bengal which will not have any common personnel with the service in the Executive side, or, in other words, its personnel will be completely independent of the Executive and will perhaps be placed under the administrative guidance and control of the High Court. That is the direction in which ,in fixing the cadres of the new administration so far as the higher Judicial Service is concerned, Government has already taken decision and I hope my honourable friends from every section of the House will welcome this decision of Government.

Sir, much is also said about the question of economy. I can assure the House that Government has not been unmindful of the question of economy. I may mention, Sir, in passing that Government has taken special care in order to effect economy in the Department of Administration of Justice so that whatever little resources we have got, despite our terrible financial stringency, may be devoted and utilised in other branches concerned with food, shelter, education and health of our people. Sir, in that connection, I may mention that the Administrator-General and Official Trustee used to get about Rs. 2,000 per month. It has been possible, thanks to persons coming forward at the call of the State to serve at a much lower rate of salary, to reduce that salary. The gentleman who has accepted the responsibility to serve as Administrator-General and Official Trustee, after the British incumbent had left, is receiving, in place of Rs. 2,000, a salary of only Rs. 1,200 per month. Sir, also the question of the working of the entire Directorate has been receiving Government's examination and consideration with a view to set down new conditions and new methods of working and to find out what improvements can be effected in that direction.

I may, Sir, similarly mention about the post of Official Receiver and another Directorate under the Judicial Department run by the Official Assignee. The Official Receiver's scale of salary was from Rs. 1,100 to Rs. 1,400 and the Official Assignee was drawing Rs. 1,800. Again, Sir, Government combined both these posts into one and one incumbent has

been carrying on the functions of both these posts, receiving only a salary of Rs. 1,000 plus a special pay of Rs. 200—about Rs. 1,300 in all is being paid to manage both these offices which were requiring near about Rs. 3,000 just before the present Government had taken up office.

Not only that, Sir. Economy was effected in another direction. We found that the office of the Official Assignee, which was at that time not burdened with very much work, had to pay for rentals alone a sum of nearly Rs. 1,800 per month. That amount, Sir, has been cut down. Rooms have been retained there costing us only Rs. 400 and new premises have been taken which would not at the maximum, it is expected, cost Government more than Rs. 500 per month. So, if it costs in all Rs. 900, we shall be making a saving of nearly Rs. 900 per month out of rentals alone.

These are some of the directions—to give this House an indication how economy has been effected and how constant endeavour is being made to effect economy—it has been possible, thanks to the very sporting and patriotic offer of officers of such description to voluntarily accept reduced scales of pay.

I may also mention in this connection that the Government Solicitor was receiving the scheduled remuneration of Rs. 2,600 per month. The new Government Solicitor has voluntarily agreed to work for Rs. 1,800 per month. There again, Sir, we have effected a saving of Rs. 800 per month.

These are, Sir, not very large items, but these, I think, may be claimed to be truly indicative of the serious efforts Government has been making with a view to effect economy wherever effecting economy has at all been made possible. Sir, I sought to mention these brief facts by way of review of what Government has been trying to do in course of the last year and what problems and reforms are at present engaging the Government's attention.

Sir, in this connection, I think it will not be out of place to mention that I was somewhat surprised and pained to hear, from some honourable members of this House, whom I regard and have always regarded as esteemed friends of mine, charges of communalism levelled against the present Government without perhaps taking care to ascertain facts. Sir, I think a matter like this should deserve no mention, a matter like this should not have any complex in our mind so as to merit mention, but because of such criticism I have got to mention this fact that under the present Government it is absolutely unfounded to say that there has been or there is any communal discrimination whatsoever. To substantiate what I say I may mention that the present Government appointed as head of a directorate a very competent gentleman who, at considerable sacrifice to himself, accepted to serve on a much reduced salary and that gentleman happens to be a Muslim. I confess he was not appointed because he was a Muslim, but he was appointed because he was a competent man and a loyal citizen of the State and he was prepared willingly to serve the State. On that consideration he was appointed and the communal consideration did not come in the Government's way.

Sir, I may also mention that in other spheres much has been talked of about the appointment of Public Prosecutors. Even there, some Muslims have been appointed, but I may say not because one happened to be a Muslim or for any other communal consideration.

A good and competent man wherever available gets all due consideration without any prejudice or discrimination regarding community, caste, creed or colour. We hope that in matters of service to the State communal consideration will before long be a thing of the past. To my notice came a case in which I found an officer who—incidentally I may

mention—happened to be a Muslim and who after a period of temporary service for several years had to be discharged, and the permanent post had to be filled by a new incumbent of a non-Muslim category, and when I enquired about the matter I gathered that that was ordained by a consideration of communal ratio rules. The present Government was not prepared to tolerate a case of such injustice. Therefore it was ordered that the Communal Ratio Rules which might operate in such an adverse and undesirable manner shall have no effect, and the Muslim employee was ordered to be reinstated in service. In matters of promotion, etc., communal considerations shall find no place so far as the present Government is concerned. I am mentioning this in order to give a refutation to the charge that any communal consideration counts with the present Government. I shall not mention things wihch are to our credit and confer benefits to our people. I shall only mention cases in which people, owing to undue advantage, have had to suffer to the detriment of their interests. In one case the Government found that a particular officer was given an undue lift by way of supersession over 123 officers senior to him. That was an affair again in the regime of the past Government, and, Sir, in that case what was the problem. The present Government had to consider what would be the just course to adopt. The case of that particular officer along with other senior eligible officers of the same category, who held substantive posts, were all forwarded to the Public Service Commission. The Public Service Commission, on consideration of the merits in each particular case, righted a wrong. An officer given undue promotion on the basis of communal consideration had to revert to his substantive post, and the officer considered best and senior by the Public Service Commission was appointed to that important post. At the same time I should mention in this House that that officer who had to revert suffered no prejudice or detriment to his interests in this connection.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: On a point of order, Sir. I think it is particularly irrelevant and he should be stopped.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is your point of order?

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: My point of order is that he is raising the question of action of the past Government before the attainment of freedom. I think that it should not be mentioned.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is no point of order.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: This new-found angel of purity!

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir. Will you please see that the Hon'ble Minister does maintain a certain standard of dignity. His abusive manners and language are undignified, and since he occupies the position of a member of the Cabinet of the West Bengal Government he should restrain himself and maintain that standard which his office demands.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I shall only say "Doctor", heal thyself".

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Honourable members must observe parliamentary decorum in this House, and parliamentary decorum demands a very high sense of temperate language to be used in this House. As a matter of fact I note that recently it has been moving at such a pace that a stop must be made to it, and anything which smacks of personal allegation—I say "personal" and I shall explain what "personal" means—or such words which are absolutely in bad taste or derogatory to the position and prestige of other members should not be indulged in. (Applause from Opposition benches.)

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Thank you, Sir, for your ruling. I only hope that honourable members will co-operate with you in maintaining the dignity of the House, and will not repeat what they have said and done earlier.

I must proceed now, and in proceeding I may say that there are facts which have today got to be relevantly mentioned, although they need not have been mentioned because of the outlook and unfounded attacks which seem to be the habit with one section of the critics in this House wherever they can against Government, and I think mention of these facts on my part is not intended to belittle anybody but in order to refute the altogether unfounded charge that this Government is at all moved by any communal consideration in any sphere. The facts I have given would testify to what I say, and I shall be glad if anybody can come forward and contradict me. If anybody can point out parallel behaviour on the part of a Government anywhere else on communal questions I shall do honour to them.

Sir, I am sorry, I had to refer to such matters whereas I think we should have confined ourselves to discussing more constructive suggestions and ideas which might improve all aspects of public administration in this country, and I hope, Sir, it would be better and it would help both themselves and their Government if every section in this House could give careful thought and concentrate more on giving constructive ideas. I was forced to mention these facts because I painfully noticed that in course of speeches in this House reference was also made in a way to courts of justice which casts a very sorry reflection on them and that most unduly. Sir, it was said that in certain cases people were being harassed and then it was confessed that persons had been tried by the courts of law and after preliminary investigation Magistrates' courts had committed certain persons for trial to the Sessions Courts. Now, Sir, if any honourable member of this House seeks to get up on his feet and declare that any Magistrate in this land after making enquiry and investigation in a case has committed a person who is charged with the commission of certain crimes to the Sessions Court, and then at the same breath says that he is being harassed, then certainly it is an unworthy reflection on the court and should never have been made. It cannot be said at the same breath that people charged with the commission of crimes have been put up before the courts of law, and that those people are being harassed at the same time. If there are complaints of harassment received by anyone from men guilty of commission of offences, and if it is regarded that putting up one before the court of law for the law to take its own course and for trial under the established law is an act of harassment, I am sorry I cannot oblige such critics, I am sorry no Government can oblige such critics, because the people guilty of offences, guilty of commission of crimes will have to be dealt with by the courts of law. In connection with such a case one of my esteemed friends had criticised Government and sought to make much out of Government's prosecution of certain wrong-doer before the court of law. Criticising each and every such case as acts of harassment was completely unfounded. I am obliged to mention these facts in order to give complete refutation to the charge, unfounded charge of partiality on the part of this Government. I think, Sir, no one and no section in this House or outside need fear. In giving appointments to services or recommending people to give them opportunities in the services of the State only one consideration weighs uppermost in the mind of the present Government and that is the consideration of unconditional and unqualified allegiance and loyalty to the State irrespective of caste, creed or religion. We must feel ourselves the same common citizens of a State and no consideration of religious or communal affiliation should alter our feelings, and the sooner all sections in this House cure their minds of such considerations,

ıe better for Government, the better for the State, the better for the nfortunate people of West Bengal in a common endeavour to join hands › build up their new State and develop it in every possible way.

Sir, with that I would appeal and say to my friends of all sections of he House that not a single case has been brought to my notice which as not received in this connection the fullest consideration of Governent. Sir, I shall be glad if anyone can come to me and point out to ıe that after he had brought any such complaint to the notice of Governıent justice has not been done. Sir, I will not be taking undue advantage : I mention that even some of my honourable critics have confessed and omplimented me in private about the impartial treatment and a careful onsideration they did get on points of representation they had occasion › make. I am very grateful for such acknowledged recognition and ompliments. I hope, Sir, honourable members may be generous and cknowledge full-throat what is due to this Government and join in the ommon effort.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir I find, Sir, that I m the solitary exception to move cut motions under this head. I move, ir, that the demand of Rs. 70,17,000 for expenditure under the head 27—Administration of Justice" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about empowering the Village 'anchayets, to settle all disputes within their area and thus saving the ime, energy, and money of the villagers in endless litigation.

Sir, I hold the opinion that still we have not attained freedom. I am lways of opinion that we are adept in the arts of imitation and aping he manner of others. Sir, it seems to me that our leaders have grown ld and have become fascinated and charmed by the transient glamour f the Western form of Democracy and also the British system which 'as introduced by them in this country for exploiting the resources of he country and for harassing the people and crushing them down. Sir, hese gentlemen over there have aped the manners of the Britishers, ave aped the manners of the tyrants and carry on in the same way as he Britishers had been doing. So, Sir, if there is no change in the ystem of administration of justice, if there is no change in other forms f administration how can we say that we have attained freedom? Our overnment is going on in the same old humdrum way like the Jews as he British had been doing, Sir. Their conduct reminds me that they ave grown fascinated, they have grown charmed by the Western form, he British form of administration of justice. They are still wedded to his form, Sir, and they have totally disregarded the advice, the ıessage of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, in the matter f administering justice. Sir, their conduct reminds me of a Sanskrit adage n which it is said, Sir, বৃদ্ধস্য তরুণী ভার্যা প্রাণেভ্যোহপি গরীয়সী, that is to ay, they are wedded so much to the form created by the Britisher, that hey are unable to leave off their তরুণী ভার্যা—— which according to them াণেভ্যোহপি গরীয়সী। Therefore, Sir, what I mean to say is this, Sir, hat the administration of justice must be thoroughly changed. Sir, what I mean to say is that the message of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, should be given effect to directly and at once without a noment's delay.

Let me say what his message was so far as the administration of ustice is concerned, so far as the form of administering the country is oncerned. The Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi said, "Go to the illage and establish the panchayet raj, a republic in all its aspects in which the voice of the people will be a prominent factor". Not only in he matter of administration of justice, not only in agricultural matters, ıot only in social matters, but regarding all matters, we should follow

his message. You have waxed eloquent over the Administration of Justice, saying that you have done such and such things, but I condemn all your speeches. I say all this is sham and trash. It is nothing but aping the manners of the Britishers. I say with all the emphasis at my command that I do want you and I do beseech you to go to the village, organise the village and make it a real republic in every sense of the word and invest this panchayet with power. (The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Ram Rajya.) Yes, Ram Rajya which means God's kingdom. Ram is the embodiment of God. Therefore go to the village.

Mr. SPEAKER: Why don't you come to the point? I will stop you if you are irrelevant.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, perhaps you have not read my motion. But, Sir, if you feel that I am irrelevant, I shall conclude here. I think I have said enough to convey home to my leaders as to what I mean to say.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Administration of Justice has certainly done justice to himself if he has denied justice to others. Sir, he has waxed eloquent over the attempts of his Government, attempts at the separation of the Executive from the Judiciary. He has waxed eloquent on the economies that he has been able to effect. Sir, I shall draw your attention to what he has said. Sir, he has paid compliments to the different officers who had voluntarily come forward and accepted reduced scales of salary. But, Sir, where is the credit of the Hon'ble Minister or his Government? The credit, if there is any, is due wholly and hundred per cent. to the officers who chose to serve and voluntarily accepted the lower scales than were attached to the posts previously, when the Britishers were here. Sir, in this, I shall show why I have tried to stress this point where the Ministry wanted to interfere, instead of decreasing the salary it has increased the salary. I shall quote from his speech that the Administrator-General and the Official Trustee, instead of Rs. 2,000, has accepted a salary of Rs. 1,200 per month which is approximately a reduction of 40 per cent. But the Superintendent of the Juvenile Court whose salary was Rs. 200 has been enhanced——(At this stage there was an interruption from the Hon'ble Sri Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar.) I hope you will allow me to say what I have to and you can make your statement in reply when your turn comes—or sanction has been obtained to raise his salary to Rs. 500. He has occasion to pay compliments to the efficiency, capacity and the calibre in general of the incumbent, and I shall trace the history of that particular gentleman. Mr. K. Ghosh, a relative of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Administration of Justice, was a teacher at Dacca. He was brought here as Superintendent on Rs. 200. In order to provide him the old incumbent Mr. Sarkar had to be prematurely retired to make room for this newcomer. I shall ask the Hon'ble Minister to make a full statement as to who this Mr. K. Ghosh is: what are his qualifications: what was the opinion of the Public Service Commission about him: and why is it that there is an attempt on foot to increase his salary from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 suggesting an increment of 150 per cent. roughly: and what is the relationship between the Hon'ble Minister and this incumbent—— (Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: He is a brother-in-law to the Minister.) That is very likely as I have been told, but it is for the Hon'ble Minister to say exactly what is the relationship of this gentleman to him.

Now coming to the question of ministerial interference even in the field of Administration of Justice, Mr. Bhattacharjee, an Additional Presidency Magistrate, was transferred. Will the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister have the courage of his conviction to give us the real reasons

for this transfer? To refresh his memory I shall suggest that the transfer was made after he delivered his judgment in a case in which an honourable member of this House—a lady member—was tried in connection with a strike that she fostered and sponsored in a newspaper organisation. The question that I now pose to the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister is, has that judgment any bearing or relation with this transfer, and where is that Additional Presidency Magistrate now working?

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. I may tell the honourable member that the question ought to have been put yesterday, because the honourable member ought to know that the question of transfer of a Presidency Magistrate is an affair of the Home Department of which the Premier Dr. Roy is in charge and would be able to properly answer the question.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: When a point of order has already been raised, there cannot be another point of order.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, I also draw your attention to this fact that yesterday in a similar way the honourable member persisted in asking a question to the Hon'ble Minister of Education knowing fully well that the latter could not get up and give a reply. Therefore the question he raises might have been a little more relevant if he had made it yesterday.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: May I make my position clear, Sir? I have raised this matter because the demand for grant of his particular department is being voted today. The question before the House today is whether the House should vote the money to the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister to administer the kind of justice that he has been administering in the province. To make it relevant the case that has been made out is that a reduction should be made, and I am speaking on the reduction motion in order to impress upon the House the necessity of reducing the amount by Rs. 100. Sir, the entire money should not be granted because the Hon'ble Minister is misusing his power and because he is the man responsible for the Administration of Justice.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: But he is not responsible for the transfer at all.

Mr. SPEAKER: Whenever a debate occurs, the honourable member who wants to criticise a particular department should in his debate observe this principle that the answer to be given by that particular Minister should not relate to any other Minister.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: May I know, Sir, whether the Hon'ble the Leader of the House represents the entire Ministry and, Sir, if any particular Minister on a particular occasion be debarred from giving a reply himself, is it not the parliamentary practice that the honourable gentleman should convey his reply to us through the leader, the Leader of the House?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHANDHURI: No.

Mr. SPEAKER: You know perfectly well that certain days are allotted for general discussion and then the discussion is confined to particular demands on particular days. If any member wants to raise a question in the general discussion of a general nature, the Premier will give a reply on behalf of the entire Ministry, but whenever a particular demand is made, days are allotted to each Minister and for each demand criticism must be confined on the particular day to the demand in question

and it must be confined to this extent that the Minister in charge of the department is the only person who must give the reply. It is not expected that any other Minister will rise and answer the question raised by any honourable member. That is the ordinary procedure.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I raise the question of transfer of Mr. Bhattacharjee because Mr. Bhattacharjee worked his way up——

The Hon'ble Sri BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Sir, can that point be raised again after your ruling?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, Mr. Majumdar interrupts me without hearing my argument. He should leave the matter to the Speaker for his decision.

Sir, I mention the name of Mr. Bhattacharjee, who by sheer dint of merit worked his way up to the post of Additional Presidency Magistrate. Sir, in the usual course of promotion he becomes the Chief Presidency Magistrate. That is the highest rung of the ladder as far as those courts are concerned, instead of which a man of such ripe and mature experience in judicial matter is side-tracked and posted to an unimportant job elsewhere. I want to find out from the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister, what is his opinion whether this kind of transfer ought to be made at all. He will say that the question of transfer is not dealt with in his department but by some other department. Sir, it is the collective responsibility of the Cabinet and he being a member of the Cabinet his opinion is sought and obtained.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir. How does he know that this matter came up before the Cabinet?

(At this stage Mr. Speaker rose in his Chair.)

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: A Cabinet is an integrated whole and as such each and every member is conversant with its decision.

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to impress upon the members that the moment the Speaker rises in the Chair the members must sit down.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I apologise to the Chair.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is the point which you wanted to raise?

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: The point is, he says that the matter must have come before the Cabinet and the Hon'ble Judicial Minister must have had an opportunity to express an opinion on the subject of the transfer of the particular officer in question. I say, how does he know that the matter came before the Cabinet at all, otherwise he cannot impute any knowledge to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Justice, because after all transfer is not a question that appertains to his department. Therefore the Speaker is entirely out of order in criticising the judicial budget to refer to the question of transfer unless he can substantiate his allegation that the matter of transfer was discussed in the Cabinet and therefore known to the Judicial Minister.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the matter about the Cabinet is concerned. I believe what comes in the Cabinet and what does not, cannot be the subject of any discussion here.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I have heard what you said. It cannot be a subject of discussion, but can I not place before the House, my

conjectures or surmises? (The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, no.) There may be inferences, conjectures or surmises. If I make wrong and foolish conjectures you are to get up and say they are wrong or foolish.

Mr. SPEAKER: Let us proceed with the debate as quickly as possible. We have got to dispose of many demands and therefore let us not spend away our time in discussions that are not very material. If a point of order is raised it must be in as few words as possible and it must be very very relevant to the issue so that it can be disposed of quickly.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, to resume the discussion, I shall only refer to the committee that the Government is contemplating to set up in the near future about the overhaul of the whole system of the administration of justice. Again, I say, Sir, that the Ministry and the Minister are playing with words. Sir, he is trying to play to the gallery in full knowledge that he will not be able to implement his promises. What is the use of saying, "In the near future we are trying to do this, we are trying to do that". Tell the House here and now if you have got the facts in your possession; if you have got the courage, tell the House, "This is the target date we have set, within such and such date we shall be able to set up a body which will go into the whole question of administration of justice" and set them a target also so that they may be able to send in recommendations to the Government as to how this much-needed separation of the executive from the judiciary will take place. What is the use of trying to tell the country that you are trying to do this. We have heard this last year. There were cut motions on this subject of separation of judiciary from the executive. Some kind of replies were given that this matter was being looked into, that the matter was vague, that the matter had so many implications and that you were trying to set up committees or doing something else. This year again you are trying to befool the House and befool the countryside, hoodwink them by these words that you are trying to do it. It is no use. Time will come when you will be impelled—again to use that word, stampeded—into taking action. Have your plans and formulæ ready. If you want to stop the onrush of forces, which otherwise will overwhelm you, have your plans and formulæ ready. Even if you want to do the bunk on the face of that onrush have your plans ready. If you want to stop the onrush, if you want to stem the onrush of the forces that is trying to engulf the country in confusion and disorder you must have plans and formulæ ready. You cannot keep hopes deferred much longer.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, much as you desire to shorten the debate, I cannot but refer to certain things to which the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister has referred in course of his eloquent dissertation this afternoon. Sir, he was referring to a particular case wherein a particular officer is alleged to have superseded at least 117 or 120 other officers in the past. Sir, he forgets conveniently perhaps that once a particular officer supersedes other officers and he is placed in the senior grade, from that day onward no longer the total period of service is counted in the matter of promotion to a still higher grade or rank; no longer does the length of service serve as the determining factor. In that particular grade whoever comes first is senior and in future promotions to superior appointment, appointment to a superior grade, that consideration of seniority in the superior grade alone weighs and nothing else. If he only consults the Fundamental Rules of service, specially of promotion—he should refresh his memory—he will find that in this particular case there has been deliberate and wanton disregard of the Fundamental Rules which govern promotions to superior rank, simply because that particular officer in this particular case happens to be a Muslim and a Muslim of nationalist persuasion, not of course, of rabid Muslim League persuasion.

Secondly, Sir, he has made much of administration of justice and has wasted considerable time over his eloquent speech in trying to impress on this House that they have done this thing and that thing and that no communal consideration has ever pervaded the atmosphere. But, Sir, I have this morning received a report from a man of unimpeachable authority and integrity of character which cannot be challenged that the brother of the Hon'ble Judicial Minister has been imported from Eastern Bengal and all cases which were hitherto to go through the Official Assignee and the Official Receiver are now going through that particular brother of the Judicial Minister. Will he have the courage to contradict what I am saying? Not only all the cases before the Court of Small Causes but even those before the Rent Controller, instead of going through the Official Receiver and the Official Assignee, are now going through the brother of the Hon'ble Minister.

The Hon'ble Judicial Minister has indulged in uncalled for, unwarranted and unjustified remarks. But facts will prove that throughout he has been tampering in this way with the administration of justice. Therefore, when we are voting on this demand, both sides, specially members of the other side, will be careful enough as to whether with the full sense of responsibility, with the supreme sense of that sacred trust reposed in them, they can vote this demand this afternoon and place this money in the hands of a gentleman who has failed to administer justice in a proper way.

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, I wish to tell the House one thing. Simply because a relation of any Minister is appointed to a particular post, that is not sufficient for indictment unless and until you can say that that particular appointment is not proper and you can charge a particular Minister with nepotism. Unless and until that thing is brought before the House, simply because a relation is there should not be a subject matter of comment.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I submit with reference to the remarks that you have been pleased to make, that it is not for you but for the House to decide about my suggestions. With due deference to you I submit that it is not for the Chair to interpret or comment on these suggestions.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Badrudduja, it is my duty to see that acrimonies are avoided in this House and that is the reason why I referred to it.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমি জানি না বিচার বিভাগের মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের এই Britishএর যারা প্রতিষ্ঠিত বিচারের পরে কতখানি বিশ্বাস বা ভক্তি এসেছে। বোধ হয় তিনি ভুলে যাননি যে তাকে ধরে নিয়ে যেয়ে High Court থেকে release হওয়ার পরে যে ভাবে High Court থেকে arrest করে নিয়ে গিয়েছিল এবং তারপরে অনেক Case করে, চেষ্টা করে বিচারে ঠিক হলো যে যা করেছে ঠিক করেছে। সেই বিচার রয়েছে, সেই পুলিশ রয়েছে; মন্ত্রী কিছু বদলে গিয়েছে বটে। তা সেই বিচারের উপর কতখানি আস্থা ফিরে এসেছে জানি না। ব্যক্তিগতভাবে আমার যা মনের অবস্থা ছিল বিচারের পরে তা এখনও রয়েছে। বিচারপতি, বিচারের system এবং যারা ধরে তারা সকলে একই রয়েছে। মন্ত্রী যায় একজন আর একজন হয়—শাসন-পদ্ধতির বিশেষ কিছু বদল হয় না বলেই আমার বিশ্বাস। আমি বিভাগ সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলবো না। কিন্তু যে সমস্ত criticism বছরের পর বছর আমরা এই বিচার systemএর উপর,—বিচারক বা বিচার মন্ত্রীর প্রতি ততটা নয়,— systemএর প্রতি আমরা করে এসেছি সেই criticismএর lightএ কতখানি উন্নতি করার চেষ্টা করেছেন, করতে সক্ষম হয়েছেন সে সম্বন্ধে যদি কিছু মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলতেন আমি সুখী হতাম। আশা করি তাঁর উত্তরের সময় সে সম্বন্ধে তিনি কিছু কিছু বলবেন।

একটা হচ্ছে class justice; অর্থাৎ এখানে বিচার পাওয়ার আশা করাই একটা ভুল, কারণ যে classএর হাতে power, বিচারও তাদের দিকেই হয়, যার longest purse আছে সেই হেরে গেলেও জেতে। সে দিক থেকে cost of trial বা cost কমাবার দিকে কোন চেষ্টা করছেন কিনা

সেই রকমে তাঁর mind apply করেছেন কিনা, যদি করে থাকেন কতখানি সফল হয়েছেন, আমি শুনতে খুব আগ্রহান্বিত হয়েছি। Russiaতে যেমন panel of lawyers করে দিয়েছে, যাতে lawyerরা exorbitant fee নিতে পারেন না এবং যে কোন লোক সেই panel থেকে তার বিচারের সুবিধা পায় সেই lawyersএর through দিয়ে সেই রকম কোন system বা অন্য কোন তার চেয়ে improved system করবার কোন কল্পনা আছে কিনা, যদি থাকে সেটা কতখানি অগ্রসর হয়েছে শুনতে আমি খুব আগ্রহান্বিত। দ্বিতীয় কথা হচ্ছে length of trial. Meerut caseএ আমি ছিলাম চার বছর undertrial. তার মধ্যে সাড়ে তিন বছর জেলে ছিলাম। সেটা অবশ্য special case। জগতের মধ্যে দ্বিতীয় case Sacoo Vanjetti case সাত বছর চলেছিল। মীরাট case হ'লো Second case, সেটা চার বছর ধরে চলেছিল। সেটা আমি বাদ দিচ্ছি। আমাদের যারা শ্রমিকাশোলনের সঙ্গে সংশ্লিষ্ট তাদের যে কোন রকমে আটকে রাখাই উদ্দেশ্য ছিল। তাই তখনকার দিনের Government করেছিল। কিন্তু আজকের দিনে case যাতে অল্প দিনের মধ্যে মীমাংসা হয়ে যায়, speedy justice করবার জন্য কতখানি কি করেছেন সেটা জানতে চাই, এবং তার কিছু Statistics নিয়েছেন কিনা। অতীতে average case কতদিন চলতো, এখন কতদিনে তার Settlement হচ্চে, এর একটা Statistics রাখা উচিৎ। এর কোন কিছু হয়েছে কিনা জানতে আমি খুব আগ্রহান্বিত। বোধ হয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় ভুলে যাননি Presidency জেলে থাকবার সময় আমরা জেল থেকে represent করেছিলাম কয়েকটা case নিয়ে। Case গুলি অনেকদিন বিলম্ব হতো; ১৫ দিন বা কয়েক মাস পরে তাদের Courtএ নিয়ে আসতো এবং সেখানে undertrial অবস্থায়, তাদের হাকিমের সামনে হাজিরও করা হ'তো না, ফিরিয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়া হ'তো। এই রকম কতকগুলি case নিয়ে আমরা represent করেছিলাম। ফলে Jailorএর চাকরী যায়, যায়। মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ও বোধ হয় তখন জেলে ছিলেন। যাক্ কিন্তু সেইভাবে দিনের পর দিন পড়ে যায় case হয় না। এইভাবে undertrial অবস্থায় ৬ মাস, এক বছর বা আরো অনেক দিন কেটে যায়। এই জিনিষটা বন্ধ করবার জন্য কিছু হয়েছে কিনা। বন্ধ একেবারে হতে পারে না কিন্তু কমবার জন্য কোন চেষ্টা হয়েছে কিনা, কোন পরিকল্পনা হয়েছে কি না, যদি হয়ে থাকে সেটা কি, এবং কতখানি এগিয়েছে? এ সম্বন্ধে Statistics আছে কিনা দেখছেন কিনা বা চেষ্টা করছেন কিনা এ সম্বন্ধে যদি আমাকে জানান্ বা হাউসকে জানান আমি খুসী হবো।

তারপরে সেই পুরানো Executive এবং Judiciaryর Separation বিষয়ে হয়ত ব'লবেন যে এ আমার হাতে নেই, Home Minister বা Prime Ministerএর হাত। আমি জানি না কার হাত, তবে এই একটা জিনিষ আমি জানি ১২ বছর ধরে চীৎকার হচ্চে; তার আগে থেকেও দেশবন্ধু চিত্তরঞ্জন দাশের সময় থেকেও এই চীৎকার হয়েছে, নিশ্চয় তাঁরা ভুলে যাননি। কিন্তু এ দিকে কতখানি অগ্রসর হয়েছেন, কোন চেষ্টা হয়েছে কিনা, হলে কতটা হয়েছে, কতখানি তিনি সফল হয়েছেন, পরিকল্পনাটা কি, এ সম্বন্ধে যদি কিছু জানান্ এই Houseএ আমি সুখী হব।

আর একটা জিনিষ, যেটা সকলেই জানেন, যারা Courtএ যান্। আর মন্ত্রী মহাশয় Barrister, High Courtএর—সেখানে কতখানি চলে জানি না, District Courtএ বা অন্যান্য Courtএ খুব চলে। সেটা হচ্চে Courtএর মধ্যে বসে ঘুষ নেওয়া। এ জিনিষটা জানানো দরকার হয় না; এ জিনিষটা ভারতের এমন কোন লোক নেই যে জানে না। একদিনে বন্ধকরা যাবে না, সেটা আমি আশাও করি না। কিন্তু সেটা সম্বন্ধে মন্ত্রী মহাশয় সচেতন হয়েছেন কি না জানি না। সেটা বন্ধ করবার কতখানি চেষ্টা হয়েছে, সেটা anti-corruption departmentএর through দিয়েই হোক বা কারো through দিয়েই হোক্ কিন্তু চেষ্টা হয়েছে কিনা? হাকিমের সামনে Courtএ টাকা নেওয়ার যে চেষ্টা চলে আসছে তা মন্ত্রী মহাশয় আমার সঙ্গে যেতে পারেন যে কোন Courtএ, গেলে সেটা দেখানো যেতে পারে। এটা সম্বন্ধে কিছু করেছেন কি না জানতে চাই।

একটা কথা; Speaker মহাশয় ruling দিয়েছেন মুস্কিল সেই জন্য, কিন্তু আমি জিনিষটা ঠিক বুঝতে পারছি না; Technical জিনিষ দিয়ে জিনিষটা চাপা দেওয়া হলে আমাদের পক্ষে মুস্কিল। যে caseএর কথা খোদাবক্স সাহেব বলেছেন আমি বলছি না, কিন্তু ধরুন একটা case যদি বিচারের জন্য বিচারককে শাস্তি পেতে হয়, transfer সব সময় শাস্তি নয় কিন্তু অনেক সময় শাস্তি; তার বিচার কে করবে। সেই বিচার বিভাগের যিনি মন্ত্রী তাঁর দেখা কর্ত্তব্য নয়? যদি বলেন সেটা Prime Ministerএর কর্ত্তব্য বা নিযুক্ত

বাবুর কর্ত্তব্য আমি বলবো তাহলে আমি মনে করবো তাঁরা বিচার বিভাগের প্রতি অবিচার করলেন। বিচার করবার জন্য যদি কেউ অন্যান্য department থেকে তাঁর উপর অত্যাচার হয়, তার প্রতিকার আমি এই মন্ত্রীদের কাছ থেকে চাই এবং সেটা অবান্তর বলে দিলে আমার মনে হয় অন্যায় হবে। আমি জানি না কোন caseএর কথা বলছেন, বোধ হয় Mrs. Bina Bhowmikএর case, যদি কোন সময় এ রকম হয় যে কোন বিচারক ন্যায়ভাবে বিচার করবার জন্য তার transfer হয়ে গেল; তাকে সরিয়ে দেওয়া হোলো, আমি আশা করি তার জন্য মন্ত্রী মহাশয় ব্যবস্থা করবেন। জবাবদিহির কথা বলছি না, হয়ত তাঁর হাতে ছিল না, কিন্তু যদি অন্য লোক করে তাহলে দেখা উচিৎ তাঁর কর্ত্তব্য কি। যেন লোকে মনে করে না যে তিনি বিচার করেছেন ঠিকমত বলেই তাঁর transfer হ'লো। কারণ বিচার শুধু করলেই হবে না, লোককে জানাতে হবে সে বিচার পাচেছ। মন্ত্রী মহাশয় ভাল করেই জানেন, বিলাত থেকে শিখে এসেছেন বিচারের প্রধান অঙ্গই হলো যে শুধু বিচার করা হলেই চলে না, বিচার যে পেলে তাকে বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া দরকার। সুতরাং যে বিচার করার ফলে transfer হলো সে বিষয়টা আমি মনে করি না অবান্তর। Speaker মহাশয় বলেছেন যে সেটা গোলমেলে ব্যাপার, তা আমি তুলছি না। কিন্তু আমি এই সমস্যাটাই Cabinet, তথা মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের কাছে রাখছি। অনেক সময় একটা লোককে ধরে রেখেছে পুলিশ, বিচার হচেচ না। উনি বলবেন আমি কি করবো। ওটা কার ব্যাপার? ডাক্তার রায়ের ব্যাপার? আমি দুজনার কাছেই বলতে পারি ডাক্তার রায়ের কাছে বা বিচার বিভাগের মন্ত্রীর কাছে। আমি আর বেশী প্রশ্ন করতে চাই না। যে কয়টা প্রশ্ন আমি করেছি যদি তার উত্তর মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের কাছে থাকে দেবেন যদি না থাকে তাহলে অনুরোধ করবো এ সম্বন্ধে যেন চিন্তা করেন এবং অন্য অবসরে এ সম্বন্ধে যেন উত্তর দেন। কারণ মন্ত্রী সভায়, Cabinetএ যা হয় তা Secret, not to be discussed in public or in the Assembly Room। কাজেই সেখানে কি ব্যাপার হয় জানি না। অন্তত: এই questions যেগুলি আমি করলাম তা আজকে আপনাদের কাছে রাখলাম। মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের কাছে রেখে আশা করি এর উত্তর আজ বা ভবিষ্যতে তাঁর কাছ থেকে পাবো।

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in replying to the cut motions or rather the only cut motion and the discussion, I must sincerely thank my honourable friends for contributing to this discussion with their various suggestions. I am glad to observe that only one cut motion had been tabled and I therefore take it that not very serious points were there to make under this item.

So far as the observations of my honourable friend moving the cut motion are concerned, I think my reply had been given in advance in the course of my introductory remarks when I informed him that Government's attention is very much engaged in the question of administration of rural justice and consideration as to what can be done in that direction. I have given detailed facts and I therefore do not wish to dilate further on this point.

With reference to the observations of my honourable friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, I shall only tell him that I mentioned about this savings and what it is due to. No doubt I agree with him that the savings are due to officers who have come forward to help Government in effecting economy. But I do hope my honourable friend will give some credit even to the present Government for being able to inspire people with this spirit that they willingly accept the position of having to make some sacrifice. But I do not expect Mr. Khuda Bukhsh to compliment this Government very much. I am glad that he has acknowledged this spirit on the part of officers of this kind and for this acknowledgment I thank him.

My honourable friends seem to be acquiring the habit of scenting relations and seeing appointments given because of relationship, everywhere and in every sphere. In the first place, speaking about the house of detention my honourable friend was grievously wrong in the fact that the old Superintendent was prematurely retired; that is not correct; that is not a fact; that gentleman retired after superannuation on pension. As a matter of fact, without divulging any Cabinet secrets, I may say the recommendation of the head of the department to my Government was to grant that particular Superintendent further extension

of time after superannuation but, Sir, as it is the principle of Government not to allow further extensions to superannuated people where it can be avoided, that recommendation was not accepted by Government. I say this wtih a view to illustrate what had been the recommendation of my Department and incidentally I would mention that it is the policy of Government not to encourage giving extensions to superannuated people wherever that could be avoided. Sir, it was also the recommendation of experts that able and competent persons with experience as a teacher should be appointed to this post. The department had at that time in its possession only one application from an able teacher who happened to be a refugee seeking employment and because he was considered very very competent with his experience in view of the new reforms Government had in view, he was appointed. He got the appointment purely on merit and we shall not deny such facilities to refugees from East Bengal who are obliged to leave their hearths and homes and come to find shelter in West Bengal. There are hundreds of such refugees who may happen to be my relations, friends, or acquaintances. That should be no disqualification for them in their distress and I am thankful if Government is doing its best for all refugees. Even if some of them happen to be my friends and relations they are after all refugees and I am grateful to all firms, employers and Government for finding employment to refugees, whether they be my blood relations or otherwise related to me that is immaterial, but I thank Government, firms and private employers for giving employment to all refugees from East Bengal who flee from Muslim League oppression whether they are my relations or not. I think that will explain the position. The honourable member gives me the information about the increase of salary to Rs. 500. I must thank him for this information though this is perfectly news to me and I think we are living in a land where magics work with Alladin's lamp. I, the Minister in charge of the Judicial Department, is not aware of any such thing. But by way of information I can tell him that in 1914 the pay scale for this post was fixed for a retired ex-soldier incumbent in order that he might take charge of a reformatory for Anglo-Indian and European boys alone. The present incumbent I think gets a basic pay of only Rs. 145 or so for his grade pay. If today, Sir, after 1914, in the year of Our Lord 1949, we are to appoint competent men with a high education, and we intend to convert these reformatories and houses of detention, which were rather penal institutions, into real homes for the upbringing of children--then, human consideration demands that the question of increasing the rates of pay, after all these years since they were fixed in 1914--a scale of pay granted to a retired ex-soldier, needs to be re-considered. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What is his present age?) I cannot tell that to my honourable friend off-hand. I have no information regarding his age. Sir, as my time is very short, I shall briefly touch on the other points.

My honourable friend has referred to the Additional Chief Presidency Magistrate. I shall only say that my honourable friend ought to know that we are living in a state of transition where as a result of opting out and as a result of large gaps due to resignation, etc., there has been such an upsetting of the whole cadre that we have got to requisition the services of very able and competent District Officers of the category of District Judges to act as officers in the Secretariat. After the European officers had left, their places had to be taken up by others and therefore in departure from what was the practice in the old established order during British regime, we had to draft officers from other categories to fill all these posts temporarily and all these officers happen to be temporary incumbents pending the fixation of the cadre. The particular officer whom he mentions also likewise came to act as a Presidency Magistrate and today I may tell my friend that as Government is anxious

to catch hold of the corruptors of society and corruptors in the administrations, that officer's services today are employed in a very important post as the West Bengal Government's Anti-Corruption Officer to find out and catch hold of corruptors in every sphere of life and I wish him all success. So, Sir, there is no conspiracy, nor is there any question of penalisation. Transfers are taking place frequently, because in this fluid state of affairs transfers have to be made and it is the Home (Transfer) Department which is making these transfers both according to the needs and priorities of heads of different departments as well as from the point of view of where services are needed most. Again, those who are retired due to superannuation, their places have got to be filled in by officers in order of seniority; after very careful consideration reshuffling of the posts of officers takes place.

It is very very uncharitable to impute a base motive in everything. I am afraid my honourable friends are trying to find corruption everywhere. They are in pursuit of a black cat in a dark room which is not there. That is the peculiar position, my friend is landing himself in. Anyway, without dilating further on him I shall only say with regard to the reorganisation of the Judicial system I have not promised any thorough overhauling as if I am there to topsy-turvy the department. Sir, it will have to be examined by experts and I think there will be room for everyone to put forward suggestions.

With regard to what my friend Janab Syed Badrudduja has said I am afraid, he is not right when he said that in the matter of a particular promotion, rules were wantonly disregarded. If he were careful to listen to me, he would have come to know that that question of promotion was decided not by Government but by the Public Service Commission and the cases of all the incumbents of the eligible substantive post held by officers, including that particular officer, were put up before the Public Service Commission. Therefore, Sir, if he has cast a reflection, he has cast an unwarranted reflection upon the Public Service Commission. I repudiate all his allegations because the Public Service Commission has no reason to be partial one way or the other. It is perfectly incorrect and wrong to say that I have a brother imported from East Bengal to practise here as a legal practitioner. Sir, if a particular brother of mine is a legal practitioner, he has never practised in East Bengal: he has been practising here, and I am afraid it seems that Janab Syed Badrudduja keeps more information of him than I do. As a matter of fact, living in a separate house and seeing very little of professional practice in the courts of law and being totally detached from there, I have not the least information about the professions of such people, and I thank Mr. Badrudduja for the information he has given that my brother is making a roaring practice in the Rent Controller's court. I may tell him that it only gladdens a brother's heart to hear that. The Rent Controller's court is not under the Judicial Department: it is under a different department altogether. Perhaps he will thank me for this piece of information. Sir, it is futile to attempt to make unwarranted allegations against Government because Government has got the sledge hammer of facts and truth which cannot be confronted with webs of fantasy and falsehood that some people want to make on the floor of the House. That is what I have to say in reply to Mr. Badrudduja's criticisms.

Now I come to my honourable friend, Mr. Sibnath Banerjee, who has talked about class justice and other things. I am not quite sure whether my honourable friend was present in the House when in the course of my opening observations I informed the House about the new provisions made for the administration of justice. I am sure my friend will be very much interested in common with me in so far as I am also a member from a labour constituency in the matter of industrial relations.

And if he will kindly take the trouble of looking up my opening remarks so far as the question of bribery is concerned, he will find there that the present Government is determined to root out bribery, and there I have stated what courses the present Government has taken to that effect. I may inform the honourable member that in one case an instance of bribery came to my notice in which a particular District Judge was involved, and that District Judge was suspended and has been removed from service, and that will illustrate that the present Government will neither tolerate nor connive at bribery or corruption of any sort. As no respecter of persons the present Government is determined to root out bribery or corruption from every sphere. My friends will surely be glad to have this information from me and as to what the present Government proposes to do about rooting out bribery altogether. In this connection, Sir, I shall be glad to receive any suggestions from my friends and I can assure them that I will do my utmost to give effect to those suggestions in order to root out bribery and corruption. The difficulty is that corruption has two sides, the giver and the taker, and I hope neither side will escape. Sir, I ask for co-operation in order to devise means for rooting out corruption. So far as the question of penalising a Magistrate is concerned, that is altogether wrong, and what I have already stated is a perfect answer to that.

In conclusion, Sir, I sincerely thank all my honourable friends who have offered their criticisms and suggestions; whether they are out of a sincere good wish to improve matters or out of acrimony does not concern me. Sir, I wholeheartedly invite them to extend their hand of co-operation in purifying and improving the administration of justice. But it is not desirable that there should be any general sweeping allegations of corruption against all officers: all officers are not corrupt. But there are black sheep amongst them and they have to be turned out. Therefore, Sir, Government and people should co-operate in the interest of a better and healthier public life and to make the administration free from rancour, actuated with a common objective of common good in this unfortunate province of West Bengal.

With these words, Sir, I oppose the cut motion and commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

(When the motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain was being put to vote by Mr. Speaker.)

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg leave to withdraw my motion.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. Is it permissible for the honourable member to withdraw his motion at this stage when you, Sir, are just putting it to vote?

Mr. SPEAKER: No; I am going to put it to vote.

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 70,17,000 for expenditure under the head "27—Administration of Justice" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar that a sum of Rs. 70,17,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "27—Administration of Justice" was then put and agreed to.

40—Agriculture and 71—Capital outlay on scheme of Agricultural Improvement and Research.

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 2,81,28,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research".

এই প্রসঙ্গে আমি দু'চারটা কথা নিবেদন করতে চাই। সকল দেশেই কৃষি সমাজের প্রধান অঙ্গ স্বরূপে পরিগণিত হইয়া থাকে। আমাদের দেশে যেখানে বেশীর ভাগ লোকই চাষের উপর নির্ভর করিয়া থাকে সেখানে ত হইবেই। কৃষি উন্নয়নের উপর এই দেশের সমাজের উন্নতি বহুলাংশে নির্ভর করে। কৃষির উন্নয়নের জন্য এই গভর্ণমেণ্ট কি করছেন এবং কি করতে পাচেছন তার কিছু Red Bookএ, এবং Progress Statisticsএ আপনারা পাবেন; এ ছাড়া কৃষি বিভাগ হতে সম্প্রতি Prospectus for Agriculture in West Bengal নামে একটী পুস্তিকা বের হয়েছে এবং উহা মাননীয় সদস্যগণের হাতেও দেওয়া হয়েছে। উহাতে আমাদের এই পশ্চিম বাংলা দেশের বর্ত্তমান অবস্থা, আমাদের করণীয় কাজ, আমাদের কার্য্যক্রম--programme এবং কাজের প্রণালী অর্থাৎ কি উপায়ে কিরূপ organisationএর মধ্য দিয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্ট কাজ করছে তার কিছু পরিচয় দেওয়া হয়েছে। আমি এই Houseএর বেশী সময় নষ্ট না করে সংক্ষেপে সে সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলবার চেষ্টা করব।

কৃষির উন্নতি সাধনের প্রধানত: তিনটি উপায় যথা:--(১) ভূমি সংরক্ষণ, (২) ভূমি পরিবর্দ্ধন, (৩) ভূমির উৎপাদন-শক্তির বৃদ্ধির ব্যবস্থা।

প্রথমত: ভূমি সংরক্ষণ:--যে ভূমি এখন আবাদী রয়েছে তা নষ্ট না হতে দেওয়া। দেখা যায় erosion প্রভৃতি কারণে বহু আবাদী জমি অনাবাদী হয়ে waste landএ পরিণত হয়। Erosionএ যাতে জমি নষ্ট না হয় সে সম্বন্ধে বিশ্বভারতীর তত্ত্বাবধানে শান্তি নিকেতনে experiment হচেচ। এর ব্যয় এই গভর্ণমেণ্ট এবং Indian Co-operative Agricultural Research নির্ব্বাহ করে থাকে। বম্বে প্রদেশের শোলাপুরের Soil Research Instituteএর Director আমাদের আমন্ত্রণে এই প্রদেশে এসেছিলেন, এবং India Governmentও কয়েকজন soil expertকে পাঠিয়েছিলেন, তাঁদের report পেলে ব্যাপকভাবে soil conservationএর কার্য্যের ব্যবস্থা হবে। আগামী বছরে এইজন্য বাজেটে এক লক্ষ টাকা ধরা হয়েছে।

দ্বিতীয়ত: ভূমি পরিবর্দ্ধন:--অনাবাদী পতিত জমিকে আবাদী জমিতে পরিণত করে আবাদী জমির পরিমাণ বৃদ্ধি করা। আমরা এ কার্য্য আরম্ভ করে দিয়েছি। জলপাইগুড়ি সহরের নিকট কাটাপুকরিতে ১,৩৭৫ একর waste land acquire করা হয়েছে এবং ওর মধ্যে ১,০০০ একর জমি, tractor এর সাহায্যে চষা হয়েছে। ২০০ গৃহস্থ refugee সেখানে গিয়েছেন। ঐ জমি তাঁরা co-operative basisএ চাষ আবাদ করবেন এইরূপ ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। এ ছাড়া ব্যক্তিগত ভাবে বহু ব্যক্তি বহু পতিত জমিকে উদ্ধার করে পাট চাষ করেছে। আগামী বছরে ৯,০০০ একর waste landকে reclaim করা হবে এই target ধরা হয়েছে।

তৃতীয়ত: ভূমির উৎপাদন শক্তি:--জল সেচন ও জল নিকাশের ব্যবস্থা, সার এবং ভাল বীজ সরবরাহ দ্বারা ভূমির উৎকর্ষ বৃদ্ধি করা যায়।

Agricultural Department হতে দশ হাজার টাকার কম ব্যয়ের irrigation স্কীম লওয়া হয়। বর্ত্তমান বৎসরে এইরূপ small scheme দ্বারা ৩,০০০ একর জমিতে জল সেচের ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। এ ছাড়া মজা পুষ্করিণীর সংস্কার করা হচেছ। Tank-Improvement Act পাশ করার পর ২,৮০০ পুষ্করিণী সংস্কৃত হয়েছে। এই বৎসর ২৮০টী পুষ্করিণী সংস্কৃত হয়েছে ও ৩০০টীর সংস্কার কার্য্য চলছে। Labour shortage এবং high charges of labourএর দরুণ কার্য্য ব্যাহত হচেচ। যদি গ্রামের লোকেরা on a co-operative basis এই কাজ হাতে নয় তাহলে কাজটা আরো দ্রুত সম্পন্ন হতে পারে। Lift Irrigationএর জন্য উন্নত ধরণের Pumps, Persian Wheels, Egyptian Screws প্রভৃতি সরবরাহ করা হচেছ।

Seeds Stores.--এই পশ্চিম বাংলায় ৮৯টি বীজাগার আছে। এগুলি হতে চাষীদের বীজের জন্য উন্নত ধরণের বীজ, যন্ত্রাদি,-গো-গাড়ীর চাকার ও হালের পাত, দোন করবার পাত প্রভৃতি-লোহার জিনিষ, ammonium sulphate, bone meal এবং oil-cakes সরবরাহ করা হয়। এ বৎসর—

			Tons.
Aus paddy seeds	..	..	4½
Amon	..	..	23
Wheat	...	..	55½
Pulses	..	..	102

Agricultural Implements 1,600 supply করা হয়েছে। কম বীজাগার থাকার দরুণ দূরবর্তী গ্রামের লোকেদের এই সকল জিনিষ নিয়ে যাওয়া সুকঠিন, এই অসুবিধা দূর করবার জন্য Co-operative Societyর মারফৎ distribution করবার plan করা হয়েছে।

দুগ্ধ সরবরাহ--দুগ্ধ সরবরাহ সম্বন্ধে plan ও কার্য্যকরী ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বনের জন্য একজন উচ্চ পদস্থ কর্মচারী নিযুক্ত হয়েছেন। এই কার্য্যের জন্য বাজেটে ১০,০০,০০০ টাকা ধরা হয়েছে।

গভর্ণমেণ্টের কার্য্যের দ্বারা কৃষি সমস্যার সমস্তই সমাধান হয়েছে বা হবে তার দাবী করি না। সমস্যার সামান্য অংশ মাত্রই tackle করা হচেছ। এই সমস্যা সমাধানের বেশীর ভাগ নির্ভর করে কৃষকদের নিজেদের চেষ্টার উপর। যদি কৃষকেরা সংকল্প করে যে প্রতি বিঘা ধানের জমিতে ১/০ মন করে বেশী ধান উৎপন্ন করব, এবং এ বিষয়ে তাহারা বিশেষ চেষ্টিত হয় তাহলে কেবল যে আমাদের খাদ্য সমস্যার সমাধান হবে তা নয়, এই পশ্চিম বাংলা খাদ্য বিষয়ে surplus province রূপে গণ্য হতে পারে। জনৈক ইংরেজ farmer বলেছেন--"one of the greatest needs of the world is the realisation of the fact that you cannot improve the world faster than you improve yourself."

গভর্ণমেণ্ট সহায়কমাত্র। আমরা আমাদের prospectusএ এই কথাই বলেছি--"the task of the Agriculture Department may be defined in assisting the agricultural producers to obtain the maximum return from their labours."

আমাদের চাষ আবাদ এখনো gamble in the rain হয়ে রয়েছে। দামোদর, ময়ূর প্রভৃতি বড় বড় সেচ্ ও জল নিকাশের পরিকল্পনা দ্বারা অনাবৃষ্টি অতিবৃষ্টিজনিত ক্ষতি হতে চাষীদের মুক্ত করবার প্রচেষ্টা চল্‌ছে। এবৎসর দেরীতে বর্ষা হওয়ায় এবং ধানকাটার সময় অতিবৃষ্টি হওয়ায় ধানের বিশেষ ক্ষতি হয়েছে। গত বৎসর অপেক্ষা এ বৎসর দুই লক্ষ দশ হাজার একর কম জমিতে ধান উৎপন্ন হয়েছে, এবং এক লক্ষ তের হাজার টন চাউল কম উৎপন্ন হয়েছে। ধানের দরুণ আর্থিক ক্ষতির পূরণ হয়েছে পাটের উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি দ্বারা। গত বৎসর ২,২৯,০০০ একরে প্রায় সাড়ে পাঁচ লক্ষ বেল পাট উৎপন্ন হয়েছিল, এবৎসর ৩১৫,০০০ একর জমিতে প্রায় ৮৬০,০০০ বেল পাট উৎপন্ন হয়েছে।

এবৎসর গম, আখ ও আলু বেশী পরিমানে উৎপন্ন হয়েছে; আলুর বীজ decontrol করায় বীজের সরবরাহ সুষ্ঠুভাবে হয়েছিল।

পরিশেষে আমার বক্তব্য এই যে কৃষি পারস্পরিক সহযোগিতার উপর ভিত্তি করে দাঁড়িয়ে আছে। একেলা চাষ করা সম্ভব নয়। সার্বওয়ারী ফসল না হলে ফসল রক্ষা করা যায় না। ব্যক্তিগতভাবে কৃষক দুর্বল, অসহায়, কিন্তু পারস্পরিক সহযোগিতা দ্বারাই কিছু করতে পারে যদি মূলে দৃঢ় সংকল্প থাকে। আমাদের slogan হওয়া উচিত--better farming, better living--ভালো করে চাষ করব, ভালো ভাবে থাকব। ইংলণ্ডের Agricultural Organisation Societyর former director Mr. Harris বলেছেন, এবং আমিও তাঁর সহিত সমস্বরে বলি—

"The real problem is how can life on the land be kept on the highest level and, where it is not already on that level, be so improved, dignified and brightened as to awaken and keep alive the pride and loyalty of those born on the soil. As has been well said, the improved acre must yield not only wheat but civilisation, not only potatoes but culture, not only roots but effective manhood. The individual farmer is the starting point and end of agriculture, it is true, but the lone farmer and the lone

labourer are an anomaly, either as a cause or as a product as a lone man is everywhere. As an effective cause we must have co-operating individuals on the land. The rural problem, then, is a social as well as an economic question, affecting both the farmer and the labourer. The State, the farmer, the labourer should combine together to solve the problem. God willing, we shall succeed in our task".

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion to the House for acceptance.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the Grow More Food Campaign of the Government and their failure to have any definite scheme in that connection.

I also move that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under these two heads be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to have any scheme for bringing fallow lands under cultivation.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about Government's indifference to the welfare of the krishaks in the matter of providing facilities for agriculture and ensuring equitable price for agricultural products, particularly paddy.

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71 Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to improve the condition of the agriculturists.

I also move that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under these two heads be reduced to Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to provide irrigational facilities to agriculturists.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to undertake a comprehensive and co-ordinated policy and programme for the improvement of agriculture.

I also beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under these two heads be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to take necessary steps to remove the difficulties of the tobacco growers of Malda with regard to production and marketing of tobacco.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about inefficiency of the department and the failure of the Government to organise agricultural co-operative societies.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: মাননীয় পরিষৎপাল মহাশয়! আজকে আপনার অনুমতি নিয়ে মাননীয় কৃষিমন্ত্রীর কাছে কয়েকটা সুস্পষ্ট নিবেদন ক'রব। কৃষিজীবীর অবস্থা তিনি যেমন চোখে নিজে দরদ দিয়ে দেখেছেন আমার সে সুযোগ জীবনে ঘটে নি। তিনি একজন আদর্শবাদী লোক, দরদী বন্ধু এবং কৃষিজীবীদের চিরদিনই তিনি সেবা করেছেন এবং সেই জন্যই তাঁর কাছে গতানুগতিকতা থেকে একটু দূরে যেতে অনুরোধ করছি। তাঁর গভর্ণমেণ্ট কি করেছেন, কোন itemএ কি বরাদ্দ হয়েছে তার একটা list আমাদের কাছে পড়ে শোনালেন। কিন্তু দরিদ্র কৃষিজীবীদের কথা আজ নয়, দিনের পর দিন, বছরের পর বছর আলোচনা হয়ে আসছে, তবুও তাদের অবস্থার উন্নতি দেখতে পেলাম না। ভাগীরথী Barrage স্কীমের কথা বলা হচ্ছে, কিন্তু ভাগীরথী ত শুকিয়েই যাচ্ছে। এদিকে কোথাও ভাল বীজ উৎপন্ন হচ্ছে না, অন্যান্য প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষ সরবরাহ করতে পারা যাচ্ছে না, আর land system সম্বন্ধে permanent settlement উঠিয়ে দেবার জন্য বলা হচ্ছে যাতে কৃষিজীবীদের হাতে কিছু বেশী জমি আসতে পারে এবং উৎপাদনও বাড়তে পারে। কিন্তু এই সব অতিপ্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষের কোন ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে না, তাই আমি সেদিন গভর্ণমেণ্টের কাছে অনুরোধ করেছিলাম যে কোন সক্রিয় পন্থা অবলম্বন করুন। এমন একটা পরিকল্পনা আরম্ভ করুন যেটা সর্ব্বাঙ্গসুন্দর হবে। কৃষির উন্নতির জন্য irrigation problemটার সমাধান করুন, এরও বিশেষ প্রয়োজন রয়েছে। কিন্তু একটা কথা বলি। সেদিন শিক্ষামন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলেছিলেন শিক্ষার উন্নতি করতে হ'লে, প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করতে গেলে, compulsory primary education সমগ্র বাংলাদেশে প্রবর্ত্তিত করতে গেলে ১৪ কোটি টাকা বরাদ্দ করতে হবে। তাহ'লে আমি ধ'রে নিতে পারি যে এটা একটা নিরাশার বাণী এবং বাংলাদেশে কোন দিন প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা প্রবর্ত্তিত হবে না, আর বাংলার কৃষিকুল যারা আমাদের ব্যবসায়ীদের ব্যবসার উপাদান জোগায়, যারা বিলাসীর বিলাস সামগ্রী জোগায়, এক কথায় যারা দেশবাসীর রক্ত জোগায়—তারা দীনহীন কাঙালের মত চিরদিনই জীবন যাপন করবে এবং ব্যথিতের ব্যথা, পীড়িতের পীড়া, দুঃখীর দুঃখ কোন দিনই দূর হবে না। কৃষিজীবীদের কথা বলতে হ'লে বলতে হয় যে তারা আজ এমন অবস্থায় এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে যে আশার ক্ষীণ রেখা কোথাও দেখা যায় না। আমরা এত যে "grow more food" campaign করছি, লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকা ব্যয়বরাদ্দ করছি কিন্তু কই সে পরিমাণ foodত আমরা পাচ্ছি না? কয়েক টন এখানে বাড়ল, কি কয়েক টন ওখানে বাড়ল--তাই সব নয়। আজ আমাদের খাদ্য পরিস্থিতি এত জটিল, এত দূরপ্রসারী, এত ব্যাপক হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে যে World Rice Bulletin বলছে যে ভারতে তথা বাংলায় যদি ভাল উৎপাদন না করা যায় তা হলে তাদের সর্ব্বনাশ হবে। গত বৎসর ১৯৪৭-৪৮ সালে ২ কোটি ৭৯ লক্ষ টন cereals অন্য জায়গা থেকে আমাদিগকে আমদানী করতে হয়েছিল। গত বৎসর ১৩৩ কোটি টাকা Government of India--কেন্দ্রীয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট বরাদ্দ করেছিলেন খাদ্য জোগাবার জন্য। এতে বোঝা যায় কেমন অনিশ্চিত অবস্থার মধ্য দিয়ে, কি গভীর নিরাশার ভিতর দিয়ে, কি নিবিড় অন্ধকারের মাঝে কৃষিকুলকে জীবন যাপন করতে হচ্ছে। আমরা তাদের প্রতিনিধি হয়ে এখানে এসেছি। লক্ষ লক্ষ কোটি কোটি মানুষ মূক বধিরের মত আমাদের পানে চেয়ে আছে। বাংলার প্রতিনিধিবৃন্দ--যারা লেজিসলেটিভ এসেম্বিতে কংগ্রেসের সেবক--যাঁদের ত্যাগ, যাঁদের তিতিক্ষা, যাঁদের সাধনা, যাঁদের দরদ আমাদের চেয়ে অনেক বেশী--তাঁরা গরীবের দুঃখের জন্য কত কি করেছেন। অথচ এই Legislative Assemblyতে আমরা দেখলাম যে বঙ্গীয় প্রজাস্বত্ব বিল পাশ করা হয়েছে, মহাজনী বিল পাশ করা হয়েছে, কিন্তু তাতে চাষীর সামান্য কিছু উপকার হলেও তাদের অবস্থার আমূল কোন পরিবর্ত্তন হয় নি, কোন বিপ্লবাত্মক পরিবর্ত্তন দেখতে পেলাম না। যে অন্নহীন, সহায়-সম্বলহীন অবস্থা তাদের আগে ছিল, এখনও তাই। আমি একটা list দেখাচ্ছি--সেটা একটা comparative yield of rice per acre in different countries and provinces--তা থেকে বুঝতে পারবেন যে আমাদের কৃষিকুলের অবস্থা কি রকম।

Place.	Rice yield per acre (in lbs. in 1938-39).
Italy	2,903
Japan	2,276
Egypt	2,153
United States of America	1,469
Siam	943
India	728
West Bengal	998

Place.	Rice yield per acre (in lbs. in 1938-39).
ধান সম্বন্ধে আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি—	
ইউরোপে	১,১৪৬
কানাডায়	৯৭২
U.S.A.তে	৮৪৬
আর্জেণ্টিনায়	৭৮০
ভারতে	৬৩৬
বিহার ও উড়িষ্যায়	৮৮২
U.P.	৭৮৬
পাঞ্জাব	৭৩৮
পশ্চিম বাংলা	৭৩৮

আর, তাদের গড়পড়তা আয়ব্যয় এবং ঋণ কি তারও একটা তালিকা দিচ্ছি—

জেলা।	গড় আয়।	গড় ব্যয়।	গড় ঋণ।
বর্দ্ধমান	১৫৬	১৯৭	২১৯
বীরভুম	১৭২	১৬৯	১৬২
বাঁকুড়া	৮৬	১৬৯	২৪৪
মেদিনীপুর	১৪৪	১৬৬	১৮৭
মুর্শিদাবাদ	১৩২	১৪২	১০৬
নদীয়া (অবিভক্ত)	১৪১	১৬৩	১৯৯
মালদহ (অবিভক্ত)	২৯	২৬	১১

আমি আর একটা তালিকা দিচ্ছি--A comparative Table of farming units in acre—

Province.	Bighas per cultivator family.	Country.	Average holdings.
Bombay	12·2	England and Wales	62·00
Punjab (undivided)	9·2	Germany	21·50
Madras	4·9	France	20·25
Bihar and Orissa	3·1	Denmark	40·00
Bengal (undivided)	3·1	Belgium	14·50
Assam	3·0	U. S. A.	148·00
Central Provinces	8·5	Holland	26·00

ওটা দেখলে বুঝতে পারবেন আমাদের চাষীর কি দুরবস্থা। তারা ভাল খেতে পায় না, অত্যাবশ্যক জিনিষ খরিদ করতে পারে না, পরণের কাপড় জোটে না, গামছা পরে এবং গামছা গায়ে দিয়েই শীত কাটাতে হয়। এই অসহায় অবস্থার মধ্য দিয়েই কোটি কোটি মানুষ যাচ্ছে। আর এদিকে আমরা পরিকল্পনার পর পরিকল্পনা করছি। তাদের অবস্থা পরিবর্ত্তনের কথা মোসলেম লীগও বলেছিলেন আর কংগ্রেসও বল্‌ছেন, কিন্তু কোন রকমেই এই অবস্থার পরিবর্ত্তন করা যাচ্ছে না। সেই গতানুগতিক ভাব রয়ে গেছে। Mor scheme, Damodar Valley Scheme--এই সব পরিকল্পনার কথা দেশের শ্রীবৃদ্ধির জন্য শুনতে পাচ্ছি--এ রকম অনেক চেষ্টা পূর্ব্বেও হয়েছে কিন্তু আজ পর্য্যন্ত কোন কার্য্যকরী পন্থা অবলম্বন করা হয় নাই। এইমাত্র এবার শুনছি যে কয়েক কোটি টাকা Damodar Valley Schemeএর জন্য বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে। আমাদের সেদিন সরবরাহ মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলেছিলেন যে আপনারা একটু অপেক্ষা করুন, অন্ততঃ দীর্ঘ মেয়াদী পরিকল্পনার জন্য ৭।৮ বৎসর অপেক্ষা করুন। এ রকম অপেক্ষা ত বহুকাল থেকেই করে আসছি, আর অপেক্ষা করতে করতে কি দেখেছি? না, বাংলার বুকে, কলিকাতা নগরীতে দুর্ভিক্ষ এল, লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক মরল--খাওয়ার অন্নহারা, সর্ব্বহারা গরীবেরা মরল। কই মধ্যবিত্ত

শ্রেণীর একটি লোকও ত মরে নি। আমি সেদিন বলছিলাম--If there were half a dozen deaths in England due to starvation and devitalisation the British people would have provoked a first class crisis and demanded the head of the British Premier on a charger and razed the British Government to the dust. But this barbarous state of things is only possible in the barbarous system of administration that prevails in this land.

আমরা দেখেছি তার জন্য বিপ্লব হয়েছে। তারই প্রতিধ্বনি ক'রে বলছি—

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: মোসলেম লীগের সময় হয়েছিল।

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: মাননীয় চৌধুরী মহাশয় যা বলেছেন—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: আমি শ্রদ্ধার সঙ্গে আপনার কথা মেনে নিচ্ছি। মোসলেম লীগ হউক, কংগ্রেস হউক, মুসলমান হউক, হিন্দু হউক--আমরা পরিকল্পনাই দিয়েছি, কিছুই করতে পারি নি।

Food crisisএর কথা আমি বলছিলাম। আমরা এখন তাকিয়ে আছি শ্যাম, ব্রহ্ম, চীন, ইন্দোচীনের দিকে যে তারা আমাদের খাদ্য জোগাবে। চীনে যে বিপ্লব-বহ্নি ধূমায়িত হয়ে উঠেছে তাতে তাদের কাছে বেশী দিন বোধ হয় আশা করতে পারব না। Government of Indiaরই বা এমন কি favourable trade balance আছে যে দেশকে খাওয়াবার জন্য ১৩০ কোটি টাকার খাদ্য বরাবরই আমদানী করতে পারবেন, জিনিস আমদানী কর'বেন? আমার মতে এমন কোরে দেশকে ঠিক পথে নিয়ে যেতে পারবেন না। আমি সশ্রদ্ধ নিবেদন করি দয়া করে গরীবের দিকে তাকিয়ে কাজ করুন। আমি আপনাদের কাছে শিশুর মত। কারণ আপনারা আমার চেয়ে অনেক বেশী ত্যাগ স্বীকার করেছেন, আমি ত সে দিকে একটুও আঁচড় কাটতে পারি নি। আমি শ্রদ্ধেয় পাঁজা মহাশয়কে বলছি তাঁর ত্যাগ, তাঁর সাধনা, আমাদের সকলেরই শ্রদ্ধা আকর্ষণ করেছে। কৃষিমন্ত্রী হিসাবে তাঁর প্রতি আমাদের অগাধ বিশ্বাস আছে এবং আমরা আশা করি তিনি গতানুগতিকতার ভাব থেকে অতি দূরে চলে যাবেন এবং একটা সুষ্ঠু, সবল ও সুচিন্তিত পরিকল্পনা নিয়ে চাষীর সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য, land system সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য সর্ব্বাঙ্গসুন্দর পন্থা অবলম্বন কোরে কাজ করবেন যাতে দেশের লোক বুঝবে যে কংগ্রেসের এই প্রতিনিধিবর্গ যাঁদের মধ্যে মহাত্মা গান্ধীর মত, দেশবন্ধু চিত্তরঞ্জনের মত, নেতাজী সুভাষচন্দ্রের মত কত মনীষী, কত দরদী, কত মহাপ্রাণ সাধক জন্মগ্রহণ করেছেন তারা সত্যই দেশের কল্যাণের জন্য আপ্রাণ সাধনা করবেন। সেই সাধনায় আমাদের সম্পূর্ণ সহানুভূতি ও সহযোগ থাকবে। আমি জোর গলায় বলতে পারি যে হিন্দু হউক, মুসলমান হউক, কেউ তার বিরুদ্ধাচরণ করবে না। সর্ব্বান্তঃকরণে প্রাণ দিয়ে, স্নেহ দিয়ে, মমতা দিয়ে, ভালবাসা দিয়ে, প্রীতি দিয়ে, সৌজন্য দিয়ে, দরদ দিয়ে এই সমস্যার সমাধান করতে হবে।

Janab ABUL HASHEM: মাননীয় পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, আজকে আমাদের শ্রদ্ধেয় পাঁজা মহাশয় বর্ত্তমান গভর্ণমেণ্ট বা সরকার পক্ষ থেকে কৃষির উন্নতির জন্য এবং কৃষি বিভাগের কার্য্য পরিচালনার জন্য টাকা দাবী করেছেন। আমার মনে পড়ছে ১৯৩৮ সালের কথা--যে দিন দেখেছিলাম আমাদের শ্রদ্ধেয় পাঁজা মহাশয় বর্দ্ধমানে দামোদর ক্যানেল করের বিরুদ্ধে একটা বিরাট আন্দোলন গড়ে তুলে ছিলেন--এতবড় আন্দোলন গড়ে তুলতে তিনি সক্ষম হয়েছিলেন যার চাপে তখনকার গভর্ণমেণ্টকে তার মতে আসতে হয়েছিল এবং যতটা সম্ভব ছিল, সেই পরিমানে দামোদর ক্যানেল কর কমাতে বাধ্য হয়েছিল। আজ আমরা জানি না আমাদের শ্রদ্ধেয় পাজা মহাশয় প্রয়োজন হলে সেই প্রকার কোন আন্দোলনের সম্মুখীন হতে পারবেন কি না। কৃষির উন্নতির জন্য, কৃষকদের উন্নতির জন্য যতখানি দরদ থাকা উচিত তাঁহার ছিল, ততখানি দরদ এখনও তাঁর আছে, আমি বিশ্বাস করি। কিন্তু বর্ত্তমান পরিবর্ত্তিত পরিস্থিতির মধ্যে তাঁর সেই দরদ-দরিদ্র কৃষকদের কাজে লাগাবার শক্তি তিনি হারিয়েছেন, না বর্ত্তমানে রেখেছেন, সেটা আমি ভাল করে জানি না। পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, কৃষির উন্নতি করতে হলে কৃষকের উন্নতি সব চেয়ে আগে প্রয়োজন। এটা এমন কিছু কথা নয় যে কাউকে বোঝাবার প্রয়োজন আছে। কৃষি ও কৃষকদের উন্নতি করতে হলে আমাদের শ্রদ্ধেয় বন্ধু বদরুদ্দুজা সাহেব এখানে যে তালিকা উপস্থিত করেছেন--ভিন্ন ভিন্ন জেলা ও ভিন্ন ভিন্ন দেশের কৃষকদের আয় ব্যয় সম্বন্ধে—সেই দিকেতে আমাদের বিশেষ লক্ষ্য রাখতে হবে। যদি আমরা দেখতে পাই যে চাষীর আয়ের চেয়ে খরচ বেশী এবং বৎসরের পর বৎসর তাদের দেনা বেড়েই যাচ্ছে, তবে সেই পুরানো কালে যে কথা শুনেছিলেম--স্কুল কলেজে পড়বার

সময় আমাদের পুঁথিতে যে সমস্ত কথা লেখা ছিল, যা মুখস্ত করে পরীক্ষায় উত্তীর্ণ হবার জন্য চেষ্টিত হতাম—সেই সমস্ত বুলি যথা চাষীরা ঋণের মধ্যে জন্মগ্রহণ করে এবং সেই ঋণ তার পরবর্ত্তী বংশধরগণকেও নষ্ট করে দিয়ে চলে যায় ইত্যাদি—এই সমস্ত মামুলি কথা শুনতে আমাদের আর ভাল লাগবে না। এখন যদি সত্যই কৃষির উন্নতি করতে হয়, তাহলে কৃষকদের অবস্থার একটা বৈপ্লবিক পরিবর্ত্তন ঘটাতে হবে। সৈয়দ বদরুদ্দুজা সাহেব যে কথা বলেছেন সে কথা শুধু বক্তৃতার ছলে বলেন নি--কেবল ভাষার ছন্দে নয়,--সেটা সকলেরই অন্তরের গভীর কথা। এই কার্য্যেতে যে ব্যক্তিবিশেষ বা দলবিশেষ আগ্রহের সঙ্গে কর্ম্মক্ষেত্রে উপস্থিত হবেন--কার্য্যকরী পরিকল্পনা উপস্থিত করবেন, তাদের সঙ্গে সকলের পুর্ণ সহযোগিতা থাক্‌বে। শুধু তা নয়। আজকে আমরা সবাই জানি, বর্ত্তমান পরিস্থিতির মধ্যে, অন্নসঙ্কটের মধ্যে, অর্থাভাবের মধ্যে, চারিদিকে যত সমস্যা আছে, সব এক সঙ্গে সমাধান করা সম্ভব নয়। কিন্তু যদি আমরা জানতে পারি যে বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী দেশের সমস্ত অর্থ-সামর্থ একত্রীভূত করে কৃষকদের অবস্থা উন্নতি করবার জন্য নিয়োগ কর্‌তে চান, তাহলে জাতির গঠনমলক অন্যান্য যে সব কাজ আছে, তা বন্ধ করেও ঐ দিকে আমরা সমস্ত শক্তি, সমস্ত অর্থ, সমস্ত প্রয়াস নিয়োগ কর্‌তে প্রস্তুত আছি। কারণ এ কথা আমরা জানি কৃষকদের উন্নত কর্‌তে না পারলে, তাদের অবস্থা পূর্ব্ববৎ রেখে দিলে,—অন্য দিক উন্নত কর্‌বার সমস্ত চেষ্টা ব্যর্থতায় পর্য্যবসিত হবে। পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, এই সব বিষয়ে উন্নতি কর্‌তে গেলে সব চেয়ে আগে দেখ্‌তে হবে চাষীর সুবিধা এবং কৃষিজাত দ্রব্য যাতে উপযুক্ত ও ন্যায়সঙ্গত মূল্যে কৃষকদের হাতে আসে। এই দিকে কাজ কর্‌তে গেলে কতকগুলি প্রাথমিক ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। সে সম্বন্ধে আমার বন্ধু বদরুদ্দুজা আগে বলেছেন এবং পূর্ব্বেও এই মন্ত্রিসভার সম্মুখে উপস্থিত করা হয়েছে। কথায় কথায় আমাদের কাছ থেকে গঠনমূলক কথা ও প্রস্তাবের পরিকল্পনা দাবী করা হয়। কিন্তু যখনই গঠনমূলক দাবী করা হয়, তখনই সেটা হয় পাগলামি বা moon-shine nonsense অথবা অর্থাভাবের অজুহাতে উড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়। পরিষদপাল মহাশয়. দেশের সঙ্গে যারা সম্বন্ধ রাখেন তারা সকলেই অবগত আছেন যে জমিদারী প্রথায় বর্ত্তমানে যে সমস্ত ব্যবস্থা আছে, সেই সমস্ত ব্যবস্থার আমূল পবিবর্ত্তন করে চাষীর হাতেতে জমি দিতে না পারলে অন্য কোন গঠনমূলক ব্যবস্থা কার্য্যকরী হবে না। শুধু কতকগুলি আলুর বীজ, খোল সরবরাহ করলেই সরকারের কাজ এদিকে শেষ হবে না। তা ছাড়া সেই জমিদারী প্রথা উচেছদ করে সমস্ত জমি কৃষকের হাতে দেওয়ার যে ব্যবস্থার কথা আমরা ইতিপূর্ব্বে শুনেছি--বর্ত্তমানে শুন্‌ছি, তা সম্ভব নয়। অবশ্য সে কথা বল্‌তে গেলেই আবার আমরা শুন্‌তে পাব--আমাদের কথাগুলি moon-shine ও nonsense. পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর কাছ থেকে আমরা অন্ততঃ এটা দাবী কর্‌তে পারি যে কৃষকরা যেন কৃষিজাত দ্রব্যের উপযুক্ত মূল্য পায়। আমি জানি না কৃষি বিভাগের মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের বিভাগ এজন্য দায়ী কি না--কৃষিজাত দ্রব্যের মূল্য নিয়ন্ত্রণের ক্ষমতা হয়ত তার নেই। কিন্তু আমার বক্তব্য এই যে আমাদের সরকার রয়েছেন এ কতকগুলি অসংলগ্ন, বিচ্ছিন্ন ব্যক্তি বা বিভাগের সমষ্টি নয়। একেব সঙ্গে অন্য বিভাগেব গভীর সম্পর্ক আছে। Technically কোন বিভাগের বিশেষ দায়িত্ব সেটা দেখ্‌বার প্রয়োজন নেই। তাই এই কথাই আমি বল্‌তে চাই, শ্রীযুক্ত পাঁজা মহাশয় যদি প্রকৃতই কৃষি ও কৃষকদের উন্নতি চান--এবং আমি বিশ্বাস করি, তিনি মনে প্রাণে তা চান--তাহলে সব চেয়ে আগে দরকার অন্য মন্ত্রীদের সঙ্গে পরামর্শ করে ব্যবস্থা করা যাতে কৃষকদের অবস্থা উন্নত হয়--তারা যাতে কৃষিজাত দ্রব্যের ন্যায়সঙ্গত মূল্যের সুবিধা পায়। আমাদের দেশের পক্ষে এটা প্রধানতম সমস্যা কারণ ধানই পশ্চিম বঙ্গের সর্ব্বপ্রধান শস্য। এই শস্যের দ্বারা লোক পেট ভরায় এবং এই শস্য বিক্রয়লব্ধ টাকা দিয়ে অন্যান্য প্রয়োজনীয় দ্রব্য সামগ্রী খরিদ করে।

আমরা জানি ধানের দাম বৃদ্ধির সঙ্গে সঙ্গে অন্যান্য জিনিষপত্রের দামের যদি সামঞ্জস্য না করা হয় তবে যারা ধানচাল কিনে খায় তাদের বিশেষ অসুবিধা ও ক্ষতি হবে। এও স্বীকার করি ধানের দাম হঠাৎ যদি বাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়, তাতে চাষীরা লাভবান হবে না, লাভবান হবে middlemen, দালালরা। তাহ'লে কি আমরা চাষীর কৃষিজাত দ্রব্যের মূল্য বৃদ্ধি করবো না? আমাদের এমন ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে যাতে করে চাষী ছাড়া অন্য কেউ লাভবান না হতে পারে।

সেদিন,—বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রী পাঁজা মহাশয়ের হয়ত মনে আছে--তাঁদের জেলাতে ধান্যচাষী সম্মেলন হয়ে গেল। তার সভাপতি ছিলেন আমাদের সরবরাহসচিব--শ্রীযুক্ত প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র সেন। তিনি কৃষক কেন্দ্রীয় কার্য্যকরী সমিতির সদস্য--ইংরেজী ভাষায় বলা যেতে পারে কংগ্রেসের একজন হাই-কম্যাণ্ড। তাঁর সভাপতিত্বে যে সভা হয়েছিল--সেখানে আরও আমাদের অন্যান্য নেতৃবৃন্দ উপস্থিত ছিলেন। সেখানে চাষীদিগকে আশা দেওয়া হয়েছে এবং সরবরাহমন্ত্রী মহাশয়ও এমন কথা বলেছেন যাতে তাদের মনে একটা আশা জেগেছে--হয়ত এবার ধানের মূল্য সম্বন্ধে তারা একটা সুবিচার পাবে।

মাননীয় পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, আপনি হয়ত অবগত নন যে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন জেলায় ধানের ভিন্ন ভিন্ন মূল্য রাখা হয়েছে--তার দ্বারা অনেক ক্ষতি হচ্ছে। আমি শ্রদ্ধেয় কৃষিমন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের দৃষ্টি এদিকে আকর্ষণ করছি। তাঁর মন্ত্রী বন্ধুদের সঙ্গে পরামর্শ করে এ বিষয়ে একটা ব্যবস্থা করলে আমি কৃতজ্ঞ হবো। পাঁজা মহাশয় হয়ত জানেন যে রায়না থানার তিনটী ঘাঁটী থেকে প্রতি দিন অন্ততঃ দু-হাজার ধানের গাড়ী হুগলী জেলায় চালান হচ্ছে। আপনাদের যা cordon ব্যবস্থা আছে তা সম্পূর্ণ ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। কিন্তু এই ব্যভিচারের মধ্য দিয়ে দেশবাসী বা সরকার কিংবা কৃষক কেহই লাভবান হচ্ছে না, মাঝখান থেকে লাভবান হচ্ছে কতকগুলি দালাল। আমি শুনেছি আমাদের বিচার বিভাগের মন্ত্রী মহাশয় কোর্টে এফিডেবিট করবার কথা বলেছেন। তিনি জানেন না এই কোর্টে এফিডেবিট্ করার অর্থ কি। এখানে বলা অসঙ্গত নয় যে তিনি ওকালতী পাস করেছেন বটে কিন্তু জজ কোর্টের ভেতর দেখবার সময় তার হয়নি।

Mr. SPEAKER: You must not make any personal attack.

JANAB ABUL HASHEM: শ্রদ্ধেয় পাঁজা মহাশয়ের দৃষ্টি এদিকে আকর্ষণ করছি যে এই যে হাজার হাজার ধানের গাড়ী পার হয়ে যাচ্ছে দিনের পর দিন সেখানেও ব্যভিচার--ঘুষের ব্যবস্থা আছে। এই রকম শুনেছি যে যখন মন্ত্রী মহাশয় সফরে যান, তার যাওয়ার আগে থেকেই সংবাদ সেখানে চলে যায়--এমন একটা বিরাট ষড়যন্ত্র হয়েছে। মন্ত্রী মহাশয় যাবার আগে ঢাক পিটিয়ে গেলে তা ধরা সম্ভব নয়। তাই আমি প্রস্তাব করি হয় cordoning ব্যবস্থা তুলে দিন, বাংলা দেশের সমস্ত ধান্য ব্যবসায়ীরা লাভবান হোক, আর না হয় সরকার নিজে পশ্চিম বঙ্গের সমস্ত ধান ক্রয় ও বিক্রয় করবার ব্যবস্থা করুন। তাঁদের উচিত যাতে সকল জায়গায় ধানের দাম এক থাকে সেই ব্যবস্থা করা। এটা অত্যন্ত খারাপ যে বর্দ্ধমানে ধানের দাম ৭৲ টাকা, আর কলকাতায় ১২৲ টাকা, চালের দাম ১৩৲ টাকা, আর এখানে ১৭৲ টাকা। এই সামান্য ৬০।৬৫ মাইলের এই দূরত্বে এই ব্যবধান শোভন নয়। এর প্রতিকারের ব্যবস্থা করা প্রয়োজন। তাঁদের যে সমস্ত পরামর্শ দেবার লোক আছে--বিভাগের এ বিষয়ে অভিজ্ঞ কর্ম্মচারী আছে--তাঁদের সঙ্গে পরামর্শ করুন যাতে সরকারের কোন ক্ষতি না হয়--যাতে কৃষক ছাড়া অন্য কেউ লাভবান হতে না পারে এবং যাতে এক দামে সমস্ত বাংলায় চাল এবং ধান পাওয়া যায়।

পাঁজা মহাশয় বলেছেন শুধু বীজ ছড়ালেই হবে না। সেই সঙ্গে চাষ করবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে চাষের প্রয়োজনীয় বস্তু যেমন খৈল ইত্যাদি তার দামও কমে যায় এবিষয় মনে রাখবেন। এই কয়েকটা কথা বলে আমার প্রস্তাবটী শ্রদ্ধেয় পাঁজা মহাশয়ের সামনে উপস্থিত করছি তাঁর এবং মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর বিচারের জন্য।

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is well-known to everyone of us here that agriculture is the mainstay of our country. The first and foremost thing required for agriculture is water. In West Bengal lands are high and dry and save and except in limited areas in a few districts there are no canals. The result is that agriculturists have to rely on rain water, but unfortunately it is extremely eccentric. It is very difficult to propitiate here and there is no knowing on what areas God will bestow His favour. Exposed to the vagaries of the weather, the agriculturists eke out a miserable existence. The "Grow More Food" campaign initiated by the Government loses all its significance in dry and arid areas like the Burdwan Division where without water, better seeds and manure cannot be of any help to the cultivators. In my district the outturn of paddy this year has been exceedingly poor because in the first place the monsoon was late in appearance and in the second place there was failure of October rains. These spelled disaster and the outturn of paddy has been disappointing. Over head and ears in debts, the cultivators find it difficult to pay rent to the landlords and they are finding to their utter discomfiture that the produce they have got will not suffice for the consumption of the members of the family for the whole year. It may be said that the Government has sanctioned major projects such as Damodar Valley, Mor, etc., but these do not go far enough. There is no knowing how many years these projects will take to materialise and, God forbid, if scarcity comes before that, there will be none to enjoy the fruits of those big schemes. There was the Damodar Flood Control Scheme for which a big survey was undertaken but nobody knows what came out of it. A

comprehensive short-term irrigational policy should be chalked out and followed so that all areas might be benefited and this would supplement the major schemes after they are put in operation. Government should also take steps to re-excavate the derelict irrigation tanks most of which have been silted up and have been converted into so many stagnant pools. Small streams should also be re-excavated and utilised for irrigation purposes. In this connection I suggest that legislation should be passed authorizing the agriculturists to draw water in times of drought from the neighbouring tank to save their crops whether they have prescriptive right to irrigate their fields with the water of that particular tank or not. Cases are quite frequent when owners of adjoining tanks heartlessly refuse to let water from their tanks to be drawn for irrigating fields nearby. This should be done subject to proper safeguards being adopted for the preservation of fish, if any, in the tank.

Sir, my other point is that there is no provision in the budget evidencing a desire on the part of the Government to improve the lot of agriculturists. No doubt provision for irrigational facilities is the first step but there are other steps too, *e.g.*, distribution of seed and manure. Government has set up an Agricultural Department and we hear that it conducts researches too but are any steps worth the name taken to make these researches known to agriculturists? The cultivators go on in their primitive way, they are quite ignorant and cannot and do not take advantage of the experiments conducted by the department. There is thus a criminal wastage of money, useless frittering away of energy resulting in scanty production. Sir, the Agriculture Department is a white elephant. It has got to be re-oriented in order that it may be able to serve the agriculturists.

There is yet another factor which tends to diminish the outturn of crops. It is the ravages of cattle. The cultivators require protection of their crops from the depredations of other people's cattle and for this purpose the existing penalties should be enhanced in order that the cattle owners may also exercise vigilance and may not negligently allow their cattle to stray into others' fields and destroy their crops.

Sir, there are Agricultural Development Offices in all the districts of this province and there are Government Seed Stores in almost all the thanas in the province. But do we really find seed there? No. Seed is conspicuous by its absence. Instead we find iron bars and some quantities of oil-cakes and bonemeal stocked there, but it is a matter of eternal shame that the poor cultivators cannot have access to them. Sometimes vegetable seeds are supplied but these seeds generally do not germinate. The fact is that this department requires re-orientation and thorough overhauling in order that it may be of service to the people. The tendency to start new offices with a huge staff at a heavy cost to the rate-payers without any corresponding benefit to them should be stopped. Distribution of seed and manure may be safely entrusted to the union boards, the members whereof being representatives of the people can discharge this work in a much better way than the much-ado-about-nothing officers of the Agriculture Department.

Sir, I wish to remind the honourable members of this House that they are the real representatives of the cultivators who are the real backbone of the society. It is our paramount duty to save these cultivators from ruin and extinction by devising ways and means for increasing the fertility of the soil, by providing irrigational facilities for them and by ensuring receipt of adequate prices for their crops. We have also to see that the agriculturists are able to dispose of their crops to the best advantage without let or hindrance, that they find incentive in their work and do adopt modern methods of agriculture. We must remember that in their regeneration lies our salvation and we must take steps accordingly.

With these words, Sir, I beg to move the cut motion standing in my name.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : माननीय Speaker महोदय, आज कृषि এবং কৃষকের সম্পর্কে আলোচনা করতে উঠে আমি প্রথমে আমাদের চাষীদের যিনি মন্ত্রী তাঁর সম্পর্কে আমার একটু শ্রদ্ধা নিবেদন করবো। তাঁর অতীত জীবন সম্পর্কে আমার বিশেষ কিছু না জানা থাকলেও তাঁকে যেভাবে বাহ্যতঃ দেখছি এবং তাঁর সঙ্গে আলাপ করবার ও মেশবার যেটুকু সুযোগ পেয়েছি তাতে জেনেছি যে তিনি একজন শ্রেষ্ঠ দেশসেবক এবং তাঁর জীবন তিনি দেশসেবার ভিতর দিয়ে কাটিয়েছেন আর আমাদের এখানে যাঁরা উপস্থিত আছেন, তাঁদের মধ্যে প্রায় সকলের চেয়ে বয়োজ্যেষ্ঠ।

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR : তা নয়, একটু বুড়িয়ে গিয়েছেন।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : যাই হউক, অন্ততঃ পক্ষে আমি বলবো আমাদের অনেকের চেয়ে বড়। তারপরে তাঁর সাদাসিধে চাল-চলন ও ব্যবহার দেখলে মনে হয় যে তিনি গান্ধীজির একজন প্রকৃত শিষ্য এবং গান্ধীজির সঙ্গে চেহারাতেও অনেকখানি মিল আছে। সুতরাং তাঁকে কৃষিমন্ত্রী করায় বাস্তবিক অতি বিজ্ঞতার পরিচয় দেওয়া হয়েছে। (A VOICE : সাধু, সাধু।) যিনি একজন কংগ্রেসী হিসাবে দেশের সেবার ভিতর দিয়ে দেশবাসীর সঙ্গে যোগসূত্র সৃষ্টি করেছেন আমি সশ্রদ্ধভাবে তাঁকে জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই যে এই বাজেটের ভিতর দিয়ে কৃষিমন্ত্রী হিসাবে তিনি দেশবাসীর সঙ্গে সত্যকার দেশসেবার যোগসূত্র স্থাপন করতে পেরেছেন কিনা। কারণ গান্ধীজি বলেছেন, "সহরের নয়, নগরের নয়, ভারতের সাত লক্ষ গ্রামের সামাজিক, নৈতিক এবং অর্থনৈতিক স্বাধীনতা অর্জ্জনের কাজ এখনও বাকী আছে। ভারতের সাত লক্ষ গ্রাম হবে স্বাধীনতার কষ্টি পাথর।" এই পল্লীউন্নয়নের নানা প্রকার পরিকল্পনার জন্য ব্যয় বরাদ্দের হিসাব দেখলে বুঝতে পারা যাবে যে একটা ভুল ও বিকৃত দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী নিয়ে এই বাজেটের খরচের বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে। গ্রামের প্রকৃত সমস্যার প্রতি দৃষ্টি রেখে বা চাষীদের অভাব অভিযোগের প্রতি লক্ষ্য রেখে এই বাজেটের টাকা বরাদ্দ করা উচিৎ ছিল। গ্রামের পল্লীবাসীরাই হচ্চে আমাদের দেশের প্রাণ এবং তারাই হচ্চে দেশের মেরুদণ্ড। সুতরাং সেই মুমূর্ষু পল্লীকে, সেই জরাজীর্ণ পল্লীপ্রাণকে সঞ্জীবিত করতে কি ভাবে পারা যায় সেটাই হবে আমাদের প্রধান লক্ষ্য। এই চাষীরাই জীবন পাত ক'রে শস্য উৎপাদনে আমাদেরকে খাদ্য সরবরাহ করে, আমাদের জীবন রক্ষা করে। তাদের সম্বন্ধে কবি বলেছেন—

> গাহি তাহাদের গান,
> ধরণীর হাতে দিল যারা আনি ফসলের ফরমান;
> শ্রমের ঘায়েতে কঠিন যাদের নির্দ্দয় মুঠিতলে
> ত্রস্তা ধরণী নজরানা দেয় ডালিভরে ফুলে ফলে।

ঐ চাষীদের সম্বন্ধে ইংরেজ কবি Goldsmithও বলেছেন—

> "Princes or Lords may flourish or may fade
> A breath may make them which a breath has made.
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride
> If once destroyed can never be supplied."

আমাদের বর্ত্তমান বিরাট কৃষি বাজেটে দেশের গৌরব এই কৃষকসমাজের কোন উন্নতিকর ও কল্যাণজনক ব্যবস্থা দেখতে পাচ্ছি না। একটা উদাহরণ দিচ্ছি। কোন লোকের চোখের যন্ত্রণা কমাবার জন্য তার চোখ operation করা হল, কিন্তু রুগী মারা গেল। Operationএর আয়োজন হল বিরাট, কিন্তু যার চোখের জন্য এই আয়োজন, তার দেহে প্রাণ থাকল কি শেষ হল ডাক্তার মহাশয় তার খবর রাখেন নাই। operationএর পর ডাক্তার গর্ব্ব করে বল্লেন--The operation is successful but the patient died. আজ এই বাজেটের ধরণ দেখলে সেই কথাটাই মনে হয় যে কৃষকের উন্নতিকল্পে টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হয় প্রচুর কিন্তু তাতে চাষীর কোন উপকার হ'ল কিনা তার দিকে কোন লক্ষ্য নাই। আমাদের মন্ত্রীমহোদয় নিশ্চয়ই জনসেবার উপলক্ষে পশ্চিম বঙ্গের গ্রামে গ্রামে বেড়িয়েছেন এবং তাদের অভাব অভিযোগ সম্বন্ধেও অভিজ্ঞতা লাভ করেছেন। কিন্তু বর্ত্তমানে তিনি মন্ত্রীত্বের বাঁধা ধরা কাঠামোর ভিতরে প্রবেশ করে সেই সব অভিজ্ঞতা ভুলতে আরম্ভ করেছেন। এবং দেশসেবার প্রকৃত কাজ তিনি আর করতে পারছেন না বলেই সন্দেহ হচ্ছে। আমার অনুরোধ, তিনি তাঁর স্বভাব-সুলভ দয়া মায়া ও প্রাণের দরদ নিয়ে আবার গ্রামে গ্রামে ভ্রমণ করুন এবং দেখুন সেখানে চাষীর ও চাষের আসল সমস্যা কি এবং কি উপায়ে কৃষির উন্নতি হবে।

আমাদের সরকারী দলের কংগ্রেস সেবকবৃন্দ, যাদেরকে নির্য্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী বলা হয়, তাদের কাছে নূতন করে দেশসেবার কথা বলবার স্পর্দ্ধা আমার নেই। কিন্তু তবুও আজ মনে হয় রাষ্ট্রীয় ক্ষমতা লাভের পর নূতন পরিবেশের মধ্যে এসে তাঁরা যেন অতীতের দেশসেবার সত্তাকে হারিয়ে ফেলেছেন। তা না হলে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী পাঁজা মহাশয়ের নিকট হতে এইরূপ ফাঁকা কৃষি বাজেট আশা করতাম না। ১৯৪৮-৪৯ সালের জন্য পুষ্করিণীর উন্নতিকল্পে যদিও ২৭ লক্ষ টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছিল তার মধ্যে মাত্র ৭।।০ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ হয়েছে। এখন সেই বিরাট পরিকল্পনা একেবারেই পরিত্যক্ত হয়েছে। এই রকমভাবে কত পরিকল্পনা যে গৃহীত হয়েছে ও পরিত্যক্ত হয়েছে, তার কোন সীমা নেই। ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালের ব্যয় বরাদ্দ অজস্র, কিন্তু বৎসরের শেষে কাজের বেলায় খরচ অল্পই হয়েছে দেখতে পাওয়া যাবে। কৃষকদের সমস্যা চিরদিন উপেক্ষিত হয়ে এসে আজ তা পর্ব্বতপ্রমান হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে। এই সমস্যার সমাধান অসম্ভব বলে মনে হলেও তাহা করতে হবে নচেৎ উদ্ধার নাই। চাষীর সঙ্গে কৃষি বিভাগের ব্যয় বরাদ্দের টাকার কোন কাজের কোন সম্পর্ক নাই তাহা একটা উদাহরণ দিয়ে বলছি। আমার district মালদহে একটা agricultural firm আছে এবং একটা বীজাগারও আছে। এই বীজাগারে বীজ আছে, যন্ত্রপাতি আছে, লোহালক্কর আছে। এবং প্রচার জন্য একটা ষৈমাসিক বা ত্রৈমাসিক কাগজও আছে। সহরের এই বীজাগার ও কৃষি firm দ্বারা মফঃস্বলের চাষীদের কি উপকার হচ্ছে, মন্ত্রী মহোদয় বলবেন কি? ১৯৪৮-৪৯ সালের বাজেটে চাষীর উন্নতির জন্য যে লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকা বরাদ্দ করে তাদের ভাগ্য নিয়ন্ত্রণের ব্যবস্থা হয়েছিল, গ্রামে গ্রামে গিয়ে সেই চাষীদের জিজ্ঞাসা করা হোক যে সেই অর্থ ব্যয়ের দ্বারা কোন সুফল তারা পেয়েছে কি না এবং তাদের গ্রামের কোন কাজ হয়েছে কি না। উত্তর পাওয়া যাবে "না"। পুষ্করিণীর সংস্কার করা হয়েছে সেইখানে, যেখানে চাষীর চাষের কোন উপকার হবে না। সুবিধাবাদী ও স্বার্থপর বড় লোকেরা নিজেদের দরকার মত সরকারী অফিসারদের ধরে নিজস্ব পুষ্করিণীগুলি সরকারী খরচে সংস্কার করে নিয়েছেন। বীজ বিতরণের পরিকল্পনায় মারাত্মক ভুল ত্রুটি আছে। চাষী বীজ চায় কিনা এবং চাইলে তার পরিমান কত, এবং কি প্রকারে চাষীর নিকট বীজ পৌছিবে, তা না জেনে যদি কেবল বীজ দ্বারা সরকারী বীজাগার ভর্ত্তি করা হয় তা'হলে সমস্ত বীজ অপচয় ও নষ্ট হবে, অতীতের তিক্ত অভিজ্ঞতা থেকেই তাহা বলা যেতে পারে। তাই আমি বলছিলাম যে দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর আমূল পরিবর্ত্তন হওয়া দরকার। মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমি বলছিলাম যে আমাদের—(Here the member reached his time-limit.) একটু time দিতে হবে।

Mr. SPEAKER : বলুন।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : Lightটা Sir, নিবিয়ে দিন। এই বাজেট তৈরী সম্পর্কে যাঁরা পরিশ্রম করেছেন ও মস্তিষ্ক খাটিয়েছেন, তাঁদের এই পরিশ্রমকে আমি অসম্মান করতে চাই না। কিন্তু আমি বলবো যে বাজেট তৈয়ারীর ইংরেজ আমল থেকে যে গতানুগতিক প্রথা চলে এসেছে সেই প্রথা অবলম্বন করেই বর্ত্তমান বাজেটের খরচ বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে। আমাদের দেশের লোক এত মূর্খ ও গরীব যে তাদের অভাব-অভিযোগ কিভাবে ও কার কাছে জানাতে হয়, এবং কি উপায়ে তার প্রতিকার হয় তাহা তারা জানে না। আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহোদয় আজকে পরিষদে উপস্থিত নাই; তিনি প্রত্যেক ইউনিয়নে ডাক্তারখানা নির্ম্মাণের পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করেছেন, কিন্তু চাষীরা চরম মূর্খতার জন্য ডাক্তারখানার সুবিধা ও সুযোগ গ্রহণ করতে পারবে কিনা সন্দেহ। অচেনা ডাক্তার যা বলেন বা ব্যবস্থা করেন তাও সব সময় বোঝবার ক্ষমতা তাদের নেই। ডাক্তার হয়ত কোন মূর্খ চাষীকে রুগীর জন্য ঔষধ দেওয়ার পরে বললেন যে রুগীকে সাগু দিতে হবে। তারপর তাকে জিজ্ঞাসা করলেন যে সাগু তুমি বুঝেছো। সে বললে যে হ্যাঁ বাবু বুঝেছি, "শাক্"। এখন Typhoid রুগীকে ভুল বুঝে শাক খেতে দিয়ে মেরে ফেলাও অসম্ভব নয়। দারুণ মূর্খতার এইত পরিণাম। আমাদের দেশে যদি কোন পল্লী-উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনা কার্য্যকরী করতে হয় তবে প্রথমে আমাদের দেশের মূর্খ চাষীদেরকে শিক্ষা দিতে হবে। আমাদের শিক্ষামন্ত্রী বলেছেন দেশব্যাপী প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা প্রচলন করতে হলে ১৪ কোটী টাকার কমে হবে না। চাষীদের শিক্ষার জন্য যেভাবেই হোক এই টাকা সংগ্রহ করতে হবে। কারণ আধুনিক বিজ্ঞানের যুগে শিক্ষা অপরিহার্য্য। কৃষি বিদ্যা শিক্ষা দেওয়ার জন্য সহরে দুই-চারটি কৃষি কলেজ স্থাপন করলে চাষীদেরকে শিক্ষিত করা সম্ভব হবে না। ইতিপূর্ব্বে কৃষি কলেজের বিরাট ব্যয় বহন করে মাত্র কয়েকটি কৃষি বিভাগের কর্ম্মচারী তৈয়ারী হয়েছে। কিন্তু চাষীদেরকে কৃষিবিদ্যা শিক্ষা দেওয়ার চিরন্তন সমস্যা সমাধান হয়নি এবং এই ভাবে কোন দিনই সমাধান হবেও না। দেশের লোক মূর্খতার অন্ধকারে ডুবে থাকলে পল্লী-উন্নয়নের সমস্ত আয়োজন ও সমস্ত পরিকল্পনা ব্যর্থ হবে। একটা দৃষ্টান্ত দিই। আমেরিকার সম্পর্কে Burkeএর যে Speechএর মধ্যে Serbonian bog বলে একটি কথা আছে bogএর অর্থ চোরা বালি। সেই চোরা

বালির উপর দিয়ে একটির পর একটি সৈন্য বাহিনী গিয়েছে, কিন্তু তারা সকলেই চোরা বালির মাঝখানে ডুবে গিয়েছে। একটা বাহিনীও ফিরে আসেনি। আজ দেশের চরম মূর্খতার মাঝখানে যত বড় সুচিন্তিত পরিকল্পনাই উপস্থিত করা হোক না কেন, দেখা যাবে সেই চরম মূর্খতার মাঝখানে সেই পরিকল্পনা বানচাল হয়ে গেছে। শেখ সাদী বলেছেন: একটি ঘূর্ণাবর্ত্তের মধ্যে শত শত জাহাজ গেল কিন্তু কোন জাহাজের একখানা তক্তাও ফিরে এলো না। এই ভাবে মূর্খতার দরুণ তাদের উন্নতির সমস্ত চেষ্টাই ব্যর্থ হয়ে যাবে। সুতরাং চাষীকে সর্ব্বপ্রথম শিক্ষিত করা ছাড়া কোন উপায় নাই। এখন প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে যে চাষীদেরকে কিরূপ শিক্ষা দিতে হবে? এ পর্য্যন্ত পল্লী-অঞ্চলে যে সমস্ত primary school স্থাপন করা হয়েছে কৃষির উন্নতির দিক দিয়া সেই স্কুলগুলি উপকারের পরিবর্ত্তে অপকার বেশী করেছে। কারণ চাষীর ছেলেরা নামমাত্র লেখা পড়া শিখে পৈতৃক ব্যবসা ত্যাগ করে বাবু ও ভবঘুরে এবং অলস ও অকর্ম্মণ্য হয়ে পড়েছে। কৃষির সঙ্গে সম্পর্কহীন বিদ্যাশিক্ষা করে চাষীর সন্তানেরা পল্লী ত্যাগ করে গিয়েছে জেলার সহরে এবং তারপর কলিকাতায়। আজ কলিকাতায় খাদ্য ও বাসস্থানের সংস্থান না হওয়ায় তারা চলেছে দেশদেশান্তরে। এই ভাবে theoretical বা অবান্তর শিক্ষার ফলে পল্লী হয়েছে চির-উপেক্ষিত ও পরিত্যক্ত এবং সকল প্রকার মূর্খতা, দারিদ্র্য ও কুসংস্কারের কেন্দ্রস্থল। বাংলার লোক বাংলা ছেড়ে বিদেশে চলেছে উদরের সংস্থান করতে। আমি কোনরূপ প্রাদেশিকতার কথা তুলছি না--কিন্তু বিদেশ থেকে দলে দলে লোক এসে বাংলা ঘিরে ফেলেছে। বাঙ্গালীর এই সহরমুখী ও বিদেশমুখী হওয়ার গতিটাকে রোধ করে back to the villageএর নীতি অর্থাৎ তাদের গতি গ্রামমুখী করার নীতি গ্রহণ করতে হবে—এবং গ্রামের লোককে শিক্ষিত করে তার উন্নতি সাধনেই তাকে নিয়োজিত করতে হবে। "চাষীর ছেলে চাষের কাজে শিক্ষিত হয়ে খাঁটি চাষী হোক" এই হবে আমাদের প্রাথমিক বাধ্যতা মূলক শিক্ষার মূল উদ্দেশ্য। এই উদ্দেশ্য সিদ্ধ হলে পল্লী উন্নত ও সমৃদ্ধ হবে এবং খাদ্যসমস্যার সমাধান হবে।

তারপরে আর একটি কথা হচ্ছে এই যে এপর্য্যন্ত কৃষির উচ্চ শিক্ষার প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলি সহরে এবং নগরে কেন্দ্রীভূত হয়েছে। কৃষি কলেজ ও স্কুলগুলি চাষীর নাগালের মধ্যে করার জন্য গ্রামে করা হোক সহরে যেন আর না করা হয়। আর আমার সমস্ত বন্ধুবর্গকে আমি অনুরোধ করবো যে "মানের গোড়ায় ছাই দিয়েরে ভাই কসে লাঙ্গল ধর"। আমি বলছি না যে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী এবং সদস্যবৃন্দের সকলকেই লাঙ্গল ধরে জমি চাষ করতে হবে। আমার এই কথা বলার উদ্দেশ্য এই যে আমাদের মনোভাব ও দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীকে সম্পূর্ণ পরিবর্ত্তন করে চাষীদের প্রতি এরূপভাবে সহানুভূতিশীল করতে হবে যেন আমরা তাদের সঙ্গে মিশে তাদের অভাব-অভিযোগগুলি দূর করতে পারি এবং চাষের এবং চাষীর যাতে সত্যকার উপকার হয় সেইরূপ ব্যবস্থা করতে পারি। এইভাবে যদি আমরা কৃষক ও কৃষির উন্নতির দ্বারা অবিলম্বে খাদ্যসমস্যার সমাধান করতে না পারি Malthusএর theoryএর বিপদের সম্মুখীন হতে হবে। Malthus বলেছেন যে population increases in Geometrical ratio while means of sustenance and supply of food increases in Arithmatical ratio. এই demand এবং supply এর ঘূর্ণাবর্ত্তে আমাদের তলিয়ে যেতে হবে। সমস্ত ইউরোপীয় দেশগুলি এই সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয়েছিল কিন্তু তারা জমি চাষের পুরাতন প্রথা ত্যাগ করে বৈজ্ঞানিক উপায়ে উন্নত ধরণের নুতন নুতন যন্ত্রপাতি সৃষ্টি করে কৃষকের ও কৃষির উন্নতিমূলক সমস্ত আয়োজন ও ব্যবস্থা সম্পূর্ণ করে একই পরিমান জমিতে তিন গুণ, চার গুণ বেশী খাদ্য উৎপাদনে তাদের অস্তিত্ব রক্ষা করেছিল। চীনে প্রাচীন কৃষিপদ্ধতি অবলম্বন করে থাকায় চীনের লোক খাদ্য উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি করতে পারেনি। সেখানে খাদ্যের অনুপাতে লোকের সংখ্যা অসম্ভব বেড়ে যেয়ে চীনে যে অন্তর্বিপ্লব ও গৃহযুদ্ধ আরম্ভ হয়েছে, তাতে সমগ্র চীন আজ ধ্বংস হয়ে যাচ্ছে। আমাদের দেশকে যদি এই প্রকার ধ্বংস থেকে রক্ষা করতে হয়--

Mr. SPEAKER: Why don't your come to the point?

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: যদি আমাদের সেই সমস্যা সমাধান করতে হয় আমাদের এই demand and supplyএর উপযুক্ত প্রতিকার করতে হয়--তবে ইউরোপের মত বৈজ্ঞানিক উপায়ে আমাদের এই চাষীর এবং চাষের উৎকর্ষ সাধন করতে হবে।

আমাদের মালদহে তামাক ফসল খুব প্রচুর পরিমাণে হয় এবং যারা তামাক উৎপাদন করে তাদের শুধু তামাকের টাকা থেকেই জীবনযাত্রা নির্ব্বাহ হয়। তারা ধানের আবাদ ছেড়ে দিয়ে তামাক চাষ করে কারণ এই তামাকের মত নিরাপদ ও লাভজনক ফসল আর নেই। বঙ্গ বিভাগের পূর্ব্বে এর market ছিল পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে। কিন্তু এখন সেখানে যাতে তামাক না যেতে পারে তার জন্য আমাদের Indian Dominion এটা Central subject হিসাবে তামাকের উপর মন প্রতি ৬২।।০ টাকা tax বসিয়েছেন। এই কারণে তামাক Indian Dominion থেকে কোথাও চালান হতে পারছে না। এই প্রকারে যদি এই তামাক চালান

একেবারে বন্ধ হয়ে যায় এবং ভারতের বাজারে এই তামাক বিক্রী না হয় তবে চাষীদেরকে না খেয়ে মরতে হবে। এই তামাকের উপর ট্যাক্স যথাসম্ভব কমিয়ে না দিলে এবং বিভিন্ন বাজারে তামাক চালানের ব্যবস্থা না করলে তামাকের চাষাবাদ একেবারে বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে। আমাদের Indian Dominionএর এবং বিশেষতঃ পশ্চিম বঙ্গের Governmentএর এবিষয়ে বিহিত ব্যবস্থা করা নিতান্ত কর্ত্তব্য। না করলে তারা বাঁচবে না। এই তামাকের জমিতে অন্য কোন ফসল আবাদের চেষ্টা সম্পূর্ণ ব্যর্থ হবে। দ্বিতীয় কথা হ'চ্ছে যে মালদহে রেশমের বিস্তর চাষ হয়। কিন্তু রেশম যারা উৎপাদন করে তাদের অভাব-অভিযোগের প্রতিকার উদ্দেশ্যে রেশমের চাষাবাদের উন্নতিকল্পে এই বাজেটে কিছুই ব্যয়বরাদ্দ করা হয় নি। (A VOICE: "Industries") এখন কথা হচ্ছে--বর্ত্তমান খাদ্যসঙ্কটে আমাদের বাঁচবার উপায় কি? আমরা supply এর জন্য ততটা চেষ্টা করি না, শুধু demandটা বাড়িয়ে চলেছি। মন্ত্রীমহোদয় বলেছেন "ময়ূর" পরিকল্পনা বা দামোদর পরিকল্পনায় খাদ্যের ঘাটতি পুরণ হবে। কিন্তু হয়ত এই পরিকল্পনা কার্য্যকরী হতে ১০।১৫ বৎসর লেগে যাবে। এই অবস্থায় আশা করছি যে আমেরিকা, অষ্ট্রেলিয়া বা জাপান থেকে খাবার আসবে, আমরা তাই খেয়ে বাঁচবো। কিন্তু এই দশ বৎসর পার হয়ে যেতে যেতে দেশের লোকও দশ গুণ বেড়ে যাবে। যে "ময়ূর" পরিকল্পনায় দেশ সুজলা সুফলা শস্য শ্যামলা হয়ে যাবে বলে সবাই আশা করছেন সেই আশা পূর্ণ হবার পূর্ব্বেই লোক সংখ্যাও এত বৃদ্ধি পাবে যে খাদ্যাভাবে দেশ ধ্বংস হয়ে যাবে। সুতরাং সনির্ব্বন্ধ অনুরোধ যে বৈজ্ঞানিক পদ্ধতিতে যাতে কৃষির সর্ব্বাঙ্গীন উন্নতি হয় এবং কৃষকদের মধ্যে কৃষিশিক্ষার যাতে প্রসার হয় তার উপযুক্ত চেষ্টা আমাদের কৃষিমন্ত্রীকে করতে হবে।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: গৌরবান্বিত পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, এ সম্বন্ধে আমার বলবার ইচ্ছা ছিল না। কারণ এখনই শুনলেন আপনারা যে ভারতবর্ষ তথা পশ্চিম বঙ্গ গ্রাম পরিপূর্ণ অর্থাৎ এই পশ্চিম বঙ্গের অথবা ভারতবর্ষের অধিকাংশ লোক more than 80 per cent. লোকই গ্রামের অধিবাসী। (A VOICE: বাংলায় বলুন।) হঁ্যা, সমস্ত বাংলায় বলতে গেলে দু-একদিন অভ্যাস করতে হবে। গ্রামের অধিবাসী শতকরা ৮০জন, আর এই ৮০জনই কৃষক। Greatest good to the greatest number—এই যে democracy অর্থাৎ গণতন্ত্রের মূলনীতি হচ্ছে যে অধিকাংশ লোকের যাতে উপকার হয়, সেই নীতি গ্রহণ করা। গ্রামের যাতে উন্নতি হয় সেই নীতি গ্রহণ করা আমাদের অবশ্য কর্ত্তব্য। আমরা যদি কেবল সহরের দিকে, নগরের দিকে তাকিয়ে থাকি তার যাতে উন্নতি হয়, আর যাঁরা ইংরেজ আমলে যে প্রকার জীবনধারা পরিচালনা করেছেন, তাঁদের সেই ভাবধারা যদি আমরা অনুকরণ করে চলি তা হ'লে আমাদের স্বাধীনতার কোন মূল্য নাই, সে স্বাধীনতা ব্যর্থতায়ই পর্য্যবসিত হবে। (হাস্য) (A VOICE: একটা folk song বলুন।) ও রকম করে বললে আমি কিছুই বলতে পারবো না। এখন আমি গ্রামের উন্নতি-কল্পে—আমি General Administration-এ একটা cut motion দিয়েছিলাম—যে গ্রামের ও গ্রামবাসীর সর্ব্বপ্রকার উন্নতির জন্য General Administrationএর কি প্রকার পরিবর্ত্তন সাধন করা উচিত—সে সম্বন্ধেও একটা token cut দিয়েছিলাম। Under head "Administration of Justice" তাতেও একটা token cut দিয়েছিলাম। কিন্তু বড়ই দুঃখের বিষয় পরিষদপাল মহাশয় এই—যে আমার token cut সম্বন্ধে মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের বক্তৃতায় কিছুমাত্র উল্লেখ নাই--তিনি তার কিছুমাত্র উত্তর দেন নাই। সেই জন্য বিরক্ত হয়ে আমি আমার সমস্ত token cut as a protest প্রতিবাদস্বরূপে তুলে নিয়েছিলাম। পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, আপনি অনুগ্রহ করে বিবেচনা করে দেখবেন যে এই গ্রামের উন্নতির জন্য, এই গ্রামের সংরক্ষণের জন্য, এই গ্রামের সর্ব্বপ্রকারে যাতে টাকা কড়ি, অর্থ-সম্পদ বাহির না হয়ে যায় গ্রামে থাকে, আর গ্রামবাসীরা সুখস্বচ্ছন্দে বাস করে—এর জন্য U. P. Government কি করেছেন। ঐ মহাত্মা গান্ধীর নীতি অবলম্বন করে U. P. Government গ্রামবাসী হুকুমৎ বিল এনে তাতে আট হাজার কোর্ট, আর পঞ্চায়েৎ স্থাপন করেছেন। আর democracy গণতন্ত্র আজ experiment পরীক্ষা ভবন হয়ে U. P.তে আছে। এই এখানে যাঁরা বড় বড় মহারথী আছেন তারপরে তাঁরা দাবী করেন যে আমরা মহাত্মা গান্ধীর পন্থাই অনুসরণ করি, আমরা মহাত্মা গান্ধীর শিষ্য। কিন্তু যখন এই token cutএর উত্তর কিছুমাত্র নাই যে তাঁরা কি করবেন এই গ্রাম-পল্লী-নিয়ন্ত্রণ করবার জন্য তখন আমার মনে হয় তাঁদের যে বাণী এটা মিথ্যাবাণী কেবল মুখে, তাঁদের হৃদয় হচ্ছে বিষে পরিপূর্ণ --"পয়ঃমুখং, বিষকুম্ভম্" (হাস্য)। পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, এই সমস্ত দেখে মনে হয় যে স্বাধীনতা এদের ভেতর কিছুমাত্র আসেনি। মুখে বড় বড় বুলি আওড়ান, আর কাজে ঐ যে tyrannical ঐ যে মহামহিমান্বিত ইংরেজ জাতির যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের পদাঙ্ক অনুসরণ করে তাঁরা আমাদের সর্ব্বসাধারণকে আবার নিষ্পেষিত করছেন, আর এরা নিজেদের নির্য্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্ম্মী বলে উল্লেখ করছেন। এখন নির্য্যাতিত কংগ্রেস-কর্ম্মী তাঁরা নয়, এখন ওদের হাতে আমরাই নির্য্যাতিত

হচ্ছি। (Hear, hear.)। Sir, তাঁরা এখন ইংরেজের স্থান অধিকার করেছেন, আর আমরা তাদের নির্ব্বাভিত কংগ্রেসের স্থান অধিকার করেছি—(Hear, hear.) (Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH : খুব বড় কথা বলেছেন, ভেবে দেখুন।) মহাশয়, আমার বাংলা বলার অভ্যাস ছিল না, আমি চেষ্টা করবো এখন থেকে বাংলা-ভাষায় বলতে। বাংলাভাষা আমার মাতৃভাষা, বাংলাভাষার প্রতি আমার যথেষ্ট ভালবাসা আছে। বাংলাভাষা যদি ঠিক করে ভালভাবে বলতে না পারি, তার জন্য দয়া করে আপনারা কিছু মনে করবেন না। (A VOICE : আপনার বেশই তো হচ্ছে।) পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, আপনি বিবেচনা করুন। এই দুনিয়ার চারিদিকে বিভিন্ন দেশ ক্রমাগত উন্নত হচ্ছে। আর এই দুনিয়ার অগ্রগতির সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আমরাও নিশ্চয় সমান তালে পা ফেলে চলে যাবো। (A VOICE : নিশ্চয়ই।) আমরা যদি তাদের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে না যেতে পারি, তাদের পশ্চাদ্ধাবন না করতে পারি--তাহ'লে আমাদের ধরাতলে কোন স্থান নাই, আমরা অতলে নিমজ্জিত হয়ে যাব (হর্ষধ্বনি)। অতল গঙ্গাজলে, অতল সমুদ্রজলে বিলীন হয়ে যাব। একবার এটা চিন্তা করে দেখুন। (হাস্য।) পরিষদ-পাল মহাশয়, আমি আর ওদের address করবো না। (হাস্য।) (A VOICE :--পরিষদ বলুন, পারিষদ বলবেন না) Sir, আমাকে ক্ষমা করবেন। এখন কথা হচ্ছে--এইবার কথা হচ্ছে (মহাশয়, আমাকে অল্প একটু সময় দেবেন)।

Mr. SPEAKER : Please, go on.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN : এই বার শুনুন। (Laughter.) আপনারা হাসবেন না। এটা খুব serious, গভীর, নিবিড় কথা বলছি। (Laughter.) আপনারা অনুগ্রহ করে শুনবেন—হাসবেন না। আমাদের শিক্ষামন্ত্রী মহোদয় (The Hon'ble Sri BHUPATI MAZUMDAR : কৃষিমন্ত্রী বলুন)--তিনি ত্যাগী ব্যক্তি, সে সম্বন্ধে বিন্দুমাত্র সন্দেহ নেই। কিন্তু সেই ত্যাগ যদি সরল পথে পরিচালিত না হয়, সেই ত্যাগ যদি সুপ্ত থাকে, তবে সেই ত্যাগের কোন মূল্য নেই। আপনারা অনুগ্রহ করে দেখবেন--আমার হাতে এই যে কেতাব আছে, তাতে লেখা আছে--শতবৎসর কৃষিচাষের ফলে মাতা বসুন্ধরা এখন আর সেই প্রকার দান আমাদের করে না। অর্থাৎ ফসল পূর্ব্বে যে প্রকার হোত, সেই প্রকার এখন হয় না। শত শত বৎসরের কর্ষণের দ্বারা তার উৎপাদিকা শক্তি ক্রমশ: নষ্ট হয়ে যাচ্ছে। এখন যদি উহার উৎপাদিকা শক্তি আবার বৃদ্ধি করতে চাই, তাহলে আমাদিগকে scientific ভাবে চেষ্টা করতে হবে। ইউরোপের দেশ-বাসিগণ যে প্রথা অবলম্বন করে কৃষির উন্নতি সাধন করেছে, এক মণের জায়গায় চার মণ উৎপাদন করেছে, সেই প্রথা আমাদেরও অবলম্বন করতে হবে। যদি আপনারা বলেন--চিরাচরিত প্রথা, আমাদের মুনি-ঋষিরা যে পন্থা অবলম্বন করেছেন শত-সহস্র বৎসর পূর্ব্বে, সেই প্রথা আমাদের অবলম্বন করা উচিত। তবে, মহাশয়, সেই প্রথা এখন আর খাটবে না। এখনও যদি আমরা গরুর গাড়ী করে চলে যেতে চাই, আর ওরা যদি Aeroplane চড়ে হাজার মাইল ঘণ্টায় চলে যায়, তবে আমরা তাদের সঙ্গে সমানে চলতে পারব না। সেইজন্য আমার সকাতর নিবেদন, আপনারা চিরাচরিত প্রথা অবলম্বন ছেড়ে দিন। ইউরোপীয় প্রথা--Denmark, Holland, Belgium এবং সর্ব্বোপরি German প্রথা অবলম্বন করুন। আপনাদের বলছি শুনুন--আমি Co-operative ভিতর থেকে আমার জীবনীশক্তি নষ্ট করে দিয়েছি। কিন্তু বড়ই দু:খের বিষয়--৪০ বৎসরের মধ্যেও সাধারণের যে কিছু উপকার করতে পেরেছি, তা মনে হয় না, যদিও আমার হৃদয়, মন সেই উন্নতির দিকেই ছিল। পরিষদ-পাল মহাশয়, সেদিনও আমি বলেছি, আজও বলছি, যদি কৃষির উন্নতি আমরা করতে চাই, গ্রামের উন্নতি করতে চাই, তাহলে প্রথমেই শিক্ষার উন্নতি চাই। এইবার শুনুন Mr. wolfe কি বলেছেন—

Henry W. Wolff is the Chairman of the International Co-operative Alliance and a Member of the Executive of the Agricultural Organisation Society of England.

"Agriculture, by itself, is still only an ordinary craft, but, if it is to be practised with success, it is dependent upon the aid of several of the most recondite sciences, as well as upon thoroughly commercial management. The old-fashioned, simple methods and easy cultivations will no longer suffice. The farmer of today wants to be, in person or by substitute, a skilled trader. There must be a knowledge of trading principles, of markets, a power of scientific calculation, of chemical analysis and botanical examination, such as an ordinary small farmer can neither be expected to possess nor can afford to purchase for himself. Co-operation here comes to his rescue."

যেমন আমাদের দেশে আমরা বলে থাকি, মুনি-ঋষির আমল থেকে, সেটা Ordinary craft.

এখন বুঝ্তে পারছেন আমরা চাষী, সাধারণ চাষী অশিক্ষিত, বোকা যতদূর হতে হয়। এই অনেক দিন আগে থেকে, ২।৩ পুরুষ থেকে তারা যেভাবে চাষ করে এসেছে, এখন সেইভাবে চাষ করলে ত চল্‌বে না। এই বইতে বলা হচ্ছে—

"The question of agriculture is the question of life and death struggle between the advance in science and the old methods."

মহাশয়, তাই এখন Scienceর সাহায্য গ্রহণ কর্‌তে হবে।

আমি আর বেশী কিছু বল্‌ব না। আপনাদের কাছে, কৃষিমন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের কাছে এবং সমস্ত মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর নিকট আমার সকাতর নিবেদন যে আপনারা গ্রামের প্রতি দৃষ্টি রাখুন আর যাতে গ্রামের সর্ব্বাঙ্গীন উন্নতি হয় তা করুন। আমি চাই গ্রামে পঞ্চায়েত সৃষ্টি হোক। আপনারা Agricultural co-operation সংগঠন করবার ব্যবস্থা করুন। যদি না করেন, তবে এই সব শত শত বরাদ্দ সব useless, worthless.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, after the most eloquent and informative speech of the honourable member who spoke last, I do not know, Sir, if I can bring or introduce anything new into this debate. Fundamental issues have been raised regarding agricultural indebtedness. Methods have been suggested as to how we should proceed to reduce agricultural indebtedness. In this connection, Sir, along with a scheme to rehabilitate the *krishak* in order that we may improve *krishi*, that is, cultivation, we must also take into account fragmentation of land, and Government should not fight shy should it be necessary to introduce legislation to do away with this evil.

Another cut motion was raised to bring the price of paddy in relation to the other necessities of life. This question, Sir, again has implications and it was suggested from authority on high that if we sought to raise the price of foodstuffs—and in this country by foodstuffs we mean paddy—it might give rise to inflation. Sir, I am not an economist and I do not pretend how this can have any influence in favouring inflation. A *krishak*, a cultivator, is a poor man and it has been very well put to the House by Janab Hashem Sahib that he not only lives by eating paddy but also from his surplus paddy he manages to get the wherewithal for the other necessities of life. The other necessities of life such as cloth, kerosene, *gur* and other things have risen so sharply in price that the present price fixed by Government in the Civil Supplies Department has no relation with the actual price and does not help in giving him incentive to cultivate more, to grow more. The question, Sir, is that in order that we succeed in growing more food, we must be able to provide the necessary stimulus, the necessary incentive to the cultivator to grow more food. If the cultivator feels that if he grows more food, the Government is going to snatch it away from him and at a price that is not at all remunerative, he will not have that incentive, that enthusiasm to grow more food. That is the point, Sir, the Cabinet should bear in mind.

Now, Sir, I come to the supply of seeds and manures to the cultivator. Sir, this has become almost a scandal not only during the tenure of the office of the present Ministry, but this has been a scandal for long and the present Ministry has not succeeded in removing it. Sir, I am also a cultivator though I do not look like that, but that is my profession. (Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Since when?) By birth. I come of a cultivator family and farming and cultivation is my profession and, therefore, when I speak one or two things about cultivation, I speak with authority unlike others, and I have to depend on Government seeds and Government manures.

About seeds, Sir, I have noticed that Government seeds are of improved variety. A lot of money goes for the improvement of seeds and the departments that are charged with the improvement have achieved

something. Paddy seeds have improved; the yield is more, the quality is better, but, Sir, the supply goes to the cultivator when he has no need for it—out of season. The cultivator eats the seed, because he has finished his cultivation when the seed is supplied to him. After the paddy has been planted, seeds from the Government department are distributed.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: How do you know that seeds have improved?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I know the kind of seed Government have picked and chosen for distribution. They are of improved variety.

Sir, talking about distribution of seeds again—seeds which Government supplied to the jute cultivators—the Hon'ble Minister himself knows what that resulted in. That was another scandal. The seeds flowered when plants were a few inches high. How did it happen? Who was charged with the purchase of those seeds? I do not question the sincerety of Government. I do not question the intention of the employees. They are pious; they are good. Government wanted to grow more jute because of the partition. Why did this result in a flop and a waste of public money? I charge the Hon'ble Minister with this. Who was responsible for the purchase and selection of those seeds? Then, Sir, the Government in the Agriculture Department have not yet been able to form an idea of the exact quantum of seed required per acre. They are still guided by old ideas, because the Hon'ble Minister—though he looks like a cultivator but, in fact, he is not—does not know exactly how much seed should go to an acre. Some high Government official advised the Ministry ages and ages ago and that advice is now being followed. There is no improvement in this direction.

Then about distribution of seeds. Sir, distribution was made in Burdwan, Hooghly and other districts which are nearer Calcutta and possibly nearer the sympathies of the Hon'ble Minister. Seeds were not distributed in Nadia or in Murshidabad This grow-more-food, Sir, also brings in the question of minor irrigation schemes. It is no use trying to shift the responsibility of this minor irrigation scheme to the Irrigation Department There should be a liaison, there should be co-operation and co-ordination between these two departments. (Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: And also with Education.) I am coming to that point later on. You talk of big projects like the Damodar and the Mor. I do not know, God only knows when they will materialise; it is in the womb of futurity. Let us hope that these two schemes materialise in our life-time, but we have to improve the lot of the cultivators. So the emphasis should be on the minor irrigation schemes that would bring the lands that are now lying uncultivated but are cultivable under cultivation. Last year, Sir, I remember having suggested to the Minister of Agriculture about the small bunds. There is a tract of land in my district known as Hijole. It is very fertile but it is inundated every year. Last year it was not inundated and it yielded very rich harvest. If Government were really sincere and knew how to go about their business, they would concentrate on the small schemes like improvement of the bunds, so that they could be protected from inundation and crops could be had. Sir, it is all very well for Government to talk about the big projects if they are anxious to attract international notice, but if they are really anxious to do good to the poor cultivators, they should not lose sight of the obvious, of the small minor things which perhaps have not much publicity value but have real value.

Then, Sir, I should like to ask the Hon'ble Minister about the poultry improvement schemes that he has and about one or two stations that he runs for that purpose. He has one such at Ranaghat. Will he be pleased to tell the House what has been the cost last year of the Ranaghat

farm and how much he has got back by way of sale of fowls, eggs, etc? (Pointing to Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia.) My honourable friend has asked, "why should Government engage themselves in commercial enterprises?" Everything, any enterprise, must be undertaken with a commercial eye, with a strict eye on the debit and credit. If the Government were not able to prove by demonstration that a scheme paid it would not be attractive to the cultivator and so in anything at all that the Government did engage they should be able to prove by the balance-sheet that it paid and that is why I said and of course it brings in another question but I am not going into that. Will he please tell us about the Haringhata Scheme also? He has acquired 13,000 acres of land. What has been the expense and how many—this is most important, Sir—how many persons, rather families he has displaced; what are his schemes for the rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced persons? Sir, we have spent money over the refugees from East Bengal. Those that stayed here but want to go away now we are trying to speed their departure and those who have chosen to stay here we are trying to rehabilitate them. So far so good. They deserve our sympathies and we have not been chary of showing our sympathies; it redounds to the credit of everybody. But, Sir, these are the sons of the soil and we have more responsibility towards these people. Our sympathies should go out all the more because they are our own and they are the backbone of the Government. These are the cultivators. You have displaced some 10,000 families in Haringhata alone and this brings in a bigger question. Several thousand families have been displaced by Government acquiring lands in the different airfields.

Sri ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: When was that acquired? In what year?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Of course I do admit that the Muslim League was in power when the British regime was here. For the acquirement of lands at Panagarh I am not making this Government rseponsible, but I am making this Government responsible for the rehabilitation of those people ousted from there. You are the Government today; you owe them a duty. It is your duty to rehabilitate and resettle them and they should not be allowed to roam about in the streets. (A VOICE FROM TREASURY BENCHES: Including refugees.) Yes, I do not ask you to exclude the refugees. You owe a duty by them by all means but you owe more duty to these people, the cultivators, a greater duty than you owe to the refugees who have come from East Bengal. That is the point I want to make that you owe a greater duty to those people whom you have driven out. (Interruptions.) I am not afraid of the interruptions. I am prepared and willing to meet all the interruptions because I have got a cast-iron case and I will demand, after I have been able to satisfy the House that there is a case, an answer from the Hon'ble Minister. You have displaced thousands of families. What is the policy that you are pursuing in respect of these persons? For the sake of refugees you are displacing the present occupants of homesteads. (The Hon'ble Sri BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: We are not displacing them like that). (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: It is a completely wrong statement.) Well, if it is not a fact then I stand corrected. I shall be very happy if you are not going to displace the present owners of the lands in favour of the refugees. About the scheme again, what is the compensation that you have paid? You have suggested that you will pay the cultivators compensation at Rs. 40 a bigha. Is that enough for the cultivator? I am not referring to the money portion of it but do you seriously think that land can be had at Rs. 40 a bigha? You are driving away the present owners from their homestead——

Mr. SPEAKER: Instead of saying "You", please use the word "Government".

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: All right, Sir. Do the Government in the Agriculture Department think that it is possible to get land at Rs. 40 a bigha? If it is not possible, what the Government propose to do? Will the Government be satisfied without doing anything or without having under their contemplation to do something when the thousands of families who have been displaced to satisfy the needs of Government will roam in the streets or will the displaced persons shift for themselves?

Sir, about the Mor scheme, I have just been informed by an honourable member of this House that the Government had to displace 21,000 families for this. Government will have to address itself to this problem not piecemeal but in its entirety and I should be very happy if the Government tell us what is the policy that is being followed.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. How does the question of Mor project arise in connection with the motion on Agriculture?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, the Hon'ble Minister forgets that the Mor Barrage and the Mor Dam is primarily for agriculture and that is how it comes in here and the displaced persons who are agriculturists and, if the Hon'ble Minister has any concern for the agriculturists, he ought to know how the Government propose to face this problem.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED : এগ্রিকাল্চার সম্বন্ধে কৃষি এবং কৃষক সম্পর্কে প্রায় সব কথা বলা হয়েছে। মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় বলেছেন এটাকে তিন ভাগ করা যেতে পারে। প্রথম ভূমি সংরক্ষণ, দ্বিতীয় ভূমি পরিবর্দ্ধন এবং তৃতীয় ভূমির উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি। সংরক্ষণের জন্য শান্তিনিকেতনে ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে, পরিবর্দ্ধনের কাজ খানিকটা এগিয়ে গেছে, এক হাজার একর জমি জলপাইগুড়িতে উন্নত হয়েছে, আরও নয় হাজার একর সামনে আছে। উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির সম্পর্কে তিনি বলেছেন জলসেচের ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে Tank Improvement Act-এর দ্বারা, persian wheel, ইঁদারা ও অন্যান্য যন্ত্রপাতি ইত্যাদির দ্বারা, কৃষির উন্নতির জন্য co-operative methodএ কাজ করবার জন্য তিনি আহ্বান করেছেন; বীজ, সার ইত্যাদি দেওয়া হয়েছে, ইংরেজী লাঙ্গল প্রবর্ত্তন করা হয়েছে। কারণ দেশে Labour খুব কমে গেছে। আর জমি যারা চাষ আবাদ করে তাদের মজুরীর হারও খুব বেড়ে গেছে। অতএব তাদের স্থান পূরণ করবার জন্য ইংরেজী লাঙ্গল প্রবর্ত্তনের কথা বলেছেন। কিন্তু তা প্রবর্ত্তন করতে গেলে জমির বন্দের বা দাগের আয়তন কিছু বাড়াতে হবে। যেখানে জমি পাঁচ কাঠা, ছ'কাটা, অথবা স্থল বিশেষে এক বিঘা, দেড় বিঘা বা দু বিঘা, সেখানে ইংরেজী লাঙ্গলের দ্বারা কিছু হয় না। সে সম্পর্কে জনাব খুদাবক্স সাহেব ও অন্যান্য সকলে বলেছেন যে জমির প্লট বা বন্দগুলি যাতে বাড়ে, তার ব্যবস্থা না করলে এই সব বিলেতী লাঙ্গলের কথা বলা উচিত নয়, ভাবাও উচিত নয়। Permanent Settlement উঠে গেলে হয়ত খানিকটা জমির বন্দের আয়তন বাড়তে পারে বা নাও পারে। চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত সম্বন্ধে কেউ কেউ বলেছেন যে সরকারের আয় বাড়বে। কেন আয় বাড়বে? সে সম্বন্ধে আমার সন্দেহ আছে। কারণ পশ্চিম বঙ্গের জমিদারীতে কিছু আয় নাই। অতএব এতে আয় ত বাড়বে না। তবে জমির বন্দের পরিমাণ কিছু বাড়তে পারে rent receiving interest দেশ থেকে উঠে গেলে। তার জন্য চেষ্টা করা যেতে পারে। কিন্তু তা বাড়বে না যতক্ষণ না সরকার থেকে একটা আইন করা যাবে। আপোষে লোকে কখনও কো-অপারেটিভের হাতে জমি ছেড়ে দেবে না। এই জমি ছাড়ার ব্যাপারে লোক বড় নিরুৎসাহ—লোকে জমি আঁকড়ে ধরে থাকতে চায়—জমির কোন পরিবর্ত্তন তারা চায় না। কাজেই গভর্ণমেণ্টের co-operative দ্বারা এ কার্য্য হবে না। গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি আইন করে জমির বন্দের পরিমান কিছু বাড়াতে পারেন তাহ'লে চাষের খানিকটা সহায় হবে, মজুর খানিকটা কম লাগবে। প্লটগুলি যদি বড় বড় হ'ত তাহ'লে সার দেওয়া, লাঙ্গল দেওয়া, জল-সেচ ইত্যাদি সমস্ত কাজে সুবিধা হ'ত। সেই জন্য আমি বেশী জোর দেই বন্দ বা প্লটগুলি বাড়াবার জন্য। এগুলি যদি না করা হয়, তাহলে কৃষকদের প্রায়শ: ভাল কিছু হবে না। (A VOICE : উত্তরাধিকার আইনের কি হবে?) উত্তরাধিকারকে আইনে শেষ করতে হবে। যে উত্তরাধিকার আইন আছে তাকেও প্রথম অধিকার করতে হবে—তা না হলে তো হবে না। একজনের ফোঁড়া হয়েছে, ডাক্তার যদি মনে করেন ফোঁড়া কাটা কর্ত্তব্য, সেখানে সে রোগীর বুকের উপর বসে তা কাটতেই হবে। (A VOICE : ফোঁড়া যে পাকেনি।) আরও যদি কোন পন্থা থাকে, ভাবা যাবে। অশিক্ষিত গ্রামের লোকগুলির অন্য কোন উপায় নাই বলেই, তারা চাষে পড়ে আছে। অন্য পেশা যদি পেত তাহ'লে তারা অন্যত্র চলে যেত। এই হয়েছে তাদের মনের প্রবৃত্তি।

এই মনোবৃত্তির পরিবর্ত্তন না করলে কিছু হবে না। পূর্ব্বে সমস্ত পেশার মধ্যে বাণিজ্যই ছিল প্রধান, তারপরে ছিল কৃষি এবং সবশেষে চাকরী। এখন এই কৃষি বা চাষের কাজ হয়েছে ভিক্ষার ওপরে। ভিক্ষা করলে যদি পাওয়া যায় তাহ'লে তারা চাষ করতে রাজী নয়। এই হয়েছে তাদের মানসিক অবস্থা। এই মানসিক অবস্থাটা ঘুরিয়ে দিতে হবে। এই দিকে যদি চেষ্টা করতে হয় তবে সেখানে শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রীরও দরকার হবে, অশিক্ষা-মন্ত্রীরও দরকার হবে (হাস্য)। সেখানে আসে co-operative বা সমবায়ের কথা। একণে শিক্ষা ও সমবায়, গ্রাম অঞ্চলে বর্ত্তমান free primary education বহাল হবার পরে গোটা জেলাটাকে এক রকম মোটামুটী survey করে ভাগ করা হয়েছে। দু-হাজার লোক আর এক মাইল পরিধি-এর জন্য একটা করে স্কুল করা হয়েছে। সেই পরিধির মধ্যকার লোকও শিক্ষক দিয়ে গ্রাম সারাতে হবে। গ্রামের শিক্ষক ভাল হো'ক আর মন্দ হো'ক সে গ্রামের সব-সে কেবল শিক্ষা দেয় না সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সে তাদের হোমিও-প্যাথিক ওষুধ দেয়, এমন কি বিপদে আপদে তাদের পরামর্শও দেয়। আর গাঁয়ের লোকেরা বাধ্য হয়ে হোক, অথবা অবাধ্য হয়ে হোক, সেই গুরুমহাশয়েরই কথা খানিকটা শোনে। এই যে শিক্ষালয় দুহাজার লোকের ছেলেদের জন্য এদেরকে নিয়ে যদি সমবায় সমিতি করা যায়, তাহ'লে কৃষিকার্য্যের যারা লোক, তাদের অনেক উপকার হয়। কেবল গ্রোব নার্শারীর দানার ব্যাগ হাতে নিয়ে ঘুরেলে হবে না। তাদের গিয়ে বুঝিয়ে বলতে হবে এই যে গ্রামের কৃষি এর অমুক অমুক জায়গায় গলদ আছে, এসো ভাই বসি, তামাক টামাক খাই, আর পরামর্শ করি। তা না হ'লে কেবল বড় বড় বক্তৃতা করলে কিছুই হবে না। বক্তৃতা শোনবার মত ধৈর্য্য তাদের নাই। আস্তে আস্তে তাদের কথার জবাব দিতে হবে। আমরা যদি তাদের কাছে শুধু বড় বড় বক্তৃতা দেই তাহ'লে তারা উঠে চলে যাবে এখানকার এই বাজেটের বক্তৃতার শ্রোতাদের মত। তাদের সঙ্গে বসতে হবে, যোগাযোগ করে খানিকটা চেষ্টা করলে, আমার মনে হয় তাতে ভাল ফল হতে পারে। কৃষি-মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন জল নিকাশের কথা। বর্দ্ধমান, বীরভূম জেলার লোক তিনি জলের প্রাদুর্ভাবের দিকে কম লক্ষ্য করেন। তাঁহাকে বলি যে আমাদের এদিকে জলের উৎপাতেও কাজ হয় না। জল-নিকাশের দ্বারা যাতে বিল পরিষ্কার হয়ে যায় তার ব্যবস্থা করুন।

আর একটা বিপদ আছে নোনাজল। এমন কোন ধান নাই যা নোনাজলের হাত থেকে বাঁচতে পারে। তাদের এই নোনাজল থেকে বাঁচাতে হবে। এতে হাত আছে ভুপতি বাবুর। উনি যদি বলেন আমার দায়িত্ব নয়। আমি বলবো এটা মিনিষ্টীর সম্মিলিত দায়িত্ব।

তারপরে কচুরীপানার উৎপাৎ ও আপদ আছে। এই কচুরীপানা যাতে উঠে যায়, যাতে এর উচ্ছেদ হয়, তার জন্য কেবল একটা আইন করলে হবে না, এক একটা "ডে" করলে কিছু হবে না। এর জন্য ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের লোককে, গ্রামের লোককে সমবায় সমিতির মধ্যে এনে তাদের দ্বারা খানিকটা কাজ করতে হবে।

এরপরে ভাল বীজ যাতে সময় মত দেওয়া হয় তার ব্যবস্থা করা দরকার। সার সম্পর্কে বলি। শুনেছি কেমিক্যাল সারে জমি নষ্ট হয়ে যায়। অনেক জায়গায় দেখেছি যে ঐ সারে জমি নষ্ট হয়ে যায়। গাছগাছড়ার দ্বারাও ভাল সার হয়। কিন্তু আজকাল সেগুলো পাবার উপায় নাই। এই অবস্থায় আপনাদের চিন্তা করতে হবে কিভাবে এই সমস্যার সমাধান হয়। কাঠের এমন দর যে গ্রামেতেও কাঠের অভাবে কয়লা দিয়ে ভাত রান্না হচ্ছে। এমন কি যারা সামান্য মুড়ি ভেজে খায় তাদেরও অবলম্বন হয়েছে কয়লা। (A VOICE : গোবর সার ?) গোবর ত আপনারা পুড়িয়ে ফেলছেন। গোবর সার নাই। জ্বালানীর জন্য তা ঘুঁটে করে পুড়িয়ে রান্না হচ্ছে।

আমাদের গোসাবাতে সুন্দরবন অঞ্চলে যে জমি আছে সেখানে যেভাবে চাষ করছে তা দেখা দরকার হয়েছে। সেখানে কতকগুলো লোকের মধ্যে খানিকটা জমি সমানভাবে ভাগ করে দেওয়া হয়েছে এবং কো-অপারেটিভ থেকে কিছু কিছু টাকা ধার দিচ্ছে। তারা যেসব বীজ ধান চাষ করে দেবে তা সমিতি বেশী দামে কিনে নেবে। তারা একটা মিলও করেছে। একটা গ্রামে ওরা এই সব করেছে। সমবেত চেষ্টা ভিন্ন এই সব করবার উপায় নাই। আমাদের দেশে জমি কম—খুব টানাটানি, তার জন্য হয় না।

তার পরে আর একটা কথা বলবো। বাস্তুহারাদের জন্য দেড়লাখ একর জমি নেওয়া হয়েছে, দুলাখ লোক থাকবে। এত লোক ও এত জমি আমরা এক সঙ্গে হাতে পাচ্ছি। এখানে ডিপার্টমেন্টের যাঁরা expert, মন্ত্রীদের যাঁরা মন্ত্রণা বা যন্ত্রণা দেন (হাস্য) তাঁদের এবার লাগান যাক্—বলুন এবার বাবা এখানে co-operative করাও তো। এত লোক দিচ্ছি এত জমি দিচ্ছি তোমরা ক'রে দেখাও। Agriculture করো, veterinary করো, poultry ইত্যাদি করো। Directorকে এবার direction দেবার অধিকার না দিয়ে আপনারা তাঁকে direct করুন। বলুন। তোমরা করো। তোমরা যদি এই সব ক'রে আমাদের দেখাতে পার, তাহ'লে আমরাও লোককে খানিকটা দেখাতে পারি।

এখন বাজেট যেভাবে তৈরী হয় সে সম্বন্ধে বলি বাজেট বলা হ'ল এবং ফুরিয়ে গেল। এর দ্বারা কাজের কাজ কিছুই হয় না। যতক্ষণ বাজেট বৎসর ওয়ারী থাকবে ততদিনই এই রকম বাজেট তৈয়ারীও শেষ হবে। কাজ হবে না কেন না আমাদের বাজেট প্রস্তুত হতে সুরু হয় সেপ্টেম্বর, অক্টোবর মাসে আর মার্চ মাসের সঙ্গে তা শেষ। একটা দেখতে না দেখতে আর একটা পেছিয়ে যাচেছ বায়োস্কোপের ছবির মতন। নতুনের পর নতুন বাজেট আসছে আর যাচেছ এ রকম করে কিছুই হবে না। এই বাজেট যদি ৫ বৎসরের জন্য বা ৩ বৎসরের জন্য হয় তাহ'লে খানিকটা কাজ হতে পারে।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir,——

Mr. SPEAKER: Do you want to speak?

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: You curtail your speech as much as you can.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall not be long. কয়েকদিন আগে Civil Supplies ব্যাপারে বন্ধুবর প্রফুল্ল সেন বল্লেন production আমার ব্যাপার নয়, ও পাঁজা মহাশয়ের ব্যাপার।

আপনারা জানেন আমি ১২ বছর ধরে শ্রমিকদের প্রতিনিধিত্ব করে আসছি, এ হাউসে, বাইরেও। কৃষকদের সমস্যা এবং কৃষকদের আন্দোলনের সঙ্গে আমার ঘনিষ্ট যোগ নেই, কিন্তু সেটা খুব গৌরবের বিষয় নয়। আজ ভারতবর্ষের 75 per cent. যখন কৃষিজীবি এবং কৃষিই এখনও পর্যন্ত Tata, Birla প্রভৃতি বড় বড় কারখানা থাকা সত্বেও main industry, তখন কৃষিকে বাদ দিয়ে দেশ বড় হবে না। আজকে সব চেয়ে বড় প্রশ্ন হচেচ খাওয়ার প্রশ্ন। সেই খাওয়াটা যোগাবেন পাঁজা মহাশয়। সহায়তা কতটা অন্যান্য মন্ত্রীদের কাছ থেকে পাবেন সেটা তিনি দেখবেন; কিন্তু যে অন্ন সমস্যাটা রয়েছে যার জন্য বছরে ১১০ কোটি টাকা বাইরে চলে যাচেছ সেই সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য এই এক বছরের programmeএ কিছু হয়নি। পরিকল্পনা অনেক হয়েছে, কিন্তু অন্ততঃ তিন বছরের পরিকল্পনা না করলে যে এই গুরুতর সমস্যার সমাধান হতে পারে তা মনে হয় না। তা সে বিষয়ে আমি ত অনেক খানি হতাশ হয়েছি, যদিও পাঁজা মহাশয় একজন "পা-ফাটা" Minister. "পা-ফাটা" Ministerএর হয়ত মানে দরকার; যাঁরা গ্রামে গ্রামে বেড়ান এবং যাঁদের পা ফাটে, motor চড়েন না, এই রকম Minister. কিন্তু সেটাই শুধু যথেষ্ট নয়। সামনে একটা পরিকল্পনা থাকা দরকার। সেই পরিকল্পনা সম্বন্ধে খুব দুর্ভাগ্যের বিষয় আমাদের যে আমরা আনাড়ী কৃষকদের সম্বন্ধে, এদিকে যাঁরা এ বিষয় বহু অভিজ্ঞ তাঁরা আজকে রুদ্ধ-কণ্ঠ, নির্য্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্ম্মী আমার বন্ধুর ভাষায়। অত্যন্ত দুঃখের বিষয় যে হাউসে যে discussion হবে তার উপায় নাই কারণ যদি হাউসের ⅘th বা ⅔rd fossil হয়ে যান তাহলে যে অবস্থা হয় হাউসের সেই অবস্থা।

যাই হোক্, আমার একটি ছোট programme আছে, সেটি হচেচ যে কৃষকের এই যে 10 per cent. মাত্র অভাব খাওয়ার এটা পুরা হচেচ না গত ২ বছরের মধ্যে। এর একটা কারণ হচেচ যে কৃষকের মধ্যে সে প্রেরণা জাগানো যায় নি যে সে উৎপাদনের দিকে চেষ্টা করবে সে রকম ভাবে। Produce or perish একটা বলা হচেচ, কিন্তু তারা দেখছে we are producing and perishing. সেটা থেকে তাদের বাঁচাতে হবে। এক কথায়, এক formulaর "লাঙ্গল যার, জমি তার" এটা যদি হয় তখন কৃষক বেঁচে যাবে, তখনই কৃষিসম্পদ্ আমাদের বাড়বে, অন্নের অভাব থাকবে না। অর্থাৎ যে জমিতে চাষ করবে তার উপর থেকে যত রকমের আমাদের মধ্যবিত্ত কিম্বা, তার চেয়ে বড় জমিদার মহারাজা এই রকম ভাবের যত exploiter class আছে তারা সরে যাবে, যে জমি চাষ করে তার ফল সে পাবে, এই অবস্থা আনতে না পারলে শুধু patch workএ কিছু হবে না। সেই লাঙ্গল যার জমি তার করতে গেলে অনেক প্রশ্ন আসবে; এই জমিদারী প্রথা লোপ এবং Land Revenue Department, Finance Department কত আসবে জানি না; Home Departmentও হয়ত আনুসঙ্গিক আসবে। গত দুই মাসের মধ্যে হাওড়া জেলায় পুলিশের গুলিতে লোক মারা গিয়েছে, মেয়েরা মারা গিয়েছে। হুগলী জেলায় কৃষক আন্দোলন, আরামবাগে সুপ্রসিদ্ধ প্রফুল্ল সেন মহাশয় এবং আরো অনেকে পরিচালনা করেছেন এবং তাঁরা যে রকম ভাবে করেছেন আজ যাঁরা করেছেন তাঁরা হয়ত অত অভিজ্ঞ নন্, তা সত্বেও কখনও এ রকম ভাবে গুলি চলেনি যা আজকে চলেছে। সব সময় Communistদের দোষ দিলে ত চলবে না। (Laughter.) কিন্তু ব্যাপারটা দাঁড়াচেচ এই যে কৃষকেরা যখন দাবী করছে এ নয় যে "জমির মালিক আমরা", "লাঙ্গল যার জমি তার"; কিন্তু তারা দাবী করছে যে আমরা

যা উৎপাদন করছি তার তিন ভাগের এক ভাগ দেবো। সেটা খানিকটা Government মেনে নিয়েছেন, কিন্তু সেখানে নানান রকম উৎপাৎ হচ্চে; মালিকের তরফ থেকে, জমীদারের তরফ থেকে নাটিশ পাঠানো হচ্চে, দাঙ্গা হচ্চে, গুলি বর্ষণ হচ্চে। কৃষকের দাবী যদি না মেটানো যায় ত পাঁজা মহাশয় যত চেষ্টাই করুণ কিছুই এগোতে পারবেন না। তা আমার বক্তব্য এই যে এটার fundamental বা radical solution হওয়া দরকার। জমির মালিকানা সত্ব তা ছাড়া অন্যান্য জিনিষও এর সঙ্গে জড়িত আছে, যেমন ঋণের ভার কৃষকের উপর রয়েছে। একটা বলা হয়েছে আজকে যে ঋণ কিছু কমেছে কিন্তু তাহলেও কৃষক যখন মারা যায় তখন উত্তরাধিকারসূত্রে তার ছেলেদের ঋণের বোঝাটা দিয়ে যায়, আর কিছু নয়। সেই ঋণের বোঝাটাও কমাতে হবে। অন্যান্য দেশে যেমন রাশিয়ায় যখন ১৯১৭ সালে জমি সমস্ত কৃষকদের দিলে এবং যা কিছু ঋণ ছিল সমস্ত এক কথায় wipe out করলে সেটা এখন এখানে সম্ভব নয় কিন্তু সেই problemটা তাদের face করতে হবে, সেই ঋণের বোঝাটা কমাতে হবে এবং জমির সত্ব, জমির মালিকানা তাদের দিতে হবে। তাহলে production বাড়বে; তা না হলে production বাড়াবার যত চেষ্টা, scheme, "grow more food" খুব বেশী ফলপ্রসূ হবে না, এবং পাঁজা মহাশয়কেও দোষ দিয়ে লাভ নেই।

যে systemএর মধ্যে পাঁজা মহাশয় পড়ে গেছেন তা থেকে তিনি উদ্ধার পেতে পারেন না যদি না তাঁর সামনে যিনি বসে আছেন তিনি কিছু সাহায্য করেন। কাজেই আমি বলব যে কংগ্রেস আন্দোলনের মধ্যে পাঁজা মহাশয় ছিলেন, নিকুঞ্জ মাইতি মহাশয় ছিলেন—তাঁদের কাছেই আমার শিক্ষা—যে সব কথা তিনি আজ বলেছেন সেইটা কার্যে পরিণত করতে চেষ্টা করুন। তাঁর কতটা practical difficulty আছে জানি না। কিন্তু আমরা সকলেই এটা চাই যে জমির মালিক সেই হবে যে লাঙ্গল ধরে, আর বাকী যারা পরভোক্তী আছে তারা থাকবে না। আমরা রুশিয়ার প্রথা নিচ্ছি না, কিন্তু ইণ্ডিয়ার method নিচ্ছি। এতে হয়ত ডাক্তার ব্যানার্জী কিছু বাধা দিতে পারেন। সেই জন্য পাঁজা মহাশয়ের কাছে নিবেদন তিনি একটা রাস্তা দেখান যার দ্বারা চাষী জমির মালিক হ'তে পারে। অন্যান্য জিনিস যা দরকার তা পরে আসবে।

(Here blue light was shown.)

আমাকে আর ৩ মিনিট সময় দিন।

একটা মুস্কিল হয়েছে যে স্বাধীনতা পাবার পরে আমাদের দৃষ্টি ইংলণ্ডের প্রতি এবং আমেরিকার প্রতি বেশী আকৃষ্ট হয়েছে। Tennessey Valley Scheme আমাদের চোখ ঝল্‌সে দিয়েছে। সেটা আমেরিকার যে standard production তা হওয়ার পরে ঐ Tennessey Valley Scheme সম্ভব হয়েছিল। আজকে আমাদের এখানেও Damodar Valley Schemeএর প্রয়োজন আছে কিন্তু আজকে তাতে টাকা খরচ করার চেয়েও আমি বল্‌ব--একজন লেবার মেম্বর হয়েও বল্‌ব--এতে টাকা খরচ না কোরে সে টাকা খরচ কর grow more food যাতে হয় তার জন্য। Cattle সংগ্রহ কর, ছোট ছোট জায়গায় tube-well কর, পুষ্করিণী ইত্যাদির সংস্কারের ব্যবস্থা কর এবং তার দ্বারা production কর। তারপরে ছোট ছোট industrial corporation কোরে কৃষকের প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিস সেখানে তৈয়ার কর্‌তে হবে। এই ভাবে ২।১ বছরের মধ্যে তা থেকে যে টাকা বাঁচ্‌তে পারে তা থেকে বড় scheme কর্‌তে পারি। খুব বড় বড় স্কীম ত আরম্ভ করেছেন, কিন্তু Central Government যখন বলেছে টাকা দিতে পারব না, তখন তার ফলে অনেকগুলো scheme বন্ধ হয়ে যাচ্ছে। এখন আমাদের অবস্থা হয়েছে অনেকটা ত্রিশঙ্কুর মত। আজকে এটা সম্ভব নয়। Tennessey Valley Schemeএর মত Damodar Schemeএর দরকার; তা না হলে সত্য সত্যই দেশ progress করবে না, এতে কোন সন্দেহ নাই। কিন্তু first thing first First thing হচ্ছে দেশকে খাদ্য সম্বন্ধে independent করা বরং ন্যাংটো হয়ে থাকা চল্‌তে পারে, পাঁজা মহাশয় বা মহাত্মা গান্ধীর যারা follower তারা কম কাপড় পরে চালাতে পারে কিন্তু মানুষ ত না খেয়ে বাঁচতে পারে না। কিন্তু first priority food পাঁজা মহাশয়ের হাতে কিন্তু Finance Minister মহাশয় যদি এদিকে টাকা না দেন এক বছর বা দু বছরের জন্য এবং আমাদিগকে যদি "সুজলা, সুফলা শস্য-শ্যামলা" গান গেয়ে ভাবের উৎস বহাতে হয় তাতে এই দেশ সুজলা সুফলা শস্য শ্যামলা হবে না। সেটাকে first priority দেওয়া হচ্ছে না; এইটাই প্রধান অভিযোগ।

The Hon'ble Sri BHUPATI MAJUMDER: দামোদর স্কীম আমরা দিচ্ছি না, কাজেই নলিনী বাবু দেবেন কি কোরে?

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Centre থেকে চাইবার সুবুদ্ধি কেন আপনাদের হয় নি? Centre থেকে সেই টাকা দিলে আমরা food সম্বন্ধে independent হব বটে কিন্তু আপনারা কি সেই টাকা চেয়েছেন? যদি চেয়ে না পেয়ে থাকেন তাহলে বুঝতে পারি। Food সম্বন্ধে independent হওয়ার জন্য আপনারা চেষ্টা করুন। সেইজন্য বলি দেশ আপনাদের, না দেশ প্যাটেল সাহেবের?

The Hon'ble Sri BHUPATI MAJUMDER: জানিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আপনারা কত চেয়েছেন, কত পেয়েছেন? যা পেয়েছেন সেটা সুষ্ঠুভাবে ব্যবহৃত হচ্ছে কি না, তা জানিয়ে দিন।

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. This matter should not be discussed here. It is a matter for the Centre; money was allotted by the Centre, and it was dealt with by the Damodar Valley Corporation which is not under any department of the Government of West Bengal. I think that that is a very plain position.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is no point of order.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: সেটা যেন মন্ত্রী মহাশয় লক্ষ্য রাখেন। বিচার বিভাগের মন্ত্রী হ'লেও point of order সম্বন্ধে specialist হয় না (laughter)। যা হউক পরিষৎপাল মহাশয়কে ধন্যবাদ যে তিনি অবান্তর point of order তুলে যে disturb করার চেষ্টা করা হয়েছিল তাতে বাধা দিয়েছেন। আমার বক্তব্য হচ্ছে ঐ এক কথা "লাঙ্গল যার জমি তার", তার জন্য চেষ্টা করুন এবং কৃষিকে first priority দিয়ে এক বছরে হউক, ২ বছরে হউক বাংলাদেশকে Food সম্বন্ধে independent করুন। সে জন্য অন্যান্য departmentকে starve করার দরকার হয় ত তাও করুন। তারপরে অন্যান্য জিনিস গুলো করা যাবে।

একটা উদাহরণ দিই—রুশিয়ার উদাহরণই সোজা। কারণ তারা ঠেলে গেছেছিল। সেটা অবশ্য আপনারা পারবেন না, কিন্তু তা থেকে অনেকটা শিক্ষা গ্রহণ করতে পারেন। প্রথমে যেটা প্রয়োজন সেটা করে, তার পরে industryর দিকে কিছু দূর এগিয়ে গিয়েছিল। এইভাবে primary necessities যখন হয়ে গেল—এজন্য ১৯২১ সালের famine তাদের শিক্ষা দেয় অথচ ১৯৪৩ সালে যে famine বাংলাদেশে হয়েছিল তাতে আমাদের কোন শিক্ষা হয় নি। সেই শিক্ষা নিয়ে foodকে first priority দিয়ে বাংলাদেশকে independent করার চেষ্টা করা হউক। তার জন্য সব চেয়ে বড় জিনিস, বেশী helpful জিনিস হবে "লাঙল যার, জমি তার" এই programmeকে কার্য্যকরী করা।

The Hon'ble SRI JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: আপনারা যে প্রীতিপূর্ণ আলোচনা করেছেন, তার জন্য সকলকে ধন্যবাদ। নীতি হিসাবে যে কথা বলেছেন তাতে কোন বাদ-বিসম্বাদ নাই, কিন্তু কথা হচ্ছে, "how to tackle the problem" সেইটাই শক্ত সমস্যা। আপনারা subdivision of holding এবং fragmentation of holding সম্বন্ধে যে কথা বলেছেন, তাতে যে চাষের সুবিধা হয় না সেগুলি সত্য। Consolidation of holding হওয়া দরকার। কিন্তু কি ভাবে হবে? যদি বা করা গেল, তার পরে inheritanceএর কথা আসে। একজন বলেছিলেন যেখানে primogeniture রয়েছে সেখানে অন্য ছেলেগুলোর দিকে তাকান হয় না। তার উত্তরে বলা হয়েছিল যে ওতে একটা ছেলেই বোকা হবে, কিন্তু বাকী ছেলেগুলোকে বুদ্ধিমান হতে হবে, কারণ তারা জমি জায়গা পাবে না। আমরা কি বাস্তবিক পক্ষে সেই দিকে চলব? আপনাদের মধ্যে কেউ কি আছেন যিনি একটা ছেলেকে দেবেন, বাকী ছেলেদের দেবেন না? আমাদের সমস্ত জিনিস ভেবে চিন্তে করতে হবে। আমরা এইসব সমস্যার সামনে রয়েছি, হঠাৎ কিছু করা যায় না। কিছু কিছু সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য চেষ্টা করছি। ইতিমধ্যে আপনারা শুনেছেন বিমল বাবু বলেছেন যে, সুন্দরবন areaর সমস্যা নিয়ে সেখানে জমিদারী-প্রথা বিলোপ, সমবায় প্রথামতে চাষআবাদ প্রভৃতি সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা করবার জন্য একটী কমিটি গঠিত হয়েছে। এ বিষয়ে কোন বাদ বিসম্বাদ নাই যে আমাদের yield খুব কম। কিন্তু সে উৎপাদন কি কোরে বাড়ান যায়? এই বাড়াবার জন্য আমাদের পরিকল্পনা রয়েছে—small irrigation scheme, ভাল বীজ, সার দিয়ে বাড়ান হবে। এ ছাড়া আর কি উপায় থাকতে পারে? যদি কিছু থাকে সেগুলিও consider করতে হবে এবং সেগুলি চেষ্টা করা দরকার।

তারপর small irrigation সম্বন্ধে আমরা এবছর কতকগুলি করেছি এবং আসছে বছর আরও বেশী পরিমাণে করবার কথা। যদি আপনারা সাহায্য করেন ত আরও ভাল হয়।

Janab MUHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: আমরা প্রাণ পর্য্যন্ত দিয়ে সাহায্য করতে প্রস্তুত আছি।

The Hon'ble SRI JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: ধন্যবাদ; আমি যে একথা বল্‌ছি তার মানে হচ্ছে যে ৩ হাজার টাকার কম যেগুলোয় খরচ হবে সেগুলো যদি আপনারা ৩ বছরে শোধ করতে ব্যবস্থা এখন করেন তা হ'লে small irrigationএর ব্যবস্থা কর্‌তে পারি, আর তাহলে সেগুলি অতি শীঘ্রই হাতে নেওয়া হবে। আমরা ধারতে দিতে রাজী কিন্তু সেগুলি ৩ বছরে শোধ কর্‌তে হবে। এইটুকু যদি co-operative basisএ করতে পারেন তাহলে ভাল হয়। নতুবা অগ্রসর হওয়া সুকঠিন। আমাদের মধ্যে co-operative mentality হওয়া দরকার। যাঁরা social worker আছেন এবং গভর্ণমেণ্টের লোক এই দুয়ের সংযোগ ছাড়া উন্নতি কিছু সম্ভব হবে না।

মাহাতো সাহেব বলেছেন কৃষকের উন্নতি ছাড়া কৃষির উন্নতি হয় না। এ বিষয়েও কোন বাদ বিসম্বাদ নাই। কৃষকের উন্নতি করতে হ'লে better farming, better manuring সঙ্গে সঙ্গে চালাতে হবে। তা ছাড়া যাতে ভাল বীজ ভাল সারের দ্বারা production বেশী হয়, এক কথায় যাতে better farming হ'তে পারে তাতে সহায়তা করতে হবে। এ বিষয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্টকে সাহায্য কর্‌তে হবে এবং কৃষকদেরও সচেষ্ট হ'তে হবে। আমরা দেখেছি আবাদ করলে ঠিক সময়ে, কিন্তু নিড়াবার সময় চাষী ম্যালেরিয়ায় প'ড়ল, তারপর কার্ত্তিক মাসে ভাল বৃষ্টি হ'ল না, তাতে যতটুকু ফসল আশা করা গিয়েছিল ততটা হ'ল না। একটার সঙ্গে আর একটা connected আছে, কাজেই চাষীর সুস্থ থাকা, সুবৃষ্টি হওয়া সেগুলো সঙ্গে সঙ্গে না হ'লে হয় না।

সৈয়দ মিয়া সাহেব বলেছেন আমাদের টাউনের দিকে যদি লক্ষ্য থাকে তাহলে কিছুই হয় না। আমরা যে শিক্ষা দিয়ে থাকি, তাতে উকিল, ডাক্তার, ইঞ্জিনিয়ার প্রভৃতি হ'য়ে থাকে। কিন্তু খাস গ্রামে তাদের স্থান নাই; সহরে না এলে তাদের স্থান হয় না। বাস্তবিক educationএর ভিত্তি আমাদের বদ্‌লাতে হবে যাতে লোকে rural-minded হয়। গ্রামে বসে চাষবাস করে এবং জীবনযাত্রা সসম্মানে নির্ব্বাহ কর্‌তে পারে তার চেষ্টা করা উচিত। Basic Educationএ সেই প্রেরণা আছে—সেইটা নিতে হবে।

তার পরে হাসেম সাহেব "price" সম্বন্ধে ২।১টা কথা বলেছেন। তিনি মনে মনে জানেন এটা "Agriculture Department" এর জিনিষ নয়। এ সম্বন্ধে Civil Suppliesএর Minister প্রফুল্ল বাবু সম্যক আলোচনা করেছিলেন এবং এ-বিষয়ে উত্তর দিয়েছিলেন। কাজেই এ সম্বন্ধে কিছু বল্‌তে চাই না। তারপর উনি একটা গোঘাট থানা হইতে smugglingএর কথা, সেটাও আমার জিনিষ নয়। সেটা Civil Supply ডিপার্টমেণ্টের ব্যাপার। তবু এইটুকু জানাই যে সম্প্রতি সিভিল সাপ্লাই ডিপার্টমেণ্ট নীতি নিয়েছেন যেন হুগলী জেলাতেও ধানের দরের তফাৎ না হয়। কাজেই সেখানে procurementএর দর ৭৷৷০ টাকা বেঁধে দিয়েছেন যাতে এই রকম ধান চলাচল না করে।

আবদুল ওহায়েদ সরকার সাহেব irrigation scheme সম্বন্ধে যা বলেছেন তা ভালই বলেছেন।

কেবল হুগলী জেলায় কেন অন্য জেলাতেও কম ধান হয়েছে। এবার সবচেয়ে ফসল ভাল হয়েছে বীরভূমে এবং বাঁকুড়ায়।

Tobacco সম্বন্ধে যা আপনাদের কাছে শুনলাম, যে tobacco বিক্রী হচেচ না, এ সম্বন্ধে কি করা যায় না যায় তা বিবেচনা করবো।

তারপরে মুদাস্সর হোসেন সাহেব গ্রামের উন্নতি সম্বন্ধে বলেছেন। আমাদের একটা development committee হয়েছে। গ্রামকে ওরকম ভাগাভাগি করলে চলবে না। আমাদের এখানে Public Works, Irrigation Department আছে, অন্যান্য department আছে, যখন গ্রাম নিয়ে deal করবে, তখন যেন আমরা সম্যকভাবে সমস্ত জিনিষটাকে দেখি। সেইজন্য এমন একটা plan তৈরী করতে হবে যাতে সমস্ত জিনিষটা দেখা যায়। এজন্য গ্রাম পঞ্চায়েৎ করবার কথাবার্ত্তা হয়েছে, এবং এ নিয়ে একটা development committeeও হয়েছে যে গ্রামকে unit করে যাতে কায করা হয়। আমরা মনে করছি যে আগামী বৎসর এর একটা কার্য্যকরী ব্যবস্থা হবে।

তারপর খোন্দকার সাহেব অন্যান্য যে কথাগুলি বলেছেন সে সম্বন্ধে পূর্ব্বেই বলা হয়েছে। কেবলমাত্র এই হরিণঘাটার বিষয় আছে। এই হরিণঘাটা scheme হচেচ ১৯৪৪ সাল থেকে; ওটা pre-partitionএর ব্যাপার। আজকেতে আড়াই বৎসর চলে গেল তথাপি কোন ব্যবস্থা League Government করেন নি।

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH: করেন নি বলেই কি আপনারাও করবেন না?

The Hon'ble SRI JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: আমি মাননীয় সদস্য মহোদয়কে বলছি যে এটা pre-partitionএর plan, তাদের যত claim তা Eastern Pakistan যারা larger share পেয়েছে তাদেরই দেওয়া উচিত। আমাদের ভিতর এখন Finance Departmentএর সঙ্গে এই বিষয় একটা কথাবার্তা হচ্চে, এই landএর দামটা যাতে এই Government দিয়ে দেয়, এই State থেকে যাতে দেওয়া হয়। আসলে Indian Independance Actএর যে নিয়ম তাতে হচ্চে pre-partition land acquisition সম্যক দাম East Bengal Government দেয়। এটা শুধু হরিণঘাটায় নয়, বর্দ্ধমানে এবং অন্যান্য যায়গায়ও নেওয়া আছে। আমার মনে হয় এর ব্যবস্থা শীঘ্র হবে আর হরিণঘাটার ব্যাপার নিয়ে ইতিমধ্যেই চাষীদের জমির মূল্য দেওয়া হচ্চে।

জসীমুদ্দীন সাহেব জোর করে আইন তৈরি করতে হবে বলেছেন। কিন্তু বাস্তবিক পক্ষে খানিকটা sentimentও দেখতে হবে, যে বাস্তবিক পক্ষে চাষীরা ঐরকম ভাবে রাজি হবে কিনা। তাতে মনে হয় ওসব যায়গায় যদি co-operative ভাবে করে কৃতকার্য্য হয়েছি দেখাতে পারি তাহলে এ জিনিষটা আরো সহজ হয়ে উঠবে। কেন পাববো না? জোর করে আইন করা চল্‌বে না। আমরা troubled timesএ বাস করছি, সকল যায়গায় অসন্তোষ বৃদ্ধি করলে চলবে না। বাস্তবিক পক্ষে এই যেসব উপায় বলেছেন, সে উপায় অবলম্বন করলে পর তার দ্বারা সন্তোষ বৃদ্ধি হবে, না, অসন্তোষ বৃদ্ধি হবে, তা বিবেচনা করে কায করতে হবে। সবচেয়ে ভাল হয় যদি co-operative করে কোন যায়গায় successful করতে পারি। যখন লোকে জানতে পারবে যে এর দ্বারা আমাদের উন্নতি হচে আমরা এর দ্বারা বেশী ফসল পাচিছ, তখন লোকে সহজেই নিতে পারবে। তখনই State আইন করে সেটাকে অগ্রসর করতে পাববে।

তারপরেতে কচুরীপানা সম্বন্ধে সদস্যগণ জানেন যে আমাদেব যে compost scheme আছে তার ভিতর কচুরীপানাকে সাবেতে পবিণত কবার ব্যবস্থা আছে এবং কোন কোন যায়গায় সাবে পরিণত করা হয়েছে। যেখানে কচুরীপানা বেশী আছে সেখানে যদি চাষীদিগকে বলেন, এই ভাবে কচুরীপানাকে নষ্ট হতে না দিয়ে তাকে নিয়ে এসে তার থেকে সার কববার কথা, তাহলে সরকার থেকে কি ক'রে সার ক'রতে হয় তার ব্যবস্থা হতে পারে।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: কতখানি Government করবে আর কতখানি লোকে করবে তার একটি যোগাযোগ থাকলে ভাল হতো।

The Hon'ble SRI JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Government করবে, কিন্তু লোককেও তার জন্য চেষ্টা করতে হবে। শিক্ষিত লোকেরা যেন গ্রামবাসীদের বৈঠক করে বুঝিয়ে দেন। এই কথা বলে I oppose all the cut motions and I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, we withdraw all the cut motions. (There was a general sense of agreement to withdrawal.)

The following motions, viz:—

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100;

The motion of Janab Abul Hashem that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100;

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100;

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100;

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100;

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100;

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 2,81,28,000 for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research" be reduced by Rs. 100;

were all withdrawn by leave of the House.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath Panja that a sum of Rs. 2,81,28,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "40—Agriculture" and "71—Capital outlay on schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research", was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-47 p.m. till 10 a.m. on Saturday, the 26th March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Saturday, the 26th March, 1949, at 10 a.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 52 members.

Formation of the Parliamentary Opposition Party.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, with your permission I would like to make a statement. Sir, you are aware that I have got a very bad vision and I cannot read from papers. So I would seek your permission so that my friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh may read the statement on my behalf.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, after the achievement of independence from direct British rule and partition of India and Bengal, the Muslim League Parliamentary Party of West Bengal after a very careful consideration of the socio-political context created by the attainment of such independence liquidated itself. Since then there was no organised opposition in this Legislative Assembly.

Sri SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: On a point of order. Are we here to discuss the statement of a certain honourable gentleman or to discuss the Budget?

Mr. SPEAKER: He has simply informed the House that they have formed an opposition and chosen a leader.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Members of the Assembly who were unable to agree with the Government Party without reservation occupied the Opposition benches as independent individuals. You, Sir, and the Hon'ble the Leader of the House on more than one occasion regretted the absence of a properly constituted Opposition. We were also fully conscious that a democratic Parliament could not function properly without a constitutional Opposition. We were under the impression that this Assembly would be dissolved after this Budget session for a fresh election under the new constitution, but from the utterances of some of the leaders of the Central Government it now appears that a fresh election is not likely to come before 1951. This led us to think and feel that we would be doing an injustice not only to ourselves but to you, the Hon'ble the Leader of the House and his party and the people of West Bengal who are wedded to democracy if we continue to function in this Legislature as independent individuals.

Sir, last night Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman, Janab Jasimuddin Ahmed, Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Sayeed Mia, Janab Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar and my humble self in a meeting held at 8, Dhurrumtolla Street, Calcutta, constituted ourselves into a party which would henceforth be known as the Parliamentary Opposition Party of West Bengal. The party accepted as its creed the three fundamentals of democracy, namely, equality of man, socialistic economy and democratic polity and has kept the membership of the party open to all members of this Assembly who would agree with its creed. The party shall be non-communal and non-sectarian and shall ventilate

within this Legislature and outside legitimate grivances of all aggrieved individuals, groups and parties and shall offer constructive suggestions to the party in power for the welfare of the country as a whole. The potentialities of the party shall lie not in its numerical strength but in its character. The party has in fact deliberately sacrificed numerical strength for its principles.

The Party unanimously elected Janab Khuda Bukhsh its Secretary and my humble self its Leader.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: I whole-heartedly welcome the formation of this party——

Mr. SPEAKER: I won't allow any speech.

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: May I make only one submission on the procedural matter? We are happy to learn that there has been an Opposition now and we expect that the convention so long followed in making a statement on behalf of the Opposition will be respected henceforward and whenever the Leader of the Opposition wants to make a statement he would presumably consult the Leader of the House and by agreement fix a time with the consent of the Speaker and make a statement accordingly.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, the ordinary convention of the House is that whenever a statement is to be made by the side of the Opposition they have to give notice to the Leader of the House and anything that has to be done has to be done with consent. When I came here—I was late—I came to know that the Deputy Speaker was going to preside and he agreed to allow the statement to be made. At any rate this is a matter which is not of much consequence. There was no Opposition and no Leader of the Opposition. They have now formed themselves into an Opposition and have now a Leader.

Ruling on the point of privilege raised by the Hon'ble the Judicial Minister on the 22nd March, 1949.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I take up the matter of the House I wish to dispose of the point of order which the Hon'ble Judicial Minister put before me on the 22nd instant. Since then I have considered the matter further and I am confirmed in the opinion which I gave on that day.

Firstly, rule 12 which was invoked by the Hon'ble Judicial Minister relates to a point of debate and any such point has to be taken at the time when the debate was going on.

Secondly, I find that the expression "personal charge" which is mentioned therein does not relate to a criticism or a charge levelled against a Minister in discharge of his duties as a Minister. I also find corroboration by having reference to rules 26 and 78 of our rules which relate to questions and resolutions. They expressly state that in order that a question or a resolution may be admissible it must not be asked as to the character or conduct of any person except in his official or public capacity, and a question making or implying a charge of a personal character may be disallowed. Therefore, I have come to this conclusion that under rule 12 a personal charge which is not allowed must be a charge which is not in connection with anything done in his official or public capacity. I am also corroborated by a similar rule of the House of Commons. I need not refer to that in detail. I am satisfied that so far as the question of personal charge is concerned it does not relate to the charge against an official for an act done in his official capacity.

With regard to the question that the point be referred to the Committee of Privileges whether a particular charge comes within the rules or not is a matter to be interpreted by the Speaker. It is not a matter in my

view which is fit or can be sent to the Committee of Privileges. (Applause from Opposition benches.) Whether a Minister has acted properly or improperly is not a question of privilege. Therefore no question to refer any matter to the Committee of Privileges arises.

Budget for 1949-50

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS.

41—Veterinary.

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 13,65,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "41—Veterinary".

আমি সব চেয়ে সুখী হ'তাম যদি আমাদের এদেশে veterinary aidএর আবশ্যকতা না থাকতো এবং তার জন্য কোন অর্থ grant না চাইতে হ'তো। আমাদের দেশের গো-মহিষাদি সুস্থ, সবল, সতেজ, হলে আর Veterinary Departmentএর আবশ্যকতা হ'ত না। বাস্তব ক্ষেত্রে দেখা যায় আমাদের দেশের গরু-মহিষ ইত্যাদি রুগ্ন, জরাজীর্ণ এবং susceptible to epidemics হয়ে রয়েছে। সেই জন্যই যথেষ্ট veterinary aidএর দরকার আছে। এই জন্যই veterinary ডাক্তার, স্কুল, কলেজ প্রভৃতি paraphernalia রাখা হয়েছে। এবং এই ডাক্তার হ'বার জন্য--পশুচিকিৎসা বিদ্যা শিক্ষার জন্য—বেলগাছিয়াতে একটী Veterinary Collegeও রাখা হয়েছে। তাছাড়া অনেক জায়গায় হাসপাতালও রাখা হয়েছে। সুতরাং এইজন্য আমাদের অর্থের প্রয়োজন। তাছাড়া কয়েকটি মারাত্মক cattle diseaseএর treatmentএর জন্য যে সমস্ত vaccine equipment ছিল, সেগুলি partition হওয়ার ফলে Eastern Pakistanএ চলে গিয়েছে। সে জন্য আমাদের vaccine প্রভৃতি করবার প্রয়োজন হয়েছে। ঐ সকল vaccine বেশী দিন ভাল থাকে না। তাছাড়া দূর থেকে আনতে হলে পরে বেশী দিন রাখা যায় না। এইজন্য অর্থের প্রয়োজন।

এই কয়েকটী কথা বলে,

I beg to commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 13,65,000 for expenditure under the head "41—Veterinary" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the inefficiency and want of plan of the Veterinary Department.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 13,65,000 for expenditure under the head "41—Veterinary" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the inefficiency of the department and failure of the Government to take effective steps to increase the cattle wealth.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমাদের এই পশুচিকিৎসা বিভাগের ভারপ্রাপ্ত মন্ত্রীমহোদয় এই বিভাগের টাকার বরাদ্দ সম্পর্কে কিছু বলতে দাঁড়িয়ে প্রথমেই বলেছেন যে তিনি খুব খুসী হ'তেন যদি এই Veterinery Headএ তাকে টাকা চাইতে না হ'ত। এই কথায় বাস্তবিকই আমি একটু আশ্চর্য্য হয়েছি। আমাদের দেশে চাষীর চরম দুরবস্থার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে, চাষীর দারিদ্র্যের অতল গহ্বরে পতিত হবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে, চাষের পশুরও চরম দুর্দ্দশা হয়েছে এবং এই জীর্ণশীর্ণ দুর্বল পশুর জন্য আমাদের দেশে চাষের উন্নতি হওয়া অসম্ভব হয়ে দাড়িয়েছে। এই পরিষদের ভেতর দিয়ে যে কোটী কোটী টাকা দেশের উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনার জন্য বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে, তাতে কিন্তু এই ক্ষুদ্র পশুচিকিৎসা বিভাগের উন্নতির জন্য আমাদের কি পরিমাণ মনোযোগ দেওয়া উচিত ছিল সেটা আমরা ভেবে দেখিনি। আজ যদি গ্রামে যাওয়া যায় তাহ'লে দেখা যাবে যে প্রত্যেকটি গ্রাম নিতান্ত দুরবস্থাপ্রাপ্ত হবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে গরুগুলি চাষের উপযোগী হয় নাই এবং এই খাদ্যের অভাবে ও গোচারণ জমির অভাবে গরুগুলি এখন সম্পূর্ণরূপে ধ্বংসের পথে চলেছে। গরু-মহিষ ইত্যাদি

যদি আজ উন্নত অবস্থা প্রাপ্ত না হয় তাহ'লে আমাদের এই চাষের উন্নতি বা পল্লী-উন্নয়ন কখনই সম্ভবপর হবে না এবং খাদ্যশস্যের উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি করাও সম্ভবপর হবে না। বহুকাল যাবৎ পশুচিকিৎসা বিভাগ খুলে রাখা হয়েছে এবং তাহার দ্বারাতে আমাদের চাষের পশুর যে রকম চিকিৎসা এবং উন্নতির ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত ছিল তা করা হয় নাই। এই চিকিৎসালয়গুলিকে চাষীর সম্পূর্ণ আয়ত্তে এবং নাগালের বাইরে বিভিন্ন টাউনে রাখা হয়েছে। চাষীর উন্নতির সঙ্গে এইগুলির নাড়ীর কোন যোগ নাই, কোন সম্পর্ক নাই এবং পল্লী-অঞ্চলে যখন গরুর মড়কে বা কোন মারাত্মক ব্যাধিতে পশুগুলো মরতে থাকে, তখন টাউনের হাসপাতালে সময়মত খবর পেঁছায় না এবং সেই অঞ্চলে ওষুধপত্র পাঠাবার ও ডাক্তার পাঠাবার কোন উপায় হয় না। আমি কিছু দিন আগেকার একটি ঘটনার কথা বলছি। আমাদের জেলার মফঃস্বলে এমনভাবে গরু-মহিষ মরতে থাকে যে গোটা অঞ্চল জুড়ে গরু আর মহিষ শেষ হয়ে যায় এবং কাজের উপযোগী একটিও বাকী থাকে নাই। সভ্য জগতের দৃষ্টির অন্তরালে, আমাদের গভর্ণমেণ্টের দৃষ্টির অন্তরালে, সময়ে সময়ে মূর্খ চাষীরা গরু এবং মহিষ নিয়ে কি রকম বিপদে পড়ে তা আমরা খবরও রাখি না। আমার প্রস্তাব হচ্ছে যে এই চিকিৎসা বিভাগকে একটা পৃথক পশু-চিকিৎসা বিভাগ না রেখে কৃষি বিভাগের সঙ্গে জুড়ে দেওয়া উচিত এবং যে স্কুল বা কলেজে কৃষি-বিদ্যা শিক্ষা দেওয়া হয় তার সঙ্গে দেওয়া উচিত। বেলগাছিয়ায় যে কলেজ আছে তাতে হয়ত দুচারটী পশুচিকিৎসার ডাক্তার তৈরী হবে এবং সেই ডাক্তারগুলি বিভিন্ন জেলায় বা টাউনে পাঠিয়ে দেওয়া হবে। তারা টাউনের ডাক্তার-খানায় চুপটী করে বসে থাকবে, আর গোটা জেলার পশু ব্যারামে বা মড়কে ধ্বংস হয়ে যাবে। এটা হতে দেওয়া চলবে না। যদি এইরূপ মহামারি থেকে বাস্তবিকই পশুর উদ্ধার সাধন করতে হয় এবং পশুর দ্বারা যদি চাষের কাজ ভাল ভাবে চালিয়ে খাদ্য-সমস্যার সমাধান করতে হয়, তাহ'লে এই Veterinary Departmentটীর প্রতি আরও মনোযোগ দিতে হবে এবং তার জন্য আরও টাকা বরাদ্দ করতে হবে, যাতে করে প্রত্যেক ইউনিয়নে ও থানায় পশুচিকিৎসার কেন্দ্র কৃষি-উন্নয়নের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে যোগ রেখে করতে পারা যায়, সেই ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে।

আরও প্রস্তাব করবো যে প্রত্যেক ইউনিয়নে চাষীদের উপযুক্ত প্রতিনিধি নিয়ে এমনভাবে একটী কমিটী কৃষি বিভাগের এবং পশুচিকিৎসা বিভাগের তত্ত্বাবধানে এবং পরিচালনায় গঠন করতে হবে যে সেই কমিটী চাষের উন্নতি সম্পর্কে এবং পশুচিকিৎসা সম্পর্কে যে মতামত দিবে, গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের সেই মতামত গ্রহণ করে কৃষি ও পশুর প্রয়োজনীয় উন্নতির ব্যবস্থা করতে পারবেন। পশুচিকিৎসা বিভাগের গৃহীত পরিকল্পনার মধ্যে দেখতে পাচ্ছি বালীগঞ্জ, বেহালা এবং হাওড়ায় ৩টী পশুচিকিৎসালয় খোলার ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। আমাদের এত বড় বিরাট দেশের হাজার হাজার গ্রামের চাষীদের পশুচিকিৎসার জন্য টাউনে কেন্দ্রীভূত এই প্রকার চিকিৎসালয়ের দ্বারা কোন কাজ হতে পারবে কি? এতে আমার মনে হয় আমাদের বর্ত্তমান সরকার পশুচিকিৎসার প্রকৃত সমস্যার গুরুত্ব সঠিক বুঝতে পারেন নাই। গভর্ণমেণ্ট পার্টীর অনেক সভ্য যাঁরা মফঃস্বলের সঙ্গে যুক্ত আছেন তাঁরা সেখানকার অবস্থা ভালভাবে জানেন, এবং পশুর চরম দুর্দ্দশার কথাও অবগত আছেন। পশুকে ধ্বংসের হাত থেকে উদ্ধার করার প্রয়োজনীয়তা তাঁরা প্রাণে প্রাণে অনুভব করেন। সুতরাং আমি বলবো পশুচিকিৎসালয় জেলার, সহরে বা কলিকাতার আশেপাশে কেন্দ্রীভূত না করে পল্লী-অঞ্চলে যাতে পশুচিকিৎসার সুব্যবস্থা হয় এবং এই চিকিৎসালয়গুলি যাহাতে চাষীদের সহজ নাগালের মধ্যে থাকে সেই ব্যবস্থা আমাদের করতে হবে।

আর একটী বিষয় হচ্ছে যে আমাদের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ডাঃ রায় ডাক্তারি চিকিৎসার বক্তৃতায় বলেছিলেন যে যদি T. B. এবং ম্যালেরিয়া prevention বা নিবারণ করতে পারা না যায় তবে কোটী কোটী টাকা খরচ করে কেবল চিকিৎসার দ্বারা কোন ফল লাভ করতে বা দেশকে বাঁচাতে পারা যাবে না। পশুর সম্পর্কেও আমি সেই কথার প্রতিধ্বনি করে বলতে চাই যে যদি চাষের পশুকে রক্ষা করতে হয়, তাহলে উপযুক্ত খাদ্য ও গোচারণ জমির ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। কেবল পশুচিকিৎসালয়ের দ্বারা দেশের গরু-মহিষকে বাঁচান যাবে না। জমিদারী-প্রথা উচ্ছেদ হবার আশঙ্কায় জমিদারেরা অনেক পল্লী-অঞ্চলের গোচারণ জমি নিজেদের অনুগৃহীত প্রজাদেরকে বন্দোবস্ত করেছেন। এই কারণে গোচারণ জমির নিতান্ত অভাব ঘটেছে। গোচারণের যথেষ্ট জমি ও পশু চরবার মত বিস্তর জায়গা না থাকলে কেবল চিকিৎসার দ্বারা গরু-মহিষ রক্ষা পাবে না। সুতরাং পশুর উন্নতি ও গোচারণ জমির সুব্যবস্থা সম্পর্কে বর্ত্তমান গভর্ণমেণ্ট বিশেষ মনোযোগী হবেন। এই বলে আমি আমার cut motion move করছি।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: শ্রীযুক্ত মহামহিমান্বিত পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, মহাত্মন! যে কথাটী আজকে আমি এখানে উপস্থিত করবো অনুগ্রহ করে আপনি শ্রবণ করুন আর আমাদের গৌরবান্বিত মহিমান্বিত পরিষদ মেম্বারদেরও তাহা শ্রবণ করবার জন্য অনুরোধ করুন। আর দ্বিতীয় কথা—মহাশয় এতদিন আমি বলে

আসছি অনেক তথাকথিত cut motion আমি উত্থাপন করেছি। কিন্তু বড়ই দুঃখের বিষয় আমার কোন cut motion এর উত্তর কোন মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ই দেন নি। তার জন্য আমি আপনার কাছে সানুনয়ে সকাতরে নিবেদন করছি যে অনুগ্রহপূর্বক এই মন্ত্রীমহাশয়দের বলে দেবেন যাতে তাঁরা আমার cut motion এর উত্তর দেন। আমার যদি তাতে সন্তুষ্টি হয় আমি তৎক্ষণাৎ সেগুলো উঠিয়ে নেব।

এখন কথা হচ্ছে আমাদের বঙ্গদেশ, আমাদের ভারতবর্ষ, আমাদের মতে সুজলা সুফলা শস্যশ্যামলা। এই যে আমাদের মাতা বঙ্গভূমি—একে নষ্ট করলো কারা? নষ্ট করলো ওঁরাই যারা ওখানে বসে আছেন। তাঁরা আজকে প্রভুত্ব স্থাপন করেছেন আর দেশকে নষ্ট করে দেবার জন্য যত প্রকার উপায় উদ্ভাবন ও অবলম্বন করেছেন। আর চিরকাল ইউরোপীয়ান country গুলো যে সমস্ত পন্থা দ্বারা সেখানে কৃষির উন্নতি করেছে গবাদি পশুর সর্বপ্রকার উন্নতি সাধন করে তারা সমৃদ্ধি ও ঐশ্বর্য্য সম্পন্ন হয়েছে সেদিকে কোন নজর না রেখে নিজেদের কিসে ভাল হবে, আমরা কেমন করে খাবো, আর আমার বন্ধুরা কেমন করে খাবেন, নির্য্যাতিত কংগ্রেস কর্মীরা কেমন করে খাবেন (হাস্য)। (A VOICE. আর কি কি আছে?) না, মশায় আর বাকি কিছু নাই। কেবল তাদের Vociferation, invocation,, fulmination—কেবল তাদের Aanti-co-operation—(A VOICE: বাংলায় বলুন।) এর বাংলা হয় না। যদি আমরা প্রকৃত পক্ষে সংঘসম্পন্ন হয়ে কাজ করতে স্থির করি—সেই যে মহাত্মা গান্ধী যিনি আমাদের পিতা, আমাদের ভারতের পিতা—তিনি যা বলেছেন তাঁর বাণী অনুসারে যদি আমরা কাজ করি তাহ'লে আমরা রক্ষা পাবো। নতুবা আমদের দেশটা রসাতলে যাবে। এই যে আমাদের মহা প্রভুরা—যাঁরা আজকে আমাদের উপর প্রভুত্ব বিস্তার করছেন, তাঁরা এর কারণ হয়ে দাঁড়াবেন। আমাদের বঙ্গদেশ আমাদের ভারতভূমি কি?

দেখুন আমাদের বঙ্গদেশে এবং এই ভারতভূমে শ্রীকৃষ্ণ ভগবান (laughter, noise) Sir, নিষেধ করে দিন, ওরা যেন আমাকে interrupt না করে। আমার যখন time-limit হয়ে যাবে, লালবাতি দেখালেই আমি বসে যাব। ওরা ভারি দুষ্ট।

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH : On a point of order, Sir Is it proper and permissible for an honourable member to refer to another honourable member as "Bhari Dushtu".

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN : Sir, যদি দুষ্টামি করে, তখন দুষ্ট বলায় ক্ষতি কি আছে।

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think the honourable member is entitled to use such an expression. Perhaps there is a special code for Mr. Mudassir Hossain (laughter).

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN : ভগবান শ্রীকৃষ্ণ—তার নাম কত! গোপাল, আর একটা নাম গোবর্দ্ধন, আর যশোদা-নন্দন সেই ননী চোরা—এই যে নাম, মহাশয়, অনুগ্রহ করে বিবেচনা করে দেখবেন এটা কিসের নাম, এটা অতি মধুর নাম। শ্রীকৃষ্ণের ঐ যে গোপাল, গোবর্দ্ধন, ননীচোরা, নুনচোরা নাম (laughter), অতি মধুর নাম। হাসবেন না। কেন না আমাদের দেশের সম্পদ হচ্চে কৃষি। আমাদের দেশের সম্পদ হচ্ছে গো-কুল। সেই সম্পত্তিকে রক্ষা করবার জন্য গোপাল, সেই সম্পত্তিকে রক্ষা করবার জন্য, বৃদ্ধি করবার জন্য—to increase cattle wealth—গোবর্দ্ধন নাম হয়েছে। (Applause) আপনারা বলেন আপনারা হিন্দু, হিন্দু—কিছুই হিন্দু নন। হিন্দুর যে প্রকৃত কাজ, তা কিছুই করেন না। তা যদি করতেন, তাহলে এই ভারতভূমি, এই বঙ্গভূমি—আমাদের বঙ্গমাতা আজ সুজলা সুফলা, শস্যশ্যামলা হতেন। জাতিকে, দেশকে উন্নত করে তুলুন। মহাশয়, আপনারা এখানে বলছিলেন—Paraphernalia,—ঐ অমুক,ঐ তমুক, ঐ নাম, ঐ বড় বড় ইংরাজী বাক্য উচ্চারণ করতেছিলেন। আমি বলব, মহাশয়—আমি ত বুড়ো মানুষ—আমার কথা ভেবে দেখবেন এই গোবর্দ্ধন যদি আমরা না করতে পারি, যদি দেশের cattle wealthর বৃদ্ধি, উন্নতি না করতে পারি, তাহলে দেশ শ্মশানভূমিতে পরিণত হবে। (Hear, hear—applause) কেন? মানুষসমাজের উন্নতি ঐ গরুর উপর নির্ভর করে। আর manure অর্থাৎ সার। সেদিন আমাদের মাদ্রাজের কৃষি মন্ত্রী তার বক্তৃতায় বলেছিলেন, সেটা আমি খুব যত্নের সহিত পাঠ করেছিলাম। তিনি স্পষ্ট বাক্যে, সরল ভাষায় বলেছেন যে কৃষির উন্নতির পক্ষে একমাত্র অন্তরায়—এই যে গো-ধন, সেই গো-ধনের সেবা না করা, যত্ন না করা, ঘৃণা করা। (Blue light.) বসুব Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER:—No, please go on.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN : এখন কথা হচ্ছে গোবর্দ্ধনের উপায় কি ! মাদ্রাজের কৃষিমন্ত্রী বলেছেন কৃষি উন্নতির একমাত্র উপায় হচ্ছে organic-manure. Chemical Synthetic manure দ্বারা জমির উর্ব্বরাশক্তি কমে যায়—ক্রমশ: নষ্ট হয়ে যায়। আমি একজন চাষী—চাষী হিসাবে আপনাদের কাছে বলছি, sulphate of ammonia, chemical manure দিয়ে দেখেছি জমি খারাপ হয়ে যায়—মাটি শক্ত হয়ে যায়। যে ছেলের স্বাস্থ্যের পক্ষে, মাতৃ দুগ্ধ, chemical artificial foodএ শরীর পুষ্টি সে রকম হয় না। তেমনি organic manure, গোবর সারের তুল্য সার নেই।

তাই বলছি গোবর্দ্ধনের একমাত্র উপায় গোধনের উন্নতি। (A VOICE:— গো-রক্ষা।)

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I should like to draw the attention of Government in its Veterinary Department to a suggestion that I made last year, namely, setting up of veterinary hospitals in places where there are cattle *hats* or cattle fairs, and I suggested the name of one particular village in that connection, my own village Beldanga. Beldanga holds a weekly *hat* which the Hon'ble Minister will agree is the biggest *hat* in West Bengal. There cattle from all parts congregate, and they are sold and dispersed to various centres, notably Calcutta. There diseased cattle come in contact with healthy cattle and on account of that contact disease is propagated and disseminated. I wonder if any officer of his department has brought it to his notice that there is a periodical epidemic of rinderpest in and around that *hat*. I wanted to impress upon the department last year that there should be a veterinary hospital with special staff to combat the spread of this disease.

Then, Sir, I come to the question of appointment of the Milk Commissioner. Sir, there is dearth of milk and it is admitted on all hands that the production of milk should be increased, and as a first step Government has appointed a Milk Commissioner. Sir, I should like to ask the Government what are the qualifications of the present Milk Commissioner to justify his appointment to that particular post. Sir, Government are trying to hoodwink the public by making these appointments. Government cannot produce milk but it has been quick enough to produce a Milk Commissioner. Now Bengal is eagerly awaiting the appointment of a Honey Commissioner so that this land of ours may flow with milk and honey. The Milk Commissioner has been appointed and the outside world thinks that Bengal is flowing with milk. So Government should also consider the advisability of appointing a Honey Commissioner so that Bengal may flow with milk and honey and Bengal is made *Sujala, Sufala, Sasya Shyamala*.

Then, Sir, the deficit in regard to food production is only ten per cent. Can we not by intensive cultivation make up this deficiency of ten per cent. only? If Government admit that they cannot do so, they ought to vacate office and introduce in the Government people who have better imagination and better drive and better knowledge of "do-how". Sir, I know that veterinary officers some of whom served His Majesty's Forces in the last war and acquired high military rank have gone to the districts. I wonder on what criterion were these officers recruited. Merely because they were Lieutenants so-and-so or Captains so-and-so; or has the Government satisfied itself that they have the knowledge of their own science? Sir, it is common knowledge that during the war people were promoted not because they deserved promotion but because they could pull the necessary wires from the relative places and they got promotion. Will the Hon'ble Minister tell the House that his department took into consideration the merits of the respective candidates? Sir, in war service with veterinary qualifications possibly they were attached to some units which had no relation to the kind of work that they have now been called upon to take up with the result that they are misfits. Government will please consider again the advisability of looking into the qualifications of their officers who have been appointed to work in the mofussil.

Sir, a point has been raised by Janab Sayeed Mia that there is not only dearth of these officers but they are stationed in the headquarters—district headquarters or subdivisional headquarters—and they are not within the easy reach of the cultivators who actually need them. Will Government tell us what scheme they have for improving this deficiency?

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Veterinary Department-এ ডাক্তারের অভাব রয়েছে, এবং বর্ত্তমানে নিয়ম হচ্ছে যে, মফঃস্বলে District Board-এর অধীনে এই সকল ডাক্তার কাজ করে এবং তাদের department-এর অধীনে এই সমস্ত কাজ হয়ে থাকে। আমরা ডাক্তারের ১/৩ অংশ মাইনা বহন করি, ২/৩ অংশ District Board দেয়। যদি District Board রাজী হয় প্রত্যেক subdivision-এ হাঁসপাতাল করতে, তাহ'লে গভর্ণমেণ্ট এর ১/৩ অংশ ব্যয় বহন করতে রাজী আছে। এখন কথা হচ্ছে যে, District Board এটা করতে রাজী আছেন কি না।

যখন epidemic-এর খবর আসে সেখানে গভর্ণমেণ্টের তরফ থেকে ডাক্তার পাঠান হয়। হাট প্রভৃতিতে গিয়ে vaccination দেবার লোকের ব্যবস্থা আছে। যে সমস্ত রাস্তায় গরু চলাচল করে সেই সকল জায়গায় Government Veterinary Surgeon-রাও যায় এবং প্রয়োজনীয় সব ব্যবস্থা করে থাকে। এই সকল ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করার দরুণ এ বছর গো-মড়ক কম হয়েছে।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: আমাদের দেশ একেবারে গো-মড়কে উজাড় হয়ে গিয়েছে।

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: জানি না কতগুলা মরেছে, তবে কিছু কমে গিয়েছে এটা সত্যি।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মরে সব শেষ হয়ে গিয়েছে, বিশ্বাস করুন।

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: খোদাবক্স সাহেব বলেছেন সবচেয়ে favourite district হচ্ছে Murshidabad; কিন্তু তিনি ভুলে যাচ্ছেন যে, Murshidabad District-এর কাঁদি, জংগীপুর ও জিয়াগঞ্জে ডাক্তার আছে।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: বেলডাঙ্গায় নেই কেন? বেলডাঙ্গায়ও মস্ত বড় হাট হয়।

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: হাটের সময় Veterinary Surgeon যাঁরা আছেন তাঁরা সেখানে যান।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: আপনি জানেন না, তারা যান না, দরকার হ'লে তাঁদের খুঁজতে হয়। একটা হাঁসপাতাল আমাদের বেলডাঙ্গায় দিন না, তাহ'লেই তো সব মিটে যায়।

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: খোদাবক্স সাহেব যাই বলুন, মুর্শীদাবাদ সবচেয়ে favourite district—যাই হোক, সেটা favourite হোক বা না হোক, আমাদের মতে সকল জায়গায়ই Veterinary-র ব্যবস্থা থাকা উচিত, কিন্তু যে সমস্ত জায়গায় বেশীর ভাগ লোক এ সম্পর্কে initiative নেয়, সেখানেই এটা হওয়া সম্ভব হয়।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: District Board-কে যদি না নেন্ তাহলে হবে না।

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: তবে কি হবে না তা বলতে পারি না, কিন্তু বর্ত্তমানে যে ব্যবস্থা তাতে এই রকমই হতে পারে। এর পূর্ব্বে যা ছিল তার চেয়ে অনেক বেশী ভাল করা হয়েছে; আমার কাছে যা figure রয়েছে তাতে দেখাতে পাচ্ছি যে

Before partition, there were 160 Itinerant and Emergency Veterinary Assistant Surgeons for the whole province of undivided Bengal, most of whom were eventually employed in the zones now in East Bengal. Provision has now been made for employing some 100 Itinerant and Emergency Veterinary Assistant Surgeons in the present province of West Bengal. Thus the present arrangement, although a considerable improvement over the pre-partition arrangement, gives as many as 119,000 livestock and 60,000 poultry on an average per Assistant Surgeon. The number of Field Assistants who assist the Assistant Surgeons has also been increased to 244 in West Bengal against 204 for the whole of undivided Bengal.

Nevertheless, the position still remains far from satisfactory. Having regard to the financial position of the province and to the non-availability of trained personnel, it is not possible to provide better facilities at present.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: বেহালা, হাওড়াতে কি একটা District Board করছেন না?

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Howrahতে হাঁসপাতাল ছিল না, সেই জন্য হাওড়াতে করতে হয়েছে। আর বেহালাতে শীঘ্র হবে।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: কিন্তু যেখানে District Board আছে, যেমন বেলডাঙ্গাতে, সেখানে হচ্চে না কেন?

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: হবে না তো বলছি না।

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH: বলুন না হবে, তাহলে ত আমরা satisfied হয়ে যাই। বেলডাঙ্গাতে হাট আছে। গতবারেও কিছু করলেন না এবারেও করবেন না।

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA:

Again there is a separate Mass Inoculation Organisation which has undertaken to create preventive belts against epidemic and contagious diseases by carrying on mass inoculation along the important cattle routes of the province.

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH: যদি হাঁসপাতাল না হয় তাহলে veterinary permanent staff বসিয়ে দেওয়া হয় যেন।

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: ডাক্তার যায়, সে permanent হোক বা না হোক্।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Townএ হাঁসপাতাল করা হয় কেন?

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Townএ করা হয় লোকজনের আসার সুবিধা হয় বলে; চারিদিকের গ্রাম থেকে নিয়ে যাবার সুবিধা হয়। Districtএর মধ্যে যদি একটা যায়গায় করতে হয় তখন District Townএ করতে হয় কিম্বা Subdivisional townএ করতে হয়।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: বেলডাঙ্গাতে হাট আছে।

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: কত হাট যে আছে তার ঠিক ঠিকানা কি আছে? বর্দ্ধমান জেলায় পাকগুীতে একটি বড় হাট আছে।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: এত বড় হাট আর কোথাও নাই,--বেলডাঙ্গার মত হাট নাই।

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: যাই হোক্ আপনারা যে সব suggestion আনলেন সেগুলি consider করা হবে। (Noise)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

The Hon'ble Sri JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: I oppose all the cut motions and commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 13,65,000 for expenditure under the head "41—Veterinary" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I withdraw my motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is there any objection?

(There was no objection.)

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 13,65,000 for expenditure under the head "41—Veterinary" be reduced by Rs.100, was then, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath Panja that a sum of Rs. 13,65,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "41—Veterinary" was then put and agreed to.

43—Industries—Fisheries.

The Hon'ble Sri HEM CHANDRA NASKER: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 42,45,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "43—Industries—Fisheries".

গত বৎসর অর্থ বরাদ্দের প্রার্থনা উপলক্ষে মাননীয় সদস্যগণকেও তাঁহাদের মারফৎ আমার দেশবাসিগণকে যাহা বলিয়াছিলাম তাহাতে আমরা কতদূর অগ্রসর হইতে পারিয়াছি সেই সম্পর্কে কয়েকটি কথা নিবেদন করিতে চাই।

গত দুই বৎসরের মৎস্যাভাবজনিত সঙ্কটজনক অবস্থার তুলনায় গত কয়েক মাসে কিছু সাময়িক উন্নতি হইয়াছে বটে কিন্তু যথাসাধ্য চেষ্টা সত্ত্বেও সেই অবস্থা স্থায়ী অথবা পুরাপুরিভাবে কাটাইয়া উঠিতে পারা সম্ভব হয় নাই। সমগ্র পশ্চিম বঙ্গে কমবেশী ২৫০ লক্ষ লোক বাস করেন। যদি ধরিয়া লওয়া যায় যে তাঁহাদের শতকরা ৫০ জন মৎস্যভোজী তাহা হইলেও বৎসরে প্রায় ৪ লক্ষ ৩২ হাজার টন মৎস্যের প্রয়োজন হয়। কিন্তু এই প্রদেশে বার্ষিক সরবরাহের পরিমাণ আনুমানিক ৫০ হাজার টন মাত্র। তন্মধ্যে কমবেশী ২৭ হাজার টন এই প্রদেশে উৎপন্ন হয় আর অবশিষ্ট ২৩ হাজার টন অন্যান্য প্রদেশের বিভিন্ন স্থান হইতে আসে। ইহার প্রায় শতকরা ৬৬ ভাগ কেবলমাত্র পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থান হইতেই আসিয়া থাকে। উপরোক্ত অঙ্ক হইতে সহজেই অনুমেয় যে কি পরিমাণে পশ্চিম বঙ্গে মৎস্যোৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি করার প্রয়োজন।

পশ্চিম বঙ্গে জলাশয়গুলির মোট পরিমাণ প্রায় ১২ লক্ষ ৭৬ হাজার একর, ইহার মধ্যে নদী, নালা, খাল, বিল, বাওর ও পুষ্করিণী সব কিছুই ধরা হইয়াছে। কিন্তু এই জলাশয়গুলির প্রায় দুই-পঞ্চমাংশ সম্পূর্ণ বা আংশিকরূপে মজিয়া যাওয়ায় এবং আরও এক-পঞ্চমাংশ জলজ উদ্ভিদাদি দ্বারা আচ্ছন্ন থাকায় বর্ত্তমানে মৎস্য চাষের অনুপযোগী। বৈজ্ঞানিকদের সাধারণ হিসাব অনুযায়ী যদি প্রতি বিঘায় তিন মণ করিয়া মৎস্য উৎপাদন করা যায় তাহা হইলে বর্ত্তমানে চাষযোগ্য জলাশয়গুলিতে বৎসরে ৬৯ লক্ষ মণ মাছ উৎপাদিত হইতে পারে। যদি সমস্ত জলাশয়গুলি মৎস্য চাষের উপযোগী করা যায় তবে উৎপাদিত মৎস্যের পরিমাণ হয় ১ কোটি ১৪ লক্ষ ৮৪ হাজার মণ অর্থাৎ প্রায় ৪ লক্ষ ২৫ হাজার টন। কেবল মাত্র তাহা হইলেই মৎস্যের চাহিদা পশ্চিম বঙ্গের উপর নির্ভর করিয়া মিটান সম্ভব হয়। ইহার মধ্যে আভ্যন্তরীণ এবং সমুদ্র নিকটবর্ত্তী নদীসমূহে মৎস্য উৎপাদন প্রাকৃতিক অবস্থার উপর প্রধানতঃ নির্ভর করে। অতএব বিল, বাওর, ভেরী ও পুষ্করিণী জাতীয় যে সব জলাশয়ে মাছের চাষ করা সম্ভব সেগুলির আবশ্যকীয় উন্নতি বিধান করিয়া তাহাতে মৎস্য চাষের ব্যবস্থা ব্যাপকভাবে না করা পর্য্যন্ত অবস্থার বিশেষ কোন উন্নতি সম্ভব নয়। নদী নালাতেও বর্ত্তমান অভাবের চাপে ক্ষুদ্রাকার মৎস্য ধৃত হওয়ার ফলে ভবিষ্যত মৎস্য সম্পদের গুরুতর ক্ষতির আশঙ্কা থাকায় সতর্কতার সহিত মৎস্য সংগ্রহের চেষ্টা করিতে হইতেছে। এই প্রসঙ্গে ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালের সিভিল বাজেট এষ্টিমেটের ৩৪০ পৃষ্ঠায় বর্ণিত পরিকল্পনাগুলির প্রতি মাননীয় সদস্যগণের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করিতেছি। উক্ত ৮টি পরিকল্পনা ও সমুদ্রোপকূলে মৎস্য ধরিবার যে পরিকল্পনা আংশিক ও পরীক্ষামূলকভাবে এই বৎসর চালান হইয়াছে তাহাতে সর্ব্বসমেত মোটামুটি ১০ লক্ষ ৮ হাজার মণ মৎস্য ও ৪ লক্ষ ৬০ হাজার পাউণ্ড মৎস্যের তৈল আগামী ১৯৫২ সাল পর্য্যন্ত অধিক উৎপাদন করা সম্ভব হইবে বলিয়া আশা করা যায়। ইহাতে অন্ততঃ পক্ষে ১।১০ অংশ চাহিদাও মিটান যাইবে। এইভাবে ক্রমে ক্রমে অগ্রসর হইতে পারিলে এবং ভারত সরকারের সাহায্যে গভীর সমুদ্রে মৎস্য ধরার ব্যবস্থা সম্পূর্ণ করিতে পারিলে কয়েক বৎসরে চাহিদা সম্ভবমত মিটাইতে সক্ষম হইব বলিয়া আশা করি। উক্ত পরিকল্পনাগুলি কার্য্যে রূপান্তরিত করিতে গিয়া বর্ত্তমানে মুখ্যতঃ নিম্নলিখিত বাধাগুলির সম্মুখীন হইতে হইয়াছে :—

(১) পশ্চিম বঙ্গের অধিকাংশ পুকুর বহু বৎসরের অবহেলায় মজিয়া গিয়াছে। অধিকাংশ বিল বাওর এবং বৃহৎ পুষ্করিণীগুলির তলদেশ অসমতল এবং জলজ উদ্ভিদ দ্বারা আচ্ছন্ন থাকায় উহা পরিষ্কার করা বিশেষ কষ্ট ও ব্যয়সাধ্য। এরূপ জলাশয়গুলি সাধারণতঃ এরূপ স্থানে অবস্থিত যে উহাদের আবশ্যকীয় উন্নতির জন্য উপযুক্ত সংখ্যক মজুর পাওয়া কঠিন। এই কার্য্যের বাধা দূরীকরণের জন্য যথাসম্ভব মজুর সংগ্রহ এবং বৈজ্ঞানিক যন্ত্রপাতিরও সন্ধান করা হইতেছে।

(২) জলাভূমিগুলির মালিকানা অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই একাধিক ব্যক্তির আয়ত্তাধীন, ফলে একজন মৎস্য চাষ করিতে চাহেন আর একজন হয়ত চাহেন না বা তাঁর অংশের খরচা বহন করিতে বা মৎস্য উৎপাদনের ভার অপরের হস্তে অর্পণ করিতে চাহেন না। পক্ষান্তরে সাধারণ আকারের অসংখ্য জলাশয় সরকার হইতে দখল করিয়া মৎস্য চাষ করাইবার ব্যবস্থা অতিশয় ব্যয়সাধ্য এবং তজ্জন্য আবশ্যকীয় অভিজ্ঞ লোকবলের অভাব। এই সমস্ত ক্ষেত্রে কি ভাবে ব্যবস্থা করিলে প্রায় সমস্ত জলাভূমিই মৎস্য চাষের আওতায় আনা যায় তাহা চিন্তা করা হইতেছে, আশা করি অতি শীঘ্রই এ সম্বন্ধে সুচিন্তিত সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হওয়া যাইবে।

(৩) নদীর অভ্যন্তর ভাগ হইতে বা গভীর সমুদ্র হইতে টাট্‌কা অবস্থায় মৎস্য সহরের বা বাজারের সন্নিকটে আনা যায় এইরূপ উপযুক্ত জলযানের অভাবও বিশেষভাবে মৎস্য আমদানী করা ও উপরোক্ত সংশ্লিষ্ট পরিকল্পনাকে পুরাপুরিভাবে কার্য্যকরী করার পক্ষে অন্তরায় হইয়া দাঁড়াইতেছে।

(৪) পুষ্করিণীতে মৎস্য চাষ পরিকল্পনাগুলি যথাযথভাবে কার্য্যে পরিণত করিতে হইলে বা ভবিষ্যতে আরও বেশী সংখ্যায় পুষ্করিণী সংগ্রহের ব্যবস্থা ও ডিম, পোনা প্রভৃতি উৎপাদন, সংগ্রহ ও সরবরাহ করিতে হইলে এবং গ্রামাভ্যন্তরের পুষ্করিণীগুলির প্রকৃত অবস্থার তথ্যানুসন্ধান করিতে গেলে যে সম্যক কর্ম্মচারীর প্রয়োজন তাহা একেবারেই নাই। প্রতি মহকুমায় মাত্র একজন করিয়া ফিসারী ওভারসীয়ার মৎস্য বিভাগ সম্বন্ধে যাহা কিছু করিয়া থাকেন। একটি মহকুমায় ৭০০ হইতে ১,০০০ গ্রাম আছে। ইহাতে একজন কর্ম্মচারী দ্বারা কতটুকু কাজ হওয়া সম্ভব তাহা আপনারা সহজেই অনুমান করিতে পারেন।

উপরোক্ত অসুবিধাগুলি এবং ঐরূপ আরও কত বাস্তব অসুবিধার সম্মুখীন হইয়া আমরা আগামী বৎসর ও তাহার পরবর্ত্তী বৎসরগুলির জন্য কার্য্যে অগ্রসর হইতেছি। আমি খুবই আশা এবং বিশ্বাস করি যে আমাদের পরিকল্পনাগুলি কার্য্যে পরিণত করিতে আপনাদের এবং দেশবাসীর সহায়তা পাইলে অদূর ভবিষ্যতে পশ্চিম বঙ্গে মৎস্যাভাব দূর করা অসম্ভব হইবে না।

অতঃপর মৎস্যের মূল্য সম্পর্কে কয়েকটী কথা মাননীয় সদস্যগণকে আমি বলিব। দেশ বিভাগের ফলে মৎস্যের মূল্য যেভাবে বাড়িয়া যায় তাহাতে দেশের জনসাধারণ ভয়ানক বিক্ষুব্ধ হইয়া উঠেন এবং আমরা বিব্রত হইয়া পড়ি। সরবরাহের উপর আমাদের বিশেষ হাত না থাকাতে এবং মৎস্য ব্যবসায়িগণের কার্য্যের বিভিন্ন অর্থনৈতিক ও অন্যান্য অবস্থা সম্বন্ধে সম্যক তথ্যাদি জানা না থাকায় আমরা তৎকালে বিশেষ কোন কার্য্যকরী পন্থা অবলম্বন করিতে পারি নাই। তৎপর আমি ও আমার বিভাগীয় কর্ম্মচারিগণ মৎস্য ব্যবসায়ীদিগের সহিত বহুবার মিলিত হইয়া আপোষমূলকভাবে মৎস্যের দর ১৯৪৭ এবং ১৯৪৮ সালে বাঁধিয়া দেই। কিন্তু এই চেষ্টার ফল দীর্ঘকাল স্থায়ী হয় নাই। এ বিষয়ে সমস্ত কার্য্যকারণাদি বিবেচনা করিয়া দেখা গিয়াছে যে মৎস্য ব্যবসায়ের প্রথম হইতে শেষ পর্য্যন্ত সমস্ত অংশের উপর কিয়ৎ পরিমাণ নিয়ন্ত্রণাধিকার না থাকিলে মৎস্যের মূল্য নিয়ন্ত্রণ করা সহজসাধ্য নহে। এই সমস্ত বিবেচনার পর এবং প্রাদেশিক মৎস্য উপদেষ্টা সমিতির সহিত পরামর্শক্রমে এ বিষয়ে একটি ব্যাপক আইন রচনা করার পরিকল্পনা হইয়াছে। আশা করি, আগামী অধিবেশনে উহা মাননীয় সদস্যগণের সম্মুখে উপস্থাপিত করিতে পারিব। পূর্ব্ব বঙ্গ হইতে যে মৎস্য পশ্চিম বঙ্গে আসিয়া থাকে তাহার উপর মণ প্রতি ৫৲ টাকা শুল্ক ধার্য্য করা হইবে বলিয়া সম্প্রতি পাকিস্থান সরকার তাঁহাদের বাজেট বক্তৃতায় প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন। ইহার ফলেও যে মৎস্য সরবরাহ কিছু কম হইবে এবং মূল্যও কিঞ্চিৎ বৃদ্ধি পাইবে তাহা বলাই বাহুল্য। এই বিষয়ে একটি কার্য্যকরী সিদ্ধান্তে পৌছানর জন্য পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থান সরকারের সহিত যথোপযুক্ত আলোচনার ব্যবস্থা করা হইতেছে। ইহার ফলাফল কি হইবে তাহা এখনও অজ্ঞাত। তবে একথা নিশ্চয় যে এমতাবস্থায় আমাদের বিভিন্ন পরিকল্পনা ব্যাপকভাবে কার্য্যকরী না হওয়া পর্য্যন্ত আমাদিগকে কিছু অসুবিধা ভোগ করিতেই হইবে। মাননীয় সদস্যগণ অবশ্যই বুঝিতে পারিতেছেন যে প্রয়োজন ও সরবরাহের মধ্যে এরূপ বিরাট ব্যবধান, বর্ণিত অবস্থায়, অত্যল্প কালের মধ্যে দূর করা অসম্ভব।

অধিক ফসল ফলাও খাতে মৎস্য বিভাগের পরিকল্পনাগুলি কার্য্যকরী করিতে ভারত সরকার প্রায় অর্দ্ধেক টাকা দান করিবেন বলিয়া স্থির করিয়াছেন, যদিও পশ্চিম বঙ্গের বিশেষ অবস্থায় ইহা অপেক্ষা অধিক সাহায্য আমরা প্রত্যাশা ও দাবী করিয়াছিলাম।

বর্ত্তমান বৎসরের বরাদ্দের মধ্যে প্রধানতঃ কর্ম্মচারিগণের বেতনাদি এবং Contingency খাতে যথাক্রমে ২ লক্ষ ১৯ হাজার ও ৮১ হাজার টাকা দেখান হয়েছে, তৎপর "অধিক খাদ্য উৎপাদন" পর্য্যায়ে মৎস্য উৎপাদনের জন্য বাজেট এষ্টিমেটের ১৪০ পৃষ্ঠায় উল্লিখিত পরিকল্পনাগুলিতে ৩৭ লক্ষ ৬৭ হাজার টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হইয়াছে। ইহা হইতেই উপলব্ধি করা যায় যে মৎস্য উৎপাদন পরিকল্পনাগুলির উপরই আমি বিশেষ জোর দিয়াছি। এই বৎসরের প্রথম হইতেই পরিকল্পনাগুলির কাজ আরম্ভ করার নির্দ্দেশ দেওয়া হইয়াছে এবং বিভাগীয় কর্ম্মচারিগণ সেই অনুসারে কার্য্যে অগ্রসর হইয়াছেন।

উপরোক্ত অবস্থাধীনে আমি প্রস্তাবিত বরাদ্দ অনুমোদন করিতে পরিষদকে অনুরোধ করিতেছি।

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 42,45,000 for expenditure under the head "43—Industries—Fisheries" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the policy.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 42,45,000 for expenditure under the head "43—Industries—Fisheries" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the policy of Government.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the House will agree with me that the Fisheries Department is in a very able hand and the choice would not have been better if the charge of the department would have gone to some other Hon'ble Minister

Sir, as soon as the present Hon'ble Minister took charge of the department, people of West Bengal entertained a very high hope that all the difficulties regarding the fish problem of the province would be satisfactorily solved by him because he has got a special knowledge about pisciculture and also fish trade. But, Sir, to the utter surprise of everyone it has been found that after he took charge of the department, the price of fish has gone up gradually and has reached a stage when it has become impossible for a common man to go near the fish market. Sir, an idea has developed in the mind of the people that the department exists more for the benefit of traders than the consumers.

Sir, to a Bengali rice comes first in the item of food and next comes fish. But unfortunately fish has become a rare commodity and has gone beyond the purchasing power of—not to speak of the common man—even the upper middle classes, and they find it very hard to serve fish even in a small quantity for every member of his family in their daily meals.

Sir, the Hon'ble Minister has asked the sanction of the House of a very big sum, viz., Rs. 42,45,000 Sir, the House would not have grudged to sanction the amount provided they could see that something tangible is being done in the shape of reduction of the high price of fish.

Sir, every honourable member in the House knows that a large percentage of the profit in the fish trade goes to the middleman and unless this could be stopped, however much the Hon'ble Minister might draw up schemes, they would be of no avail, so far as the reduction of price of the fish is concerned.

Sir, I am definitely of opinion that if we want to reduce the price of fish, the middlemen in the trade must have to be eliminated by organising the trade on a co-operative basis. Sir, the experiment has been made in the Bidyadhari fishery and the result has been very good. Sir, the area being very small, the production is limited and as such it could not influence the price level very much but the condition of the genuine fishermen has definitely improved. Sir, I would request the Minister in charge of the Co-operation Department to invite the members of the House to show the achievement of his department. Sir, all the private fisheries must be acquired by the Government.

Sir, an enquiry was made by the Bengal Retrenchment Committee in 1923 about the Fisheries Department and I am quoting here the recommendation of the Committee, "We accept the unanimous evidence received by us that this department as now constituted is without value and we recommend 'its abolition".

Sir, time has again come in 1949 to examine evidence whether the department should be allowed to function when it has not been able to give any definite proof of their activities by bringing down the price level.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in view of your remarks the other day not to mention about the cut motions which have not been moved as such, I shall refrain from doing so but I shall only say this much that it is not the members of this side of the House only who are dissatisfied with the conditions prevailing in the Fisheries Department but the members of the Government Benches also are equally dissatisfied about the manner in which the department is being conducted.

Sir, with these few words I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, বাঙ্গালীর প্রধান খাদ্য ভাত, এর পরেই স্থান হচ্ছে মাছের এবং এটা আমরা চিরদিন শুনে থাকি যে বাঙ্গালীর এত উর্বর মস্তিষ্ক ও অসীম প্রতিভার মূলে হচ্ছে মাছ। মাছ খেয়ে বাঙ্গালী তার অসীম প্রতিভাবলে আজ জগৎ জয় করতে চলেছে। (The Hon'ble Sri BHUPATI MAZUMDER : এবং নিজেই পরাজিত হয়েছে।) বাঙ্গালীর গায়ে আজ যে কোন শক্তি নাই, দেহে বল নাই, মনে আনন্দ নাই— (Janab SAYED BADRUDDOJA : মনে স্ফূর্তি নাই।) হাঁা, মনে স্ফূর্তি নাই—তার একমাত্র কারণ হচ্ছে শুধু মাছ নেই বলে। (A VOICE: চমৎকার।) আজ যখন বাঙ্গালী ভাতের থালা সামনে নিয়ে বসে তাকিয়ে দেখে যে থালায় মাছের কোন অস্তিত্ব নাই, একটুকরো পেটীও নাই, ভাজাও নাই, তখন তার ভাত খাওয়ার আশাটা একেবারেই লুপ্ত হয়ে যায়। (A VOICE: হায়, হায়)। এই মাছ না খেতে পাওয়ার জন্যই আজ আর বাঙ্গালীর মুখে ভাত উঠ্ছে না। এই মাছ বাঙ্গালী না খেতে পেয়ে ক্রমে ক্রমে জীর্ণশীর্ণ হয়ে ধ্বংসের পথে চলে যাচ্ছে এ বিষয়ে বিন্দুমাত্র সন্দেহ নাই।

মাছ উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি এবং মৎস্য-কুটীর-শিল্পের উন্নতিসাধন বিষয়ে আমাদের মন্ত্রীমহোদয় যখন বক্তৃতা করতে ছিলেন, তখন মনে হচ্ছিল যেন মাছের স্বপ্ন দেখছি।

নিদ্রায় হেরিনু হায় মাছের স্বপন--
কি সুন্দর, সুখময় মাছের ভক্ষণ ;
যখন মেলিনু আঁখি, চমকিনু পুনঃ দেখি,
বাজারে কোথাও নাহি মাছের লক্ষণ।

মাছের প্রধান উৎপাদন ও সরবরাহ করে যারা তারা হচ্ছে জেলে। আজ জেলেরা মাছের দারুণ অভাবে মাছের ব্যবসা চালাতে না পেরে প্রায়ই মরে ধ্বংস হয়ে গেছে, জেলেদের গ্রাম উজাড় হয়ে গেছে এবং যারা বেঁচে আছে—আমার নিজের ব্যক্তিগত অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে বল্ছি--তারা মাছের ব্যবসায় পেট চালাতে না পেরে অন্য কাজে মজুরি করে দিনাতিপাত করছে --অন্য ব্যবসা গ্রহণ করেছে। মন্ত্রীমহোদয়ের কথিত মাছের বিরাট পরিকল্পনার কথা, যথা মাছ ভিন্ন ভিন্ন দেশ থেকে আসবে, উড়ো জাহাজে আস্বে, রেলপথে আসবে, এই সব কথায় বাস্তবিক মাছ বৃদ্ধি হবে কি? জেলেদের বাঁচবার কোন উপায় হবে কি? এই সব বড় বড় পরিকল্পনায়, শুধু টাকা অপব্যয় ও অপচয় হবে—যা হয়ে এসেছে চিরদিন। কিন্তু মাছ এক ছটাকও বৃদ্ধি পায়নি। তারপর পুষ্করিণীর সংস্কার ও উন্নতি দ্বারা কোথাও যে মাছ বাজারে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণে আমদানি হতে পেরেছে, তার লক্ষণ আমরা দেখ্তে পাইনি। এসব বহ্বাড়ম্বরে লঘুক্রিয়া বা too much ado about nothing ছাড়া কিছুই নয়। তাই মন্ত্রীমহোদয়ের কথায় সবার মনে একটা বড় আশার সঞ্চার হয় যে মাছ বুঝি আবার বাংলা দেশের নদী, পুষ্করিণীতে আষাঢ়ের বন্যার মত ভেসে উঠ্বে—সহর বাজার মাছে পরিপূর্ণ হয়ে উঠবে। কিন্তু কাজের বেলায় তার কোন প্রমাণ দেখ্ছি না। মাছ বেশীর ভাগ বাজারে আমদানি হয় বর্ষা ঋতুর শেষে যখন বন্যার জল নদী, নালা থেকে নামতে ও শুকাইতে আরম্ভ করে।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: সেটা ছোট ছোট মাছ—খাবার অযোগ্য।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: ছোট বড় সব রকম মাছই বাজারে দেখা যায়। বন্যাঞ্চলে বর্ষার শেষে নদী, নালা, খাল, বিল থেকে বন্যার জলের সঙ্গে যাতে মাছও চলিয়া না যায় ও মাছ ধরা যায় বৈজ্ঞানিক প্রথায় তার উপায় আবিষ্কার করতে হবে। হয়ত আমার এই কথাগুলি সদস্যগণের নিকট একটু নূতন ঠেক্ছে। কিন্তু তাহ'লেও এ বিষয়ে অনেকখানি চিন্তা ও গবেষণা দরকার এবং কার্য্যকরী পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা আবশ্যক—কলকাতায় বসে নয়, সেই সব মাছের অঞ্চলে গিয়ে। কলকাতায় বসে পরিকল্পনা তৈয়ার হতে পারে কিন্তু তা দ্বারা সেই অঞ্চল থেকে মাছ আনা সম্ভব নয়। মন্ত্রীমহোদয় ও বড় বড় অফিসারগণ কলিকাতায় বসে মাছের যে সব পরিকল্পনা তৈয়ার করছেন, তা দ্বারা মাছ উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি সম্ভব হবে বলে আমি মনে করি না।

দ্বিতীয় কথা হচ্ছে এই মাছ যারা মারে, তারা যাতে বাঁচে, তাদের বাঁচবার উপায় করতে হবে। যদি তারা মরে যায়, তাহ'লে আমরা জাল হাতে করে নিজেরা পুষ্করিণী বা খালে গিয়ে, দামোদর ও ময়ূরাক্ষি নদীতে গিয়ে মাছ মারতে পারব না। কেবল জেলেদের দ্বারাই মাছ মারা সম্ভব। শীতকালে যে শীতে মানুষ জমে বরফ হয়ে যায়, সেই শীতেও তারা সমস্ত শরীর জলে ডুবিয়ে মাছ ধরে। তাদের সেই পরিশ্রম, তাদের সেই সাধনা, তাদের সেই কষ্টসহিষ্ণুতা সম্বন্ধে আমাদের কোন বাস্তব জ্ঞান নেই। সুতরাং জেলেদের বাঁচাবার ব্যবস্থাও করতে হবে এবং মাছ নদী, নালা ও পুষ্করিণী থেকে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ বাজারে আমদানির ব্যবস্থাও করতে হবে।

পুষ্করিণী সংস্কার দ্বারা মাছ বাজারে আসবে এটা আমি বিশ্বাস করি না। আমি যতটা জানি, বেশীর ভাগ পুষ্করিণী সেই সমস্ত সুবিধাবাদী লোকদের—যারা সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীদের সঙ্গে খাতির ও যোগাযোগ সৃষ্টি করে। এই সব পুষ্করিণী সংস্কার দ্বারা কেবল তাদেরই স্বার্থসিদ্ধ হয়, জনসাধারণের স্বার্থসিদ্ধ হয় না।

আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ করে পুষ্করিণীতে যে মাছ ছাড়া হচ্ছে ও পুষ্করিণীর সংস্কার করা হচ্ছে সেই মাছ কতটা বাজারে আমদানি হচ্ছে এবং গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাতে কতটা লাভবান হচ্ছে? এত টাকা খরচ করে সেই টাকা সরকারের তহবিলে ফিরে আসে কি না? কারণ উৎপাদনের জন্য আমরা যে টাকা খরচ করি, সেটা লাভের আকারে ফিরে আসা উচিত। মাছ উৎপাদনের জন্য এই যে বিরাট ব্যয়, তাতে তাঁরা কত লাভবান হচ্ছেন বলবেন কি?

সুতরাং বড় বড় কথা না বলে, কার্য্যকরী পন্থা গ্রহণ করে, বৈজ্ঞানিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি নিয়ে সুচারুরূপে মাছ উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। তবে এই সমস্যা সমাধান করতে পারা যাবে।

এই বলে আমি আমার প্রস্তাব commend করছি।

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: মাননীয় পরিষৎপাল মহাশয়! মাছের ও মাছের ব্যবসা দুটো পৃথক জিনিস। মাছের চাষ যদি না হয়, অর্থাৎ মাছ যদি বেশী না জন্মায়, তাহ'লে মাছের ব্যবসা হ'তে পারে না। বাজারে দাম কমবে কি না সে কথাও আসতে পারে না।

মাছ ৩ রকমের—নোনা মাছ, পোনা মাছ (রুই, কাৎলা ইত্যাদি) আর বিলের মাছ—কই, সিঙ্গি, মাগুর ইত্যাদি। বিলের মাছ না হবার কারণ আছে। গ্রীষ্মের সময় বা শীতের পর সমস্ত বিল ডোবা একেবারে নিঃশেষ কোরে সেঁচে নেওয়া হয়, তাতে বাচ্চা পর্য্যন্ত কেউই থাকে না। অন্য কারণ, [illegible] বর্ষা হ'লে পর বাচ্চা আসে কিন্তু সেগুলো সব যে রকমভাবে বেশী জন্মাতে পারে না। তারও দুটো কারণ। যদি উপরি উপরি বর্ষা হয়, মাঠে যদি জল জমে যায়, তাহ'লে পোনাগুলো বাঁচে, আর যদি বর্ষা কম হয়, তাহ'লে যে পোনা আসে, সেগুলোও মরে যায়। তা ছাড়া জাল [illegible] ধ'রে, সবগুলো মরে যায়। এইভাবে মাছ নিঃশেষ হ'য়ে যায়। এ দিকে কি প্রতিকার করা সম্ভব তা অভিজ্ঞ লোকেরা বলতে পারেন। পুকুরের পোনার বাচ্চা বাইরে থেকে আমদানী নাই, সে জন্য কম। তারপর, পুকুরগুলোর অধিকাংশই মজা-কানা পুকুর, [illegible] শরীক করে না। আর সেগুলো এঁদো, সেখানে মাছ ভাল হয় না। জলের সমস্যার জন্য পুকুর ভাল হচ্ছে [illegible] সঙ্গে সঙ্গে মাছের সমস্যাও বেশী হচ্ছে। পুকুরগুলো অনেক জায়গায় নষ্ট হয়ে আছে, শেওলা, কচুরীপানায় ভর্ত্তি। নানারকম অবস্থায় পুকুরগুলো নষ্ট হচ্ছে। সেই মজা-কানা পুকুরগুলোয় সরকারীভাবে যদি সরকার হাত দেন, তাহ'লে যেমনভাবে Tank Improvement Act করে জল সেচের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে তেমনি পুকুরগুলোয় যাতে মাছের ব্যবস্থা হয় তা করা উচিত। যেখানে জল সেচের দরকার নেই এবং সেচের জন্য পুকুরের উপর নির্ভর করতে হয় না, সেখানে পুকুরগুলো মাছ উৎপাদনের জন্য ব্যবহার করা উচিত এবং সরকারীভাবে ঐ আইনের মত কিছু করা উচিত। জায়গায় জায়গায় লোকে পুকুর সমস্ত ফেলে রাখবে, আর খাদ্যশস্য ইত্যাদির অভাব হবে—এগুলো কর্ত্তব্য নয়। যেখানে লোক এ রকম নৈতিক নীতি মানে না, সেখানে গভর্ণমেণ্টের কর্ত্তব্য হচ্ছে গভর্ণমেণ্ট সেখানে যাবেন। গভর্ণমেণ্টের ক্ষমতা আছে, কেন আইন কানুন ক'রে এই সমস্ত কাজ করার জন্যই ক্ষমতা দেওয়া হয়। আইন প্রয়োগ করলে কঠোর হ'তে পারে, কিন্তু যদি তার মধ্যে ভাল জিনিস পাওয়া যায়, তাহ'লে সেই কঠোরতা দিয়েও তা করা উচিত।

নোনা মাছের কথা বলি। নোনা মাছ এখনও আছে, কমে যায় নি। কিন্তু ধরে আনার নৌকার অসুবিধা হয়েছে। প্রথম, গত যুদ্ধে জাপানীর ভয়ে বোট ইত্যাদি কেড়ে নেওয়ার জন্য নৌকা জেলেদের হাত থেকে চলে গেছে; দ্বিতীয়, নৌকাগুলি আর তৈরী হয় না, কাঠ ইত্যাদির সমস্যার জন্য। Burma থেকে বা উড়িষ্যা থেকে এখন তেমন কাঠ আসে না, কাজেই নৌকা তৈরী হয় না। তার উপর পেরেক, আলকাতরা ইত্যাদির দাম বেশী। সেইজন্য জেলেরা নৌকা না পেয়ে ধরা মাছও সমুদ্র থেকে শহরে আনতে পারে না। গভর্ণমেণ্ট

যদি চেষ্টা করেন—মৎস্য-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলেছেন তিনি ভাল কোরে চেষ্টা করছেন। কিন্তু চেষ্টা করলে কি হবে? কাকদ্বীপ, ফেজারগঞ্জ, নামখানা প্রভৃতি জায়গায় জেলেদের দাঁড়ের উপর নির্ভর করতে হয়। যে সময় ঢেউ খুব বেশী, সে সময় কাঁচা মাছ ভালভাবে আনতে পারে না, অথচ ঐ কাঁচা মাছেই খাদ্যের ভাগ থাকে বেশী। কাজেই সেখানে তারা মাছ শুকোয়, আর সঙ্গে সঙ্গে মাছের অভাবে বাজারে মাছ হয় মহার্ঘ। তারা সেই শুক্‌নো মাছ কম দামে বিক্রী করে, কারণ সেটা খাদ্যের বাহিরে চলে যায় এবং সাধারণের কাজে লাগে না। সেইজন্য মৎস্য-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে বলি যদি বেশী জোর দিয়ে speed boat এর ব্যবস্থা করেন তাহ'লে ঐ সব সমুদ্রের ধার থেকে বহু মাছ আসতে পারে। মাছ এখনও আছে। যদি মৎস্য চাষী মাছ তৈয়ার করে এবং ব্যবসায়ী তাহা আমদানী করে, তাহ'লে মাছের দাম কমে যাবে।

জেলেদের জালের জন্য সূতার অভাব হয়েছে, সেগুলি গভর্ণমেণ্ট কিছু কিছু দিচেছন, ভাল কথা। কিন্তু আরও দেওয়া উচিত। আর ঐ কো-অপারেটিভ দিয়ে ওদের সঙঘবদ্ধ করছেন। কিন্তু আরও বেশী করে তাদের করা উচিত। যাহোক, মাছের চাষ সম্পর্কে এই ব্যবস্থা। মাছের মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে ধন্যবাদ দিচ্ছি এই জন্য যে তিনি কৃষিমন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের মত যা উৎপাদন করেন তা সব ঐ প্রফুল্ল বাবুর হাতে না ছেড়ে দিয়ে নিজের হাতে সব বন্দোবস্ত করছেন। এ বিষয়ে তাঁকে উপদেশ দেওয়া ধৃষ্টতা মাত্র। তিনি মৎস্যরাজ, মৎস্য চাষ করতে জানেন, ধরতেও জানেন, খেতেও জানেন এবং অপরকে খাওয়াতেও জানেন। তবে আজকাল স্বভাবটা যেন একটু পরিবর্তন হয়েছে, মন্ত্রীত্বের গদির দোষে তিনি এখন খাওয়াতে ভুলে গেছেন।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: মাননীয় পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, আমার বন্ধু সৈয়দ সাহেব বলেছেন যে মাছ না খেতে পেয়ে বাঙ্গালী জীর্ণশীর্ণ হয়ে যাচেছ, তার দৃষ্টান্ত, স্যার, আমি। (হাস্য।)

যাক্, আমি এখন একটু কাজের কথা বলি। মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জেলেদের যে সূতা দেবার ব্যবস্থা করেছেন তা শুধু ঐ খাতা কলমেই সূতার বরাদ্দ হয়। জেলেদের জাল বোনবার জন্য সূতার প্রয়োজন। সেই সূতা বণ্টন করবার একটা ব্যবস্থা তাঁরা করেছেন। তিনি এ জিনিসটা জানেন না বোধ হয় যে যাদের জন্য সূতা বরাদ্দ হয় বণ্টনের বেলায় তারা পায় না। সেখানে একটা দুর্নীতির আড্ডা হয়। সেই সূতা নিয়ে ছিনিমিনি খেলা হয়। সেই সূতা নিয়ে কালো বাজারে বিক্রী হয়। মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের দৃষ্টি আমি সেদিকে আকর্ষণ করছি। তিনি মাছের মন্ত্রী এবং সেইজন্যই তিনি জেলেদেরও মন্ত্রী। এই সূতা বণ্টনের বেলায় তারা যাতে ঠিকমত পায় দয়া করে সেই দিকে একটু দৃষ্টি দিবেন।

আর একটি কথা। কো-অপারেশন সম্বন্ধেও আমার পূর্ববর্তী বক্তারা বলেছেন এবং এরা মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় নিজেও মাছের সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ অভিজ্ঞ, একটু আধটু যদি অসুবিধাও হয় ব্যক্তিগতভাবে তার এই ব্যাপারটি একটু অনুধাবন করে দেওয়া উচিত যে মাছের ব্যবসায়টা কো-অপারেটিভের ভেতর দিয়ে করা যায় কি না।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: আমি একটু বলবো, স্যার।

Mr. SPEAKER: আপনি আর কি বলবেন?

The Hon'ble Sri HEM CHANDRA NASKAR: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমাদের নীতি হচেছ যে কি করে আমরা মাছ বৃদ্ধি করতে পারি এবং সেই নিয়ে আমরা কাজ করছি। আমি গেল বারে ১৭০টি পুকুর নিয়ে পোনা উৎপাদন করেছিলাম এবং লোকেরা যাতে ছোট ছোট বাচচা পায় তার চেষ্টা করেছিলাম এবং আমরা এত পোনা উৎপাদন করেছিলাম যে প্রত্যেক মহকুমায় আমরা পোনা দিয়ে পুকুরের উন্নতি সাধন করতে পেরেছি। যাঁরা মাছ চাষ করতে চান্ তাঁরা এ বিষয়ে আমার কাছে সাহায্য চাইলে আমরা তাদের সাহায্য করতে প্রস্তুত।

আমাদের জেলেদের আগে দেড় হাজার গাঁট সূতা দেওয়া হতো, যখন বাংলা বিভাগ হয়নি। আগে সূতার অত্যন্ত অভাব ছিল। কিন্তু আমরা এ বছর থেকে প্রায় ৬ হাজার গাঁট সূতা করছি। সে বিলি করবার একটা Committee হয়েছে এবং সেখানে আমাদের সদস্য মহাশয়েরাও member আছেন; কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় যে সে Committeeর meetingএ অনেক সময় quorum হয় না এবং quorum না হলে সেখানে সূতা বিলির ব্যবস্থা হয় না। এটা হওয়া উচিৎ নয়।

আমরা আর আলকাৎরা দেওয়ারও ব্যবস্থা করেছি কিন্তু হয়ত অনেক জায়গায় সেটা পাঠাবার সুবিধা হয় না এবং এমন কোন কোন জায়গা আছে যেখানে আলকাৎরা গিয়েছে এবং গিয়ে পড়ে আছে জেলেরা নেয় নাই।

আমরা জানি জেলেদের অবস্থার কথা। এই নদী নালাগুলি যখন সমস্ত শুকিয়ে যায়, সেখানে আর মাছ হয় না; কিন্তু যখন মাছ হয় বর্ষার সময় আমরা মাছ দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা করি। তাঁরা যদি সেই সময় নিজের নিজের

পুকুরগুলির উন্নতি করেন তাহ'লে সেখানে মাছের ব্যবসায় না হোক তাদের লোক খেয়ে বাঁচতে পারে। আমাদের প্রত্যেক পুকুরটা নিয়ে একজন করে চৌকিদার রেখে সে পুকুরের পাহারা দেওয়া অসম্ভব; কিন্তু গ্রামবাসীরা যদি দয়া করে এই রকমভাবে নিজের নিজের পুকুরের উন্নতি করেন এবং আমাদের কাছে টাকা চান আমরা টাকা দেবো। কিন্তু তাঁরা দয়া করে আসুন না, তাঁরা এগিয়ে আসুন না রেজেষ্ট্রী করতে যে টাকা নেবেন। সেই কষ্টটুকুও তাঁরা স্বীকার করেন না।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : লোকে আসবে না; আমাদের যেতে হবে তাদের কাছে এবং পরামর্শ দিতে হবে মাছ নীতি সম্পর্কে।

The Hon'ble Sri HEM CHANDRA NASKAR : যেটা আগে পরিকল্পনা ছিল সেই অনুযায়ী গেল বছরও কিছু দেওয়া হয়েছে। আপনারা বললেন তাদের কাছে যেতে হবে। আমি পূর্ব্বেই আপনাদের কাছে বলে দিই যে আমাদের যে লোক আছে, সুতা বিলি করবে, জল পরীক্ষা করবে, মাত্র ৩৭টি লোক আছে। আমাদের বিভাগের পক্ষে একজনের ৭০০ থেকে হাজার গ্রাম আছে এক এক মহকুমায় এবং সেই মহকুমায় এক একটা গ্রামে কত লোক বাস করে?

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : কৃষি আর Veterinary সব এর সঙ্গে জুড়ে দিন, তাহ'লে অল্প খরচে হবে।

The Hon'ble Sri HEM CHANDRA NASKAR : না, সেটা সম্ভব নয় যখন আলাদা আছে। আপনারা একটা কথা বলেছেন যে জল দিয়ে মাছ বেরিয়ে যায়। মাছ হয় যেখানে সেখানে কি করে মাছ আটক রাখা যায় আমি বুঝতে পারি না। জাল দিলে হয়ত হয়, কিন্তু দেওয়া সম্ভব নয়। যদি দয়া করে আমাকে এ সম্বন্ধে উপদেশ দেন ভাল হয়।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : বর্ষার পরে যখন জল নেমে যায় তখন সোনা জলের সঙ্গে বেরিয়ে যায়।

The Hon'ble Sri HEM CHANDRA NASKAR : বন্যার সময় জল নামে এবং জলের সঙ্গে বেরিয়ে যায় আমি স্বীকার করি। আমাদের ডিরেক্টর সাহেব বলেছেন এবং এ রকম আমি নিজেও দেখে এসেছি অনেক জায়গায় তাই জাল করে দেওয়া সম্ভব। তারাও ৮ আনা খরচ পড়বে, পাঁচ ৮ আনা করে ১।।০ সের মাছ বিক্রী হতে পারে। কিন্তু আমাদের দুর্ভাগ্যের বিষয় যে আমাদের সে রকম জলযান নেই যে সেই জায়গা থেকে এখানে মাছ আনবো। আপনারা জানেন চাইনিজ-জাপানিজদের পরিকল্পনা নেওয়া হয়েছে কিন্তু এখন টাকা নেই। জলযানের চেষ্টা করছি এবং সেগুলি সংগৃহ হ'লে এই সব ব্যবস্থা হবে। সেখানে যেয়ে মাছ তোলা সম্ভব নয়, সেখানে থেকে lunch করে মাছ আনা এখন সম্ভব নয়। শীত কালের পর সেখান থেকে মাছ আনা সম্ভব। সেই পরিকল্পনা আমরা নিয়েছি এবং সেটা কার্য্যকরী হবে। আমি এই কথা বলতে চাই যে আমাদের চেষ্টা যতই থাক না কেন, সহকর্মী যাঁরা আছেন এঁরা যদি দেশের লোককে ভালভাবে শিক্ষা দেন তাহ'লে তাঁদের প্রতি আমি কৃতজ্ঞ থাকবো এবং তাঁরা আরো চেষ্টা করবেন যাতে নৌকা, আলকাতরা, সুতা ইত্যাদি যেন, যা গরীব জেলেরা পাচ্ছে না সেটা তাদের দেওয়া হয়। (A Voice : সমবায় সম্বন্ধে কিছু বললেন না।) যদি কেউ সমবায়ভাবে বেধে, সমবায়ভাবে করেন, আমরা সাহায্য করবো। সমবায়কেও আমরা সেইভাবেই সাহায্য করবো। কিন্তু আমাদের দুর্ভাগ্যের বিষয় এ দেশের যে সমস্ত পুষ্করিণী পড়ে আছে তারা কেউ নিজের নিজের পুষ্করিণী অন্ততঃপক্ষে উন্নতি করবার চেষ্টা করেন না। আমি একটা কথা বলতে চাই। আমি সম্প্রতি মগ্রা ঝিল দেখতে গিয়েছিলাম। সেটা কচুরীপানায় ভর্ত্তি। সেখানকার লোকদের কাছে অনুরোধ করলাম যে এক বছর তাদের fishing right দেবো, নৌকা দিচ্ছি, জলে নামতে হবে না, তারা নৌকা করে গিয়ে এগুলি পরিষ্কার করুক। কিন্তু তাঁরা বললেন যে "না মহাশয়, জ্বর হবে, ম্যালেরিয়া হবে, আমরা ওকাজ করতে পারবো না"। তাঁরা যখন পাটের সময় এক কোমর জলে দাঁড়িয়ে পাট কাটেন তখন তাঁদের ম্যালেরিয়া হয় না।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA : তাদের মধ্যে আপনার প্রাণ সৃষ্টি করতে পারেননি।

The Hon'ble Sri HEM CHANDRA NASKAR : আমি গিয়েছিলুম দেখতে সেই মগ্রা বিল। সেখানকার লোকদের অনুরোধ করলাম যে আপনারা এখানকার নলখাগড়া, এগুলি পরিষ্কার করুন। বললে, "আমরা মশায় প্রায়ই ম্যালেরিয়ায় ভুগছি, আমাদের শক্তি কম"। মানে আমাদের দেশের লোক এক বেলা

ঘরে ভাত থাক্‌লে আর কাজ করতে চায় না। আর তাঁরা যদি এই রকমভাবে নিজের নিজের পুকুর পুষ্করি গুলির উন্নতি করেন আমরা তাদের সর্ব্বদা সাহায্য করতে প্রস্তুত। কিন্তু তাঁরা যদি এগিয়ে না আসেন আমা এ রকম গভর্ণমেণ্ট থেকে গিয়ে বেশী কিছু করা যায় না। যেখানে যাদের সম্পত্তি আছে; পুষ্করিণী আ Governmentএর পক্ষে সম্ভব নয় যে সকল জায়গায় পাহারা রেখে রক্ষা করতে পারেন। আমা এই সহরের মধ্যে কলকাতার বুকের উপর যে সব পুকুর আছে সেই সব পুকুরে আমরা করেছি। পাড়াগাঁ এই সব পুকুরে মাছের জন্য চৌকিদার দেওয়া কি করে সম্ভব। মাছ ছেড়ে যা ধার নেন্ তা আমাদের শোধ ক দেবেন; বাকি যাদের মাছ তাদের। আমি সকলকে অনুরোধ করছি যে যদি আপনারা এই সমস্ত উপায়ে মা উন্নতি করুন, আপনাদের সমস্ত পুকুর, বিল, বাউড়ী, একলা নয় সমবায় হিসাবে এগুলি করুন, তাহ'লে এ বিষ সুফল পাওয়া যাবে।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: আমরা তাদের সঙ্গে না মিশলে তাদেরকে শিক্ষা দিলে কি করে করা যায়।

The Hon'ble Sri HEM CHANDRA NASKAR: সেই শিক্ষা দিতে তাদের প্রত্যেকের কা খুঁজে খুঁজে যাওয়া কি করে সম্ভব হয়। আপনারা সেখানকার সদস্য, আপনারা গ্রামে থাকেন, আপনারা য দয়া করে আপনাদের constituencyতে গিয়ে বলেন Government থেকে এই ভাবে সাহায্য করা হ তোমরা এর জন্য টাকা চাও, তাহ'লে তাদেরও দেশের কাজ করা হবে এবং আমারও উপকার হবে এবং সেই জায়গায় মাছের উন্নতি সাধন করতে পারবো। সেজন্য আমি পুনবায় বলছি যে আপনারা যদি সহযোগী হন্ আমার কয়েকজন কর্ম্মচারী এবং আমার একলার পক্ষে তা করা সম্ভব হয় না। আপনারা মৎস্য বাঁ দেশে, যাতে মাছ বাঁচতে পারে, আপনারা সকলেই তার চেষ্টা করুন।

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: মাছ খাওয়াবার কথা কি হ'লো?

The Hon'ble Sri HEM CHANDRA NASKAR: আমি সমস্ত cut motionএর বিরোধী করছি এবং আমার যে মূল motion তা গ্রহণ করতে সকলকে অনুরোধ করছি।

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand o Rs. 42,45,000 for expenditure under the head—"43—Industries—Fisheries" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand o Rs. 42,45,000 for expenditure under the head "43—Industries—Fisheries" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra Naskar that a sum o Rs. 42,45,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "43—Industries—Fisheries" was then put and agreed to.

"22—Interest on Debt and other obligations."

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum o Rs. 1,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "22—Interest on Deb and other obligations".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

"43—Industries—Industries" and "72—Capital Outlay on Industria Development."

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum o Rs. 88,07,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "43—Industries—Industries" and "72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development".

Sir, while moving the grant, I am fully conscious that the estimate presented have nothing spectacular about them. They represent no clain that there remains nothing more to do in respect of our developmenta programme. In fact, let me confess that the estimates I have presentec represent only a few schemes which touch merely a fringe of the fiel

where so much remains to be done. Our estimates have been conditioned mainly by the resources in money and personnel at our disposal and, as you know, the resources we command today either from our provincial sources or from Central grants or loans are far too inadequate for our requirements and problems which have grown so complex in the wake of the partition. There is again the time factor which should also be taken into account. Paper-schemes are nothing if not properly effected into concrete realities. This would naturally take time because we have so many bottlenecks as to money, materials, technical skill and so many other things. Having taken all these into consideration, I have thought it prudent to hasten slowly without trying the method of hit-or-miss with a number of undertakings.

Some of the cut motions relate to the industrial policy of this Government. In my statement to the House last year, I outlined the broad features of what should be our industrial policy in the provincial sphere, and particularly our policy in regard to nationalisation. Since that statement was made, we have had the advantage of a clear enunciation of the industrial policy by the Government of India in a resolution passed by the Dominion Parliament on the 7th April, 1948. The resolution defined the respective spheres of state and private enterprise in the industrial field on the basis of a division of all the industries under four categories. The first of these categories comprising such industries as manufacture of arms and ammunition, production and control of atomic energy and the ownership and management of railway transport, etc., is to be a monopoly of the Central Government. The second category comprised such industries as coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacture, ship-building, manufacture of telephones, telegraphs, mineral oils, the generation of electric power, etc. While the existing units of these industries should be left to private enterprise as hitherto, Central, Provincial and State Governments had been left free to launch new undertakings in this category according as their resources and peculiar conditions permitted. But since provinces are hard pressed for money even for their various social welfare schemes and the Central Government are alone capable of shouldering such huge burden, it is the Central Government that have undertaken the task of starting a few select industries of this kind. At the end of a period of ten years during which Government would afford to the private undertakings necessary facilities for efficient working and reasonable expansion, the whole position would be reviewed and if it is then decided that the State should acquire any of the units of private enterprise, due compensation will be paid on a fair and equitable basis. The third and fourth categories which for the sake of convenience may be regarded as the residual field will generally be left to private enterprise, but the State may also progressively participate in this field where found necessary.

So far as the provincial initiative is concerned in these industries, our efforts should necessarily be limited by our lack of resources. If we are to undertake any of these industries, we shall have to finance them by raising loans for which we shall have to depend mostly on the Central Government in the prevailing conditions of the investment market. This should not, however, mean that we shall not make any effort to initiate any enterprise in this field. As far as our resources permit, we shall strive to develop some of these industries subject to the over-riding consideration that we are reasonably assured, after proper examination, of their efficient running in the best interest of the province.

We should, therefore, proceed very cautiously in all such undertakings, for we must consider that as a responsible government, we are the custodians of public money in trust. We must not fritter away our resources on any grounds of transitory enthusiasm or catch-phrases.

In respect of the second category of industries, new undertakings may, of course, be sponsored by a Provincial Government with the approval of the Government of India, but the possibilities of provincial action in this regard would naturally be limited by lack of financial resources and trained personnel. As I have already stated, the industries comprised in this sector, such as coal, iron and steel, generation of electrical power, etc., involve heavy initial capital expenditure and the Central Government has already decided to undertake certain units on their own account. In this field, we have already decided with the approval of the Central Government to undertake an electrification scheme for North Calcutta areas. A few other schemes of electrification are also now engaging our attention. In the remaining part of the residual field which comprise the vast range of private enterprise, consisting of many big-scale industries, this Government are rendering, whenever necessary, every help and assistance and the extent and variety of such help are everyday increasing. Then there are small-scale and cottage industries which particularly depend upon the Provincial Government for their growth and development.

The role of the Provincial Government is thus more or less clearly defined. It should be clear from what I have said that without taking risks beyond our means, we may also do something material for the orderly development of our industries, including some major ones, by useful collaboration with the Central Government in the implementation of their industrial policy.

We shall be ready to co-operate with the Government of India or with authorities like the Damodar Valley Authority for establishing industries within the geographical limits of the province. We shall also be prepared to participate in all-India enterprises sponsored by the Central Government in cases where considerations of available scope and utility to the province call for such participation. Our participation in the Sindri Project is a case in point. All such cases must, however, be judged on their merits and in accordance with the broad policy that we lay down for ourselves. The Provincial Government should also be ready to collaborate with the Centre in useful investigations regarding the development of important key industries in West Bengal. We have already done so in the case of dye-stuffs and synthetic drug industries, iron and steel industry, ship-building and heavy electrical machinery industry. In the first case, as you will remember, we have participated in a joint investigation with the India Government, the Bihar Government and the Damodar Valley Authority. In the other two cases, we have undertaken enquiries at the instance of the India Government. I shall refer presently to the results of these enquiries.

I may, however, point out in this connection that the question of undertaking large-scale industries on our account should be considered with reference to the real scope available to the province at the present stage of development. Up till today, whatever industrial development has taken place in the country and in the province, has mainly been the achievement of private enterprise. India stands today very high in the list of the industrialized countries of the world, and West Bengal figures prominent in the all-India picture. West Bengal's total industrial labour exceeds 10 lakhs against Bombay's 7 lakhs and all-India's 33 lakhs or so. In certain specific industries, West Bengal's position is also predominant. In jute, West Bengal's production is 95 per cent. of India's total, in paper 50 per cent., in glass 40 per cent., in paints and varnishes 50 per cent., in potteries 60 per cent., in belting 100 per cent., in iron and steel 30 per cent., in hosiery 80 per cent. in enamel wares 50 per cent., and in tea 28 per cent. In miscellaneous engineering industries, again, Bengal's workers form 51 per cent., of the all-India total. This is no mean achievement to the credit of private enterprise, although there remains much more to be achieved in other lines and most of these industries have many

bottlenecks and handicaps in the way of their stabilization and expansion. As the industrial policy of the Government of India have now crystallised and as they have clearly indicated their readiness to extend all reasonable help and assistance to private enterprise for their development and expansion, I have no doubt that private enterprise of this province will take the fullest opportunity of this favourable atmosphere and play their part with courage and faith in the industrial development of this province.

The Government of West Bengal, I may state, is not in as great need as some other Provincial Governments to rush into undertaking big scale industries. They are called upon rather to render all possible assistance to the existing and new industries which private enterprise has started or may start, in such matters as importation of machinery and plants, supply of raw materials, supply of building materials, coal and power, advocacy of protective tariff where necessary, land acquisition, etc. In fact, the Department of Industries has been rendering such assistance as far as it can to many large-scale industries of the province.

While on this question of developing large-scale industries, I must reiterate the fact that we cannot afford to create hopes which we know to be doomed to disappointment because of our severely limited means. But we should at the same time be prepared to risk some expenditure for preliminary investigations into the possibilities of desirable industries so that on the results of such enquiries, either private or Government enterprise can be started with reasonable chances of commercial success. Take the case of Joint Enquiry regarding dye-stuff and synthetic drug industries. Two German experts were brought out for the purpose at the instance of the Bihar Government and we agreed to share 50 per cent. of the cost. We also appointed two technical officers to collaborate with the German experts who have recently furnished a preliminary report. From the report it appears that without further investigation on a big scale, it would not be possible to know finally whether such industries can at all be established in India. A further formidable handicap in the way is that the intermediates of these industries are not yet produced in the country. The successful development of these major chemical industries can take place only on an integrated basis conditioned by the prior establishment of a number of basic industries. Besides, the cost of the schemes will be too heavy for the means of a Provincial Government. Despite this position, we agreed to participate in the joint enquiry as it was felt that the exploration of the potentialities of these industries and their eventual development might be of great economic advantage to the province. Likewise, we appointed a Special Officer (Iron and Steel) to prepare a detailed case for the location of a large-scale iron and steel works in West Bengal under the Government of India plan for expanding iron and steel industry in this country. A detailed and, I think, a convincing case has been made out and submitted to India Government. As far as I know, no decision on the question has yet been reached, but in case the Government of India decides to locate it at the site suggested by us, viz., at Durgapore near Asansol, in view of its decided economic and technical advantages, it will not only help to promote the expansion of a basic industry but also the creation of considerable economic opportunities for the people of the country. There was another enquiry instituted by us for the establishment of a heavy electrical machinery industry. Our departmental specialists prepared a case for location of the industry in West Bengal and collaborated in the enquiry instituted by the American Experts appointed by the India Government for the purpose.

As regards the establishment of a ship-building yard, this Government have suggested to the Government of India four alternative sites on the bank of the Hooghly in consultation with the authorities of the Calcutta Port Trust. These sites were recommended after considering their suitability from the point of view of navigability of waterways, soil formation

of the river Hooghly, transport facility and availability of labour. Detailed reports have been forwarded to the Government of India and are now under their consideration. But I would request the House in this connection not to allow their enthusiasm for a ship-building yard to get the better of their practical wisdom. Only in this morning's paper it is reported that the Scindias who are the pioneers in this country in every thing connected with shipping and whose achievements in the line, in the face of stupendous odds, have greatly reflected to the credit of Indian enterprise, have expressed their inability to proceed with their Vizag project on grounds of uneconomic production. If this should be the experience of the acknowledged experts in the line, the House would surely expect the Government to proceed cautiously in such a vast undertaking.

These instances should make it clear that we are ready to explore all avenues of development of large-scale industries within the province. We have not of course formulated definite schemes of developing large-scale industries as our budget estimates would reveal, but to one provision I should particularly invite your attention, viz., the scheme for development of the salt industry. A provision of Rs. 2 lakhs may not convey an adequate idea of what we definitely want to do in order to develop the salt industry in our sea-coasts which offer convincing prospects of development according to expert investigations. The Contai sea board has been surveyed and three belts covering approximately 8,000 acres have been selected for the development of the industry on a large-scale factory basis as also on a medium size and cottage industry basis. Certain areas will be earmarked for small-scale units and existing medium-sized units to increase production of salt, while other areas will be developed on a large-scale factory basis by the agency of an Industrial Corporation proposed to be set up in collaboration with the India Government. For intending private enterprise, all possible help would also be rendered by the Government. A scheme of financial assistance to some of the existing salt concerns is now being worked out. If these schemes materialise according to the programme we have in view West Bengal will be self-sufficient in respect of salt and will even be in a position to supply enough salt for industrial utilisation.

But as large-scale industries are generally well-organised and can help themselves, our main concern should be for the development of cottage and small-scale industries. They are in most cases unorganised and suffer from many difficulties and handicaps relating mainly to raw materials, finance, marketing and production technique. In order to assist the artisans in solving their problems the Government propose to devote their resources in money and personnel, so that the population in the countryside may earn more and improve their standard of living. The density of population in West Bengal is the highest in India and agriculture cannot support the entire population. In order to lessen this pressure on land, subsidiary occupations must be created for the people and this can be done by the improvement of existing cottage and small-scale industries and the development of new types of cottage industries and by absorbing the surplus thus left over in large-scale industries. This objective has been in the forefront of the Department of Industries.

This brings me to one particular aspect of the problem to which I would invite the attention of the House. Although industrially West Bengal occupies a very prominent position, the children of the soil have not benefited commensurately by her advanced industrial progress. The bulk of the industrial labour in this province still comes from outside the province. What with physical lassitude and what with a false sense of the indignity of labour, the people of this province have not taken full advantage of the opportunity of employment that these industries offer. Unless this attitude and outlook can be changed there can be no improvement in their standard of living. While I say this, it is far from my mind and farther from my intention to strike a parochial note of provincialism,

but I make mention of this only to emphasise that all our efforts for industrial advancement of this province can be of little use to the people of this province, unless they are prepared to take full advantage of them. It is for the leaders of this province to inculcate this in the minds of the people and try to change their outlook.

The problem of industrial finance also has engaged attention of the Government as a matter of vital concern to the development of new industries and consolidation of the existing ones, where necessary. So far as the bigger industries are concerned the Government of India have already established a Finance Corporation and this is expected to provide substantial facilities. The question for establishment of a Provincial Corporation also came up for consideration with a view to extending similar benefits to the medium-sized and small industries and thus supplement the services of the Indian Corporation in the provincial sphere. But the matter had to be kept in abeyance owing to the prevailing depressed conditions of the investment market. However, till the situation improves Government propose to liberalise to whatever extent possible the provisions relating to credit facilities available under the State Aid to Industries Act by suitable amendments.

As the House is aware, several schemes for the development of industries like silk, handmade paper, gur, khadi and handloom weaving were started last year and this year also they are being continued on an expanded or reorganised basis. In this, however, the commercial result achieved is not so much looked forward to as the benefit of training made available to the trainees, so that after the completion of the training, they may spread over in the countryside and make the best use of their training. In addition to these, schemes relating to such industries as brass and bell-metal, pearl button, horn industry, sericulture, lac, etc., have been framed on the basis of detailed surveys and are under consideration with a view to their implementation. Besides, the department has been fully awake to the needs of the small industries in such matters as supply of raw material, coal, kerosene oil, technical guidance, power supply, export facilities, etc., and has promptly attended to all applications for assistance. These are the lines in which the Directorate of Industries is assisting cottage and small-scale industries and it may be of interest to honourable members to know that a special branch is being created under the department to devote exclusive and specialised attention to the problems and requirements of these industries

Sir, I would not mind even if it be necessary for the members of the Opposition to pour shower of abuses on me because that is my day's work, but I earnestly expect of them some objective criticism and constructive suggestions and I can assure them that we shall consider them seriously and if possible we shall be able to implement them. I am doing this task with an open mind and I hope that will be reciprocated by the members of the Opposition.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 88,07,000 for expenditure under the heads "43—Industries—Industries" and "72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the present condition and future possibility of the Bucket Industry and the need for improving its condition in no time and the necessity for inclusion of this industry under the Development Scheme.

Mr. SPEAKER: Motions Nos. 4 and 5 are out of order.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: May I submit, how are they out of order?

Mr. SPEAKER: They relate to the Civil Supplies Department. In your speech you may refer to them.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: In these two motions I have shown how the industry is being thwarted and hampered by the Civil Supplies Department.

Mr. SPEAKER: That you may deal with in your speech but do not move these cut motions.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 88,07,000 for expenditure under the heads "43—Industries—Industries" and "72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the policy of Government.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 88,07,000 for expenditure under the heads "43—Industries—Industries" and "72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to industrialise the country by following the co-operative method.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, may I submit that the House may be adjourned till Monday. We will have hardly any work on Monday and Tuesday and we will be able to finish them on those days. The Government bloc will agree, I think.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, for your information I may say that I suggested it to the Chief Whip of the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think we should dispose of this item.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, we have discussed the matter with the Chief Whip. Kindly adjourn the House till Monday.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, no. I think we should dispose of this item.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, most of the members have left.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, because the Chief Whip agreed to this programme most of the members have left in anticipation that the Speaker will adjourn the House till Monday.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, most of the members have left on that understanding. Sir, we have already discussed this matter with the Chief Whip. Please do adjourn.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Even our Leader has left on that understanding.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Thank you, Sir.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 12-18 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Monday, the 28th March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 28th March, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 55 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Alleged opening of a foreign liquor shop at 263, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta

*33. **Janab ABUL HASHEM:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Excise Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether sanction has been accorded for the opening of a new foreign liquor shop at 263, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta;

(*ii*) whether there are two existing liquor shops—one foreign and one country spirit—within a quarter mile from the new shop; and

(*iii*) whether the Government propose to introduce prohibition in the Province?

MINISTER in charge of the EXCISE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sri Syama Prosad Barman): (*i*) No.

(*ii*) Does not arise.

(*iii*) Yes, when practicable.

Sri KANAILAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি কখন সম্ভব হবে এবং কতদিন এই বর্জন নীতি গৃহীত করা হবে?

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: Prohibition will be introduced with the mobilisation of public opinion in favour of it and when proper arrangements are made for enforcing the same.

Sri KANAILAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি সেই রকম বন্দোবস্ত করতে কত সময় লাগবে--ক বৎসর বা ক মাস?

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PRASAD BARMAN: That I cannot say.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Arising out of the answer to (*ii*) whether there are two existing liquor shops—one foreign and one country spirit—within a quarter mile from the new shop, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether this is in contravention of the Excise Licensing Rules?

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: I ask for notice.

Sri KANAILAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানাবেন কি বাংলা দেশের সমস্ত জেলায় একসঙ্গে মদ্য বর্জন নীতি গ্রহণ করা হবে—না জেলা ভাগ করে বছর বছর করে করা হবে?

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: Partial prohibition was going to be introduced.

Sri KANAILAL DE: কটা জেলায় মদ্য বর্জন নীতি আরম্ভ হয়েছে, মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বল্‌বেন কি?

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: Malda and West Dinajpur were selected for this purpose.

Sri KANAILAL DE: আগামী বৎসর কোন্ জেলায় আরম্ভ করা হবে সেটা কি স্থির করা হয়েছে?

(No reply.)

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন মালদহ ও West দিনাজপুরে prohibition করা হবে। তিনি বোধ হয় জানেন যে এখন কোন prohibition হবে না—এ বিষয়ে একটা circular আমাদের ২৪পরগনার Licensing Boardএ পাঠান হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: Prohibition scheme has been abandoned for the present but I am considering the scheme.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to know whether Government have abandoned the prohibition scheme.

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: The scheme is under consideration.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Then what is the meaning of the Hon'ble Minister saying that he is trying to implement the scheme in two districts?

(No reply.)

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় কি জানেন যে খেঁজুর, তাল ও নারকেল গাছ থেকে লোকে প্রত্যেক জেলায় তাড়ি তৈয়ার করে ঘরে (home consumption) খেতে পারে ৪ সের পর্য্যন্ত বিনা licenseএ এবং বিনা খরচে?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, how can this question be relevant to this particular issue? It is about a liquor shop.

Mr. SPEAKER: I also think so and the supplementary questions should be confined to the particular foreign liquor shop about which the printed question begins.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: May I make my submission, Sir? I think the Hon'ble Minister who tried to assist the Chair to come to a decision is not correct because in the printed question it is asked "Whether the Government propose to introduce prohibition in the Province?" and the supplementary questions arising out of this are perfectly relevant and the Hon'ble Minister in charge will have to answer those questions.

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: The question was whether the rule contains any provision giving exemption of certain things and that is entirely a separate matter.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: That is about the Rules but it comes under Prohibition.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমার প্রশ্নটা এইভাবে relevant যে এই যে prohibition—যে ৪ সের করে তাড়ি বিনা licenseএ প্রত্যেকে তৈয়ার করে খেতে পারে, এটা prohibitionএর উল্‌টো জিনিষ করার জন্য encourage করা হচ্ছে। এই হিসেবে আমার question relevant.

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: It is not a question; it is supplying the information himself.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: माननीय मन्त्रीमहोदय जानेन कि ये ये कोन गृहस्थ তার নিজের তাল, খেঁজুর এবং নারকেল গাছ থেকে তাড়ি তৈরি করে বিনা licenseএ এবং বিনা বাধায় খেতে পারে?

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: I am not aware.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: খবর নিয়ে মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় জানাবেন কি?

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: I shall consider that.

Sri KANAILAL DE: যদি ঐ রকম ঘটনা সত্য হয়, তাহ'লে তা বন্ধ করবার ব্যবস্থা করবেন কি?

The Hon'ble Sri SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: I will consider that.

BUDGET FOR 1949-50

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS.

43—Industries—Industries and 72—Capital Outlay on industrial development.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have already moved my cut motion, and so I want to be very brief this afternoon. I am very much impressed with the comforting assurances given by the Hon'ble Finance Minister that Government are alive to the need of encouraging cottage industries in the province. Bengal is not, as he said, in greater need at the present moment for large-scale industries: Government are not required, therefore, to undertake these industrial schemes at the present moment. But so far as cottage industries, so far as small-scale industries are concerned, Government are willing to encourage these industries and provide as much assistance as is possible consistent with the resources of the province. In this connection I want to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Finance Minister to three of the industries in my home district of Murshidabad, which are languishing for lack of encouragement. The first is the silk industry. The Hon'ble Minister perhaps knows it perfectly well that although silk imported from Murshidabad to Kashmir and Mysore has shown much better result from qualitative and quantitative point of view, Murshidabad silk in the district itself has deteriorated, of late, in quality and quantity. The reason is not far to seek. We have not yet been able to provide disease-free cocoons and we have not been able to start larger number of centres for rearing cocoons, with the result that though these small industries here and there used to thrive from private enterprise, but due to the lack of State encouragement and aid are now languishing.

Then, again, owing to competition in the market, specially with cheap production in China and Japan, our silk is not getting a good market. It is time that Government did realise the need for giving more and more encouragement in the shape of better and more disease-free cocoons and protected this industry of ours in free Bengal from unfair competition or any other restrictions or limitations that might have been imposed on it in the past. It is time that the Government of West Bengal realised the importance of this silk industry in my own district and took necessary steps for its improvement both in quality and quantity.

Secondly, I would refer to sugarcane industry in my district. Sir, there are two mills—two big sugar mills whose estimated production is about 250,000 maunds every year and the value of this production would be about Rs. 62,50,000 at the rate of Rs. 25 per maund. Somehow or

other the mill at Beldanga has closed down. Owing to some mismanagement and bungling it has met this fate. There is only one other sugar mill at Ramnagar near about Plassey. But though the sugar mill at Beldanga has closed down the land is there, the machinery is there and everything is there at Beldanga. If the Government only realise the importance of this industry, take it over and provide every facility for it, it has a bright future.

Then about silk industry, in my own subdivision—the subdivision of Jangipur that I represent in this Assembly. Owing to depredations carried on in the countryside by the *goalas* specially, fields have been destroyed and the standing crop too has been destroyed, and what is more, the "kul" trees which rear up cocoons have been destroyed, with the result that silk cultivation has received a terrible set-back. I would therefore appeal to the Hon'ble the Finance Minister who is very anxious to encourage small-scale cottage industries in the province, to come forward to their aid at this juncture.

I will now mention one more industry which, owing to some sort of intervention from interested quarters, is not receiving the encouragement which it deserves. I mean the bucket industry of Calcutta and Howrah, which is one of the main industries of the province. A huge sum of money is invested in this industry every year. The outturn of this enterprise is also huge and has a good market throughout India and outside. Unfortunately, however, this industry has sufferred in the past and there will be no end of troubles unless it is well protected, its interest safeguarded and it is fully developed on all points such as procurement of cheap and sufficient quantities of raw materials, with an eye to good and satisfactory production, expert supervision and better organisation for sale. It is a pity that the Government have not been so careful as to look to the real needs of the industrialist and perhaps Government will not deny that they have no proper knowledge of bucket and other such industries, nor have they any proper statistics at their disposal.

Sir, facts and figures will give you an idea about the importance of this industry. The history of the industry will reveal that it is an old industry of the land. This industry was first started about 20 years ago and at present it has become one of the most popular industries of the country.

In the year 1944-45 when iron and steel control was in operation, an Association under the name of Bengal Workshop Owners' Association undertook the task of looking to the interest of the industry with 45 members only on it. Unfortunately, however, it was ultimately found that the main object of the executive of this Association was to secure quotas of iron and steel from the Government. In the year 1946 when iron and steel was temporarily decontrolled, the executive in a general meeting of the Association managed to wind up the whole show. In the year 1947 when iron and steel was again controlled, one Association under the name of Bucket Manufacturers' Association came into existence with 60 members thereof and in the year 1947 another Association under the name of the Bucket Manufacturers' Association of India was formed with a number of members and in the same year, through the interference of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Civil Supplies Department, a Federation came into existence with Sri Sukumar Dutt as Chairman with the main object of seeing that procurement of iron and steel could be carried on and with no other aims whatsoever for betterment of the industry itself. In the year 1948 another Association under the name of West Bengal Bucket Manufacturers' Association came into being with about 40 members thereof to share the quota of Iron and Steel.

The most unfortunate state of things is this that the Government have never cared to see whether these Associations under the Federation maintain a genuine list of member-firms and I am almost certain that at least 50 per cent. of the member-firms shown in the list of these Associations are bogus.

Several *bona fide* bucket fabricators, who were members of the old Association under the name of Bengal Workshop Owners' Association, have refused to become members of any of these three Associations. They are perhaps aware of the fact that these Associations, with so many bogus member-firms, are being run with a questionable motive of procuring all sorts of iron and steel from the Provincial Authority and sending them ultimately to the black market. If the Government are good enough to enquire into the inner working of these Associations and the federation with a genuine motive to improve the condition of the Industry, it is then and then only that some good results may accrue.

The Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of Industry should also please note that due to maldistribution of raw materials, black marketing is going on in full swing. Genuine and *bona fide* fabricators are not provided with raw materials and the result is that they have been compelled to go to bogus firms who are getting permits through Associations. I would appeal to Government that in the interest of the Industry itself, Government, particularly the Hon'ble Minister of Industry, should not allow these things to go on any further, specially when they hamper industrial growth. I will further appeal to the Hon'ble Minister to look into the whole affair with a view to ascertain as to how distribution of raw materials is being made for industrial purposes.

The most unfortunate state of things is this, that these Associations through the federation have managed to secure sanction of procuring raw materials, depriving many *bona fide* manufacturers of their legitimate shares. The Government have laid down the policy that no non-members of the Associations would get any quota direct and the result is that bogus firms of the Association are getting advantage of sending all iron and steel to the black-market because of the urgent demand of the *bona fide* manufacturers.

There are industries in Calcutta and Howrah which require usable scraps, defectives, cuttings and cutdowns and they could be well managed and maintained by the above category of iron and steel.

Previously the arrangement was such that the Tatas used to supply all the requisite bucket parts to the fabricators. During the last War the Tatas began to supply cuttings and cutdowns and other scraps to the buckets and trunks manufacturers and the Provincial Government never interfered with this, although iron and steel control was in force, with the result that these industries could anyhow pull on. But the Government imposed control on these defectives and scraps, putting thereby the industrialist to manifold difficulties. The Provincial Authority has ever since declared that the stock position of iron and steel being very bad, they cannot provide any fabricators with sufficient quantities of raw materials. Previously the cottage industries of the land were being managed with the help of the scraps supplied by Tatas, but suddenly the Government changed their policy and imposed control over scraps and cuttings with the result that the industrialists are suffering much for shortage of raw materials, the distribution of the Government being always unsatisfactory and unsuccessful. I would request the Government to so arrange that Tatas should supply scraps and defectives to the approved fabricators as per list maintained in Tata's office and the Provincial Authority should supply full sheet requirements and the fabricators will send their returns to the Government and will be responsible for both Government supply and supplies made by Tatas. Supplies made by Tatas direct will minimize the present rates for scraps and *bona fide* fabricators will not suffer as hitherto and this is sure to result in cheap productions as well.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please deal with the subject, so far as this department is concerned.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: As I was submitting the other day these two items—cut motions—directly came under the Civil Supplies Department. I had not your permission to move these cut motions when the Civil Supplies budget was being discussed. Naturally, I want to show that there is a link between this policy that has been pursued in another department which hampers the growth of the bucket industry in the province and the subject-matter of the present discussion. I will link them up as far as possible. I will only submit to the Hon'ble Minister for his consideration——

Mr. SPEAKER: The difficulty is as I have already stated, the discussion must be such that the Minister in charge of the particular demand should be in a position to reply. You cannot ask another Minister to reply to any remarks that you make in connection with matters which ought to have been raised when the demand for Civil Supplies was being discussed. What I would suggest to you is this. You can incidentally refer to this but in such a way that it does not necessitate another Minister to reply to your arguments.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: I will not refer to that. All that I want to submit through you to the Hon'ble Minister is that he will kindly consider how this control over these things is hampering the growth of the bucket industry in this province. I would appeal to him to look into the inner workings so that he might in future to a great extent correct the policy of the Government.

May I submit further that the bucket and trunk industry can also be run to a great extent if Tatas alone are empowered to supply the industrialists with scraps direct and in this way full sheets raw materials may be saved and utilised for other more useful purposes, or, in the alternative, if Government supply the entire quantity of cuttings and cutdowns to the fabricators of buckets and trunks with an aim to save full sheets and other good quality iron and steel instead of allowing them to be misused by way of distributing them through certain Associations.

All that I want to submit, Sir, is that the Associations referred to above, having secured sanction of monopoly of raw materials, have practically shut out other genuine industrialists from their legitimate shares and Government have practically shifted their responsibility to the Associations who are only out to utilise Government's ignorance of industrial affairs. This I would request the Hon'ble Minister to make a special note of.

I will not go any further. I shall be very brief. Further regarding the policy of the Government that no non-members should get any quota of iron and steel for manufacture of buckets I would only appeal to the Hon'ble Minister of Industry to make thorough investigation through an impartial body into the inner workings of the Associations as well as of the Federation. I would add further that Government should kindly appoint a Committee to enquire into the individual firms for ascertaining the services of the Associations, distribution of quotas, usefulness of raw materials released to them, etc., and then it will be quite clear as to how these Associations, in the name of doing justice to the industry, have become harmful, since raw materials obtained through the Associations go to bogus firms and ultimately to the black-market. And it is only for this reason that the Associations sought to monopolise all raw materials for the bucket industry and as the Associations up till now could not do anything useful, I would ask the Government to change their policy and to see that no industrialist suffers at their hands.

Then, Sir, as I have said, this industry of buckets has a very great future, if organised properly. For lack of proper organisation, producers have to sell their products at the rates given by the bazar parties who

dominate the manufacturers and that too at a discount of Rs. 3-10 per cent. Some of the member-firms of the Associations referred to above having shops in the bazar are escaping at present this difficulty, while others are suffering the most.

This industry will give a net income of at least 3 crores of rupees to the country. There are as many as two hundred bucket factories of various capacities in Calcutta and each factory is capable of producing 50 dozen buckets normally per day. This means that working on the basis of 25 days in a month, the production will be about 30 lakh dozens per year, the value of which will be about Rs. 6 crores. I would, therefore, appeal to Government to see that facilities——

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Three minutes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have allowed you 16 minutes.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Not more that three minutes, Sir. I would ultimately suggest that it will be possible only when the Government will come forward with a genuine urge to look after all the industrial possibilities of the country and appoint a syndicate. This syndicate must have the fullest power to secure all raw materials including iron and steel direct from producers. This syndicate will also be authorised to compel the bucket fabricators to sell all their productions through the syndicate which should be compulsory and the syndicate will distribute buckets to the retailers and wholesalers of the market according to their merit. This syndicate will also arrange for sale of buckets outside India against export licenses. This syndicate will control and supervise factories for good production. Factories in their turn will fix a fair price of buckets to manufacturers and then purchase all the buckets for distribution to customers. This syndicate will also see that no individual firm suffers for delayed payment of their bills and so on and so forth.

So, I would appeal to Government to see that a syndicate is established at once. The syndicate will surely be able to minimize the prices of buckets which will be beneficial to the interest of the ultimate consumers.

Sir, with these words I would commend my cut motion to the acceptance of the House.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমাদের শিল্প বিভাগের শিল্প নীতি সম্পর্কে আমি কিছু বলতে চাই। শিল্প বিভাগ আমাদের সামনে তাদের যে সমস্ত কার্য্যের মোটামুটি হিসাব দিয়াছেন তাতে আমরা বুঝতে পারি যে আমাদের শিল্প বিভাগের কোন সুপরিকল্পিত এবং সুনির্দ্দিষ্ট শিল্প নীতি নাই। এবং যা দু-একটা পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে তাহা কার্য্যকরী করার কোন চেষ্টা হয়নি। শিল্প বিভাগের শিল্প উন্নয়ন কার্য্যাবলী সম্বন্ধে যদি কিছু আন্দাজ করতে হয় তাহলে কলিকাতায় যে সমস্ত শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠান আছে বা কলিকাতার আশেপাশে যে সমস্ত কলকারখানা আছে তা দিয়ে অনুমান করতে হবে না—পশ্চিম বঙ্গের প্রত্যেকটি জেলায় যেয়ে সেখানকার প্রকৃত শিল্পের অবস্থা দেখলে পরে বুঝতে পারা যাবে যে আমাদের শিল্প উন্নতি সম্পর্কে বিশেষ করে কুটীর শিল্পের কোন উন্নতিই করা হয়নি এবং শিল্পের কোন পরিকল্পনাকে কার্য্যকরী করার বিন্দুমাত্র চেষ্টাই আমরা দেখতে পাই না।

শিল্প উন্নয়নের কয়েকটা itemএর কথা আমি বলছি। পল্লী অঞ্চলে বিদ্যুৎ সরবরাহের জন্য Engineer ও কর্ম্মচারীদের জন্য বর্ত্তমান সংশোধিত বাজেটে প্রায় ২ লক্ষ টাকা ধার্য্য করা হয়েছে। আগামী বৎসরের জন্য ২ লক্ষ ৩৫ হাজার টাকা। শিল্প বিভাগের পুনর্গঠনের জন্য অতিরিক্ত কর্ম্মচারিবৃন্দের খরচ বর্ত্তমানে ১২ হাজার টাকা এবং আগামী বৎসরের জন্য এক লক্ষ টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে। রেশন বিভাগের পুনর্গঠন ও পরিচালনের জন্য কর্ম্মচারী সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি খরচ এক লক্ষ টাকা। এইভাবে দেখতে পাওয়া যাবে যে বেশীর ভাগই খরচ শিল্প বিভাগের ব্যয় বহন জন্য বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে।

যা কিছু পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে তার মধ্যে দেখা যাবে যে ৮টা পরিকল্পনা আগামী বৎসরের জন্য স্থগিত বা বন্ধ রাখা হয়েছে। আর আসানসোল, বর্দ্ধমান, বিষ্ণুপুর প্রভৃতি শিল্প প্রধান স্থানগুলিকে শিল্প বিভাগ থেকে শিক্ষা বিভাগের অধীন করা হয়েছে। ৫৯টা টেক্‌নিক্যাল স্কুলকে সাহায্য দেবার জন্য ৪ লক্ষ টাকার ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে, এইভাবে সমস্ত প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলিও যদি শিক্ষা বিভাগে চালান করা যায় তাহলে দেখতে পাওয়া যাবে যে আমাদের এই শিল্প বিভাগের করণীয় কোন কাজই অবশিষ্ট থাকবে না সুতরাং তাহা রাখার প্রয়োজনও হবে না। এই শিল্প বিভাগটা বহু দিন থেকে প্রচলিত আছে, এর বরাবরের কাজ হচ্চে বৎসর বৎসর নুতন পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা আর পর বৎসর সেটা ত্যাগ করা এবং কর্ম্মচারিবৃন্দের বিরাট ব্যয় বহন করা। আমি উদাহরণ স্বরূপ বলতে পারি, আমাদের মালদহে বিরাট শিল্প উৎপাদনের অঞ্চল আছে এবং সেখানে বৈজ্ঞানিক প্রথায় যদি যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ রেশম আবাদ ও তৈরী করতে পারা যায়, তবে শুধু বাংলা নয় গোটা ভারতকেই মালদহ রেশম রপ্তানি করতে পারবে। আর মালদহের রেশম অন্যান্য স্থানের রেশমের চেয়ে উৎকৃষ্ট এবং মজবুৎ, এটা পরীক্ষা দ্বারা জানা গেছে। মালদহ জেলায় রেশম উৎপাদনকারী ও তাঁতীদের উন্নতির জন্য কোন সুব্যবস্থা করা হয় নাই; এই রকমের আরোও বহু প্রকার কুটীর শিল্প আছে যার উন্নতির জন্য শিল্প বিভাগ যে কোন উন্নতিমূলক কাজ করেছে তার কোন লক্ষণ আমরা দেখতে পাই না।

আমাদের শিল্পসচিব মহাশয় কুটীর শিল্পের উন্নতি করা হবে বলে আমাদের কেবল আশাই দিয়েছেন। বড় বড় শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলি সম্বন্ধে তিনি বলেছেন যে "তারা সুসংবদ্ধ ও স্বাবলম্বী" এবং ইহারা দেশবাসীর ব্যক্তিগত মালীকানার মাধ্যমে সংগঠিত হয়েছে। এদের সাহায্যের কোন প্রয়োজন নাই। কিন্তু আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি পল্লী অঞ্চলের কুটীর শিল্পগুলির জন্য তিনি কোন পরিকল্পনা এবং কার্য্যকরী ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করেন নাই কেন? কাজেই, এই শিল্প বিভাগের শিল্প নীতি দ্বারা বোঝা যায় যে এই বিভাগটা দ্বারা দেশের কোন উন্নতি হবার সম্ভাবনা নাই। তিনি তাঁর শনিবারের বক্তৃতায় বলেছেন যে খানিকটা শারীরিক আলস্য ও শ্রম সম্বন্ধে মর্য্যাদার একটি ভ্রান্ত ধারণার দরুণ প্রদেশের জনসাধারণের শ্রম শিল্পের সুযোগ গ্রহণ করতে পারে নাই। জন-সাধারণের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী যাহাতে পরিবর্ত্তন হয় তদ্বিষয়ে নেতৃবর্গের চেষ্টা করা উচিত। তিনি যে নেতৃবর্গের দ্বারা জন-সাধারণের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী পরিবর্ত্তনের সম্বন্ধে কথাটা বলেছেন তাঁর এই উপদেশ আমরা সসম্মানে মেনে নিচ্ছি। কিন্তু সঙ্গে সঙ্গে একথাও না বলে পারছি না যে শিল্পোন্নয়ন সম্বন্ধে তাঁর নিজেরই কোন একটা কার্য্যকরী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর একান্ত অভাব দেখ্‌ছি। তিনি তাঁর নিজের দায়িত্ব দেশের নেতৃবৃন্দের উপর চাপিয়ে দিয়ে নিজেই দায়িত্বহীন হতে চাইছেন। কুটীর শিল্পের বিস্তার ও উন্নতি সম্পর্কে কঠিন সমস্যার সমাধান করার দরকার বোধ তিনি মনে করছেন না। দেশের খাদ্য সমস্যা চরমে উঠেছে, তার উপর বেকার সমস্যা দিন দিন বৃদ্ধি পাচেছ। আমাদের দেশের সমস্ত আবাদী জমি আজকে law of diminishing returnএর নীতি অনুযায়ী আর পূর্ব্বের মত ফসল দিয়ে লোকের খাদ্যাভাব দূর করতে পারছে না। আমাদের জমি যেমন ছিল তেমনি আছে কিন্তু লোক সংখ্যা দিন দিন বেড়ে চলেছে। এই জন্য জমি থেকে যে ফসল পাওয়া যায় তা লোক সংখ্যার অনুপাতে অত্যন্ত অল্প। এই কারণে আমাদের এই কৃষি প্রধান দেশেও ক্রমশঃ লোকের দুর্দ্দশা ঘনিয়ে উঠ্‌ছে। খাদ্যাভাবে মানুষ পাগল হয়ে উঠ্‌ছে। এ অবস্থায় যদি গ্রামে গ্রামে কুটীর শিল্পের ব্যবস্থা না করা যায় তাহলে দেশের লোকের খাদ্যের অভাব আমরা মেটাতে পারব না। এই বাংলা দেশে যে কুটীর শিল্পের চরম উন্নতি হতে পারে তার নজির আমরা ইতিহাসের পাতায় দেখ্‌তে পাই। ১৭৮৭ সালে এই বাংলা থেকে প্রায় ৫০ লক্ষ টাকার মস্‌লিন বিলেতে চালান হয়েছিল। বাংলাদেশের প্রত্যেকটা গ্রাম ছিল সে সময় স্বাবলম্বী। প্রত্যেকটা গ্রাম কুটীর শিল্পের দ্বারা বহু জিনিষ উৎপন্ন করে কেবল নিজেরাই ব্যবহার করত না বিদেশেও চালান দিত। (Red light was shown) Sir, আমি আর একটু time চাই।

কুটীর শিল্পজাত দ্রব্য তখন প্রত্যেক গ্রামের অভাব মিটিয়েও এত বেশী হত যে সেগুলি দেশান্তরে রপ্তানি করে প্রচুর অর্থাগমও হতো। গ্রাম ছিল সুখ সমৃদ্ধিশালী, গ্রামবাসীদের কোন বিষয়ে অভাব ছিল না। কিন্তু ইংরেজ যেদিন এ দেশে এসে আমাদের নিজেদের গৃহবিবাদের ও আত্মকলহের সুযোগ গ্রহণ করে আমাদের স্বাধীনতা হরণ করল, সেই দিন থেকে আমাদের দেশের যত কুটীর শিল্প সমস্তই ইংরাজ বণিক বন্ধ করে দিল। এ সম্পর্কে আমাদের কংগ্রেসী বন্ধুদের এই কথাটা মনে করিয়ে দিতে পারি যখন কংগ্রেসের আন্দোলন ১৯২১ সালে চরমে উঠেছিল, স্বদেশী আন্দোলন যখন সমস্ত দেশকে প্লাবিত করেছিল, সে সময় এই আন্দোলনে ছাত্র হিসেবে আমি ঝাপিয়ে পড়েছিলাম। তখনকার একটা গানের কথা আমার মনে আছে—

"স্বদেশ স্বদেশ করিস কারে এদেশ তোদের নয়,
এই যমুনা গঙ্গানদী, তোদের ইহা হতো যদি,
পরের পণ্যে গোরা সৈন্য জাহাজ কেন বয়?"

এটা আপনাদের অজানা নেই যে বৃটিশ এবং পাশ্চাত্য অন্যান্য দেশের শিল্পজাত দ্রব্য এসে যখন গোটা দেশটাকে প্লাবিত করে দিল, তখন তার ফলে এদেশের কুটীরশিল্প সমস্তই ধ্বংস হয়ে গেল, এবং পল্লীবাসীরা আর পূর্ব্বের মতন কুটীর শিল্পের দ্বারা তাদের অভাব অভিযোগ মিটাতে না পারায় এবং গ্রামের যারা ধনী ও মধ্যবিত্ত তারা সহরে এসে বাস করতে আরম্ভ করায় ক্রমে গ্রামগুলি হল চরম উপেক্ষিত ও পশ্চাদপদ ও পরমুখাপেক্ষী। এবং কলকাতা ইংরেজের সভ্যতার নমুনাস্বরূপ শিল্পকেন্দ্ররূপে গড়ে উঠ্‌লো। এইভাবে, আমরা দেখ্‌তে পাই, আমাদের দেশের ধ্বংসপ্রাপ্ত কুটীর শিল্পের শ্মশানের উপর পাশ্চাত্য শিল্পজাত দ্রব্যের সৌধ গড়ে উঠ্‌লো। গ্রাম থেকে সমস্ত মধ্যবিত্ত লোক সহর ও কলকাতায় চলে আসায় সহরে সমস্ত ধন সম্পদ রাশিকৃত হয়ে উঠ্‌তে লাগ্‌লো। পুঁজির অভাবে গ্রামবাসীর আর কুটীর শিল্প চালাবার উপায় রইলো না।

এই লুপ্তপ্রায় কুটীর শিল্পের উদ্ধার সাধন করতে হলে—গ্রামে গ্রামে এখনও যে সমস্ত কুটীর শিল্প বর্ত্তমান আছে তাদের উন্নতি সাধন এবং নূতন নূতন কুটীর শিল্প স্থাপন করা প্রয়োজন। Primary এবং বয়স্কদের শিক্ষার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে প্রত্যেক স্কুলে technical জ্ঞান বিষয়েও শিক্ষা দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা করা আবশ্যক। কুটীর শিল্পের উন্নতি করতে হলে কুটীর শিল্পীদের সন্তানদেরকে theoretical শিক্ষা দানের সঙ্গে technical শিক্ষা দান করা অপরিহার্য্য। গ্রামের শিল্পজাত দ্রব্যাদি জনপ্রিয় করবার জন্য publicity ও প্রচারের ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে যাতে সেগুলি বাজারে ভালভাবে বিক্রয় হয়। কুটীর শিল্পজাত দ্রব্যগুলিকে জনপ্রিয় করবার জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্ট থেকে আরম্ভ করে আমাদের দেশের প্রত্যেকটি দেশপ্রেমিক লোককেই চেষ্টা করতে হবে। প্রত্যেক গ্রামে কুটীর শিল্প বিস্তার জন্য সমবায় সমিতির যোগে পুঁজি সংগ্রহ করতে হবে এবং গভর্ণমেণ্টের তহবিল থেকে সম্ভবমত টাকা দিয়ে কুটীর শিল্পের পুঁজি বৃদ্ধির উপায় করতে হবে। কুটীর শিল্পজাত দ্রব্য যাতে মার্কেটে ও বাজারে সহজে চালান করতে পারা যায় তার ব্যবস্থাও গভর্ণমেণ্ট করবেন। উচ্চ technical training দেওয়ার জন্য কতকগুলি ছাত্রকে বৃত্তিদান করতে হবে। নূতন নূতন উন্নত ধরণের কলকব্জা ও যন্ত্রপাতি আমদানি করতে হবে।

(At this stage the red light was again lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order, Janab Sayeed Mia, your time is up and you will please resume your seat, and I cannot allow any more time. To-morrow is the last day and those items over which there will be different discussions will be guillotined. Therefore I regret that I will have to curtail the time of the speakers from now on so that we may be able to finish the budget to-morrow. Therefore I would request honourable members to see that the different debates on the different items of Demand for Grant are cut as short as possible and that they would confine their remarks to those that are absolutely necessary and only to important heads.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not like to inflict a speech on this grand Assembly but I shall only speak to the point and not more than what is absolutely necessary.

Sir, in my speech during the general discussion of the Budget for the year 1948 I said that independence is only a means to an end and though our Hon'ble Finance Minister said that he is breathing the air of freedom he ultimately had to admit that Independence is only a means to an end and he spoke in reply to my observations in the following words. "Freedom after all is an abstract conception, a means to an end; its material manifestation depends on the toil and earnestness of those who are free." This is the reply which was given and I say that is a candid reply.

Then, Sir, this year he has said what is the duty of the Government. He said, "It is the duty of the Government. While it is the duty of Government to set the ladder and indicate the steps, where necessary, the public should be left alone, as far as possible, to take the initiative and develop a positive bent of mind. Even the most well-set ladder cannot make an ascent easier unless one knows how to mount it by his own effort. Law is an aid and a corrective, but it should not be meant to become the rule of life. The best asset of any Government in any country is a self-instructed public, which can take a positive view of things and take a

rational attitude towards national problems". I thoroughly agree with these observations of our learned Finance Minister. He is a leader and it has been admitted by him that we are so many illiterates, we are so mnay poverty-stricken people, we are so many dumb driven cattle. This is what he has admitted in the speech. Now as Leader of the Nation, as the leader of West Bengal what right he has to exercise that right of leadership unless he can organise the people, unless he can organise co-operative societies, unless he can organise and make the people fit for living an independent life and that is the duty which has been cast upon him, not only upon him, my Hon'ble Finance Minister, but also on our other leaders, Dr. Roy and the other leaders who are adorning the Treasury Benches.

Sir, I ask of them an explanation as to what they have done to teach the people? The best thing that should be done by them will be apparent if we take lessons from the economic history of France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, England and other countries which have grown by a perfect system—by co-operative system. Sir, I ask him what he has done to organise the people into a co-operative society and raise the standard of the people. What can be done I shall presently show. I shall read from Wolfe's "Co-operation". It says "We in England have remained strangely backward in this matter—to our loss. "Strangely" one may well say, in view not only of the mass of foreign evidence accumulating during forty or fifty years, as if for our special benefit, telling only one tale; but also of the truly magnificent success of industrial co-operation in which, as erst in Agriculture, we lead the world by a long way. The figures recording such success appear to foreigners almost incredible. Surely to our eyes they ought to have demonstrated the remarkable potency of the principle of Co-operation! Our millions of men—mostly working men—building up out of their few shillings originally saved from labour, by their mere circumscribed custom institutions which rank as the largest traders in the kingdom, cheapening goods, improving their quality, making trade honest so far as their power reaches, and greatly raising the educational, intellectual and business status of their class—all this should have taught us a lesson which no one would have thought, our agricultural classes, always complaining of hard times, would have been quick to take to heart Nothing of the kind."

Now, Sir, you have heard one of the greatest authorities on "Co-operation". The gentleman who made this observation is Mr. Wolfe, the Chairman of the International Co-operative Alliance of Europe and America and the Chief Executive Member of the Organisation of Agriculture in England, your masters, Sir. Sir, I would appeal to our leaders over there whom I recognise as our leaders just now, because after the dissolution of the Muslim League we have adopted the Congress leaders as our leaders. (A VOICE: Why not join the Congress?) If it will do good to the country, I shall join them some day. As I have already said Sir, you have admitted that the people are like dumb driven cattle. Therefore it is up to you to organise these people, to teach these people, to instruct these people as you have said in your speech, so that your country may be great, your people may be great, so that you can raise the standard of living of the people and such and such thing as regards co-operation.

Sir, as regards co-operation I should say that you need not fight against communism and socialism. You may say, "Oh, we do not care for communism: it destroys the root of society: socialism destroys the root of society". But if you will kindly go through the literature relating to co-operation you will find that co-operation is the antipode of socialism and that it is a buffer between communism and capitalism. So if you really want the good of the country and if you want to drive out communism and the so-called socialism from the country, your duty will be to organise the entire people in co-operation and form successful co-operative societies as the damned Germans did——

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. The honourable member referred to a nation in a derogatory term which you have heard, and if you have not heard it, I will spell it. I want to know if that is parliamentary.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: It is parliamentary, Sir, because we have often heard it said that the Germans are criminals.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think you are entitled to use that word in connection with a nation.

Janab MUDASSAIR: Very well; I bow to your ruling.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Withdraw.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: No, I shall not because there is no German in this House. Are you a German? I won't withdraw.

Sir, my prayer through you to our leaders is to organise the people and form co-operative societies with them and so help them on to the road of financial prosperity. It is then only that you will be able to drive away communism and socialism from this land.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Finance Minister has come forward with a policy of industrialisation on the basis of developing small industries by demanding a grant of Rs. 88 lakhs odd under the head "Industries and Capital Outlay on Industrial Development". He has further said that the Government proposes to liberalise to whatever extent possible the provision relating to credit facilities under the State-aid to Industries Act so far as medium sized and small-scale industries are concerned. He is further of opinion that the role of Government should be more to render assistance to new industries which private enterprise has started or might start. The statement of the Finance Minister is amusing in view of the attitude of his Government to the role of capital in industries. He is truly a wise man who cuts the root of a tree and then tries to pour water to resuscitate it and make the tree thrive. He is not unware of the fact that a huge capital running to crores of rupees was lost to the public owing to criminal mismanagement of many credit institutions of this province. If the Government had moved its small finger, it could have salvaged a good portion of this amount by timely intervention. The bank thieves have been prospering under the protection of the law and a large number of businessmen have been ruined for ever. Thus the industries of this province have received a setback from which it would be impossible to recover in course of years. Thus when the country has attained freedom, the West Bengal business people were left without means to take advantage of the same by expanding their trade and industries. The *laissez-faire* policy of the Government is therefore largely responsible for an enormous loss of capital which could have been utilised for the purpose of not only initiating and developing cottage industries but also of heavy industries. I may remind the House that this capital belonged to patriotic Bengali businessmen who were prepared to suffer loss for their trust in their own credit institutions. They have paid dearly for their faith and trust. The Government which believe that the evils of the province can be removed by aerial journeys to Delhi were indifferent spectators of this great calamity which befell this province. If progress is to be achieved, it is to be achieved by Marwari capital and I believe that the capital from Rajasthan do not require any backing of the Government of West Bengal.

I will now come to a very important and serious point. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister in his budget speech observed thus: "With a view to help the Government of East Bengal in clearing quickly the pre-partition dues of the creditors of undivided Bengal, who waited long, the Government of West Bengal had agreed to pay currently to the Government of

East Bengal 35 lakhs for every crore paid out on this account by the Government of East Bengal. At the last Inter-Dominion Conference in Delhi——

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKAR: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. Here I am speaking as an industrialist and not as a Finance Minister. That statement of mine has nothing to do with the present budget.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, your remarks must be confined to the subject-matter under consideration.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: In order that the House may get a true appreciation and a correct perspective of my remarks I have to give a background, Sir, and then I will come to the relevancy of it with the subject-matter under discussion. That is why I am quoting the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister: "the representatives of the Government of East Bengal agreed to accept a time-limit of four months for the payment of these pre-partition liabilities in respect of bills pending before the Application Committee. The bills amount to about nine crores." Here again I contest the figure of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, for actually the bills amount to five crores, and the rest is a matter of book adjustment. Even so, "if the full amount was found payable and was paid by East Bengal, West Bengal would have to pay about three crores to the Government of East Bengal. A new provision of one crore only has been made in the Revised Estimates for this purpose".

Now, Sir, what the Government is trying to do is to create an impression among the general public that they are very anxious to promote the industrial development of this province. But what are they actually doing? What they are doing is this: they are actually ruining the business of this province by sheer negligence and dilatory tactics. They have blocked an industrial capital of five crores for about a year and half. Thus the only people who are capable of bringing about an industrial regeneration of the province by their experience and training have been ruined. The Government are now asking for a paltry sum of eighty lakhs odd for the industrialisation of the province. Is this amount going to be distributed among the supporters of Government under a chit system to be devised by Government? The amount of five crores referred to is due to the creditors of undivided Bengal ninety per cent. of whom are businessmen of West Bengal by the Government of undivided Bengal. At the last Inter-Dominion Conference which the Finance Minister quoted in his speech the Government of West Bengal agreed to make available any sum that they may realise on account of undivided Bengal towards the payment of such liability. The Government of West Bengal have already realised over 2 crores of rupees on such account and I understand that this forms part of the opening balance of the budget which has been criticised in *Nation* as anomalies in West Bengal budget and has been characterised "as anomalies bordering on financial jugglery"—surely an extraordinary achievement on the part of the Finance Minister who can smuggle such a big sum of money which belongs to the account of Undivided Bengal into the general revenues of this province. The Finance Minister is not however without sympathy for the unfortunate creditors, as I have quoted in which he says they have waited too long and for whom he has not only shed tears but has set apart a sum of one crore in the budget from the general revenue with the full knowledge of the fact that the debt of Undivided Bengal is more than covered by the assets of Undivided Bengal.

Now, Sir, I should ask you what would be the effect of the payment of 5 crores to the creditors of West Bengal. Sir, I am sure you will agree that it will advance the cause of industrial development of the province much more effectively than by setting apart a sum of 88 lakhs and odd.

Now, Sir, about these 2 crores of rupees, the Inter-Dominion Agreement says that for every one crore paid by the East Bengal Government towards meeting the liabilities of Undivided Bengal this Government would charitably pay 35 lakhs of rupees. As I have said, and the Hon'ble Finance Minister, I am sure, will have to admit, they have realised 2 crores, and the other 2 crores can be realised this minute because, I have it on very good authority, the Balmer Lawrie, the Shaw Wallace, the flour mills, the rice mills, the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, who owe lakhs and lakhs of rupees to Undivided Bengal are willing to pay. Now, Sir, this money that is thus smuggled into the general revenues is the money that rightfully belongs to the creditors of Undivided Bengal. I should like to ask the Hon'ble Finance Minister what scheme, if he has any, what proposals, if he has any, and what methods he has found, if he has found any at all, for meeting those liabilities.

Sir, those businessmen who have lent money to Undivided Bengal in the course of their business are suffering and the Hon'ble Finance Minister has admitted they have suffered long. How is he going to pay them the sum of 2 crores that he has already realised. Will he please make those 2 crores available for the payment of the outstanding claims of businessmen that had business with Undivided Bengal?

(After Mr. Speaker asked the Hon'ble the Finance Minister to reply, Sri Sibnath Banerjee rose to speak.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry. Members won't rise in time nor would they give me their names.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: My name has been given. Therefore I was expecting to be called.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I submitted his name to you.

Mr. Speaker: Yes, I find your name has been given.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am sorry for the misunderstanding. My name was sent, therefore I did not stand up.

Mr. SPEAKER: You should have risen immediately.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমি খুব সংক্ষেপে বলবো। এর সম্বন্ধে অনেক কথা বলবার আছে, অনেক cut motion দেখেছেন, industrial co-operation, electrification ইত্যাদি, ইত্যাদি। সে সমস্ত সম্বন্ধে বলবো না, শুধু একটা particular item সম্বন্ধে বলবো। Electrificationটা কতদূর কি scheme হয়েছে এবং কতখানি কি হবে সেটা এখনও ভবিষ্যতের গর্ভে, তবে বর্ত্তমানে যেটুকু electricity কলকাতার Electric Supply Company দিচ্ছে তার কতটুকু পাচ্ছি এবং পাচ্ছি না, সে সম্বন্ধে দুই একটি কথা বলবো। Finance Ministerএর অনেক কাজ করতে হয় এদিকে হয়ত তার দৃষ্টি আকৃষ্ট হয়নি, সেজন্য specially তাঁর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই। Warএর সময় এই Electric Supply Corporation অনেককে electricity দিতেন এবং part time দিয়েও অনেকের production হ'ত; কিন্তু warএর পরে সেটা বন্ধ করে দেওয়া হয়েছে। তা কেন করা হয়েছে; political implication কিছু আছে কিনা, এ দেশের industry sabotage করবার মতলব আছে কিনা এ সমস্ত মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুসন্ধান করবেন এবং দেখবেন যে ব্যাপারটা কি। কিন্তু facts হচ্চে যে অনেক industryর ছোট ছোট কারখানা আছে, হাওড়ায় অনেক আছে যেমন Belur Glass Works. অনেক instance আমি দিতে পারি, electricityর অভাবে তাঁরা কারখানা চালাতে পারছেন না, অথবা electricityর বদলে তাঁদের steam use করতে হচ্চে। তাতে খরচ বেশী হচ্চে এবং production কম হচ্চে। এই Company সম্বন্ধে আর একটা কথা—বোধ হয় parliamentary নয়—এরা জুয়াচুরী করছে; অর্থাৎ voltage কমিয়ে দিচ্ছেন। যার জন্য বিল বেড়ে যাচ্ছে। Electricity বিল যেখানে direct current (D. C.) use হয় সেখানে voltage কম দিচ্ছেন। সে voltage দেখবার জন্যও কয়েকজন officer আছে। Government Electrical Inspector বা তাঁর staff ঘুমোচ্ছেন কি

জানি না, কিন্তু যদি voltage check করা যায় তাহলে দেখতে পাবেন, যে voltageএর জন্য পয়সা নিচ্ছেন তা দিচ্ছে না এবং তার resultএ industry suffer করছে এবং consumerরাও suffer করছে। একটা plea হতে পারে যে warএর সময় যা হতো সেটা special ব্যাপার, এখন সেটা সম্ভব নয়, কারণ machinery, parts, plants, materials এ গুলি পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না। এর মধ্যে হয়তো খানিকটা সত্যি থাকতে পারে, কিন্তু তার মধ্যে অনেক জিনিষ আছে যা এ দেশে তৈরি হতে পারে বা তৈরি হয় এবং এখন supply রয়েছে। কাযেই সে pleaও does not stand. একটা জিনিষ আছে, কেন জানি না, যে up to 50 kwt., এই সমস্ত যাদের capacity, যাদের আগে license দরকার হতো, কিন্তু এখন relaxation করা হয়েছে 50 kwt. পর্য্যন্ত দরকার হবে না। তার কোন কারণ খুজে পাওয়া যায় না। একটা হতে পারে যে supervision করবার লোক নেই; যদি লড়াইয়ের সময় করা সম্ভব হয়ে থাকে এখন কেন হবে না এবং সেই যে backdoor হয়েছে সেটার ভিতর দিয়ে Electric Supply Corporation অনেক অন্যায় এবং অত্যাচার করছে। ১৯২৮ সালে নাকি হাওড়ার ব্যাপারে Electric Supply Corporationকে exempt করা হয়েছিল যে তার জন্য একটা deposit করতে হবে না। এবং তার ফলে হয়েছে এই যে হাওড়ায় যে সমস্ত যায়গায় main এবং cable lay out করা উচিত ছিল তা করা হয় নি। এবং ঐ যদি loophole না থাকতো যে deposit করতে হবে না তাহলে বোধ হয় সম্ভব হতো না। এখন সেটা requisition করে তাদের force করা যায় কি না সে সম্বন্ধে মন্ত্রী মহাশয় একটু চিন্তা করবেন। তারপরে rate book তাঁরা যা ছাপিয়েছেন সে দোষটা তাদের নয়, Governmentএর সেটা মঞ্জুরীও পেয়ে গিয়েছেন। হয়ত some officer ঘুমিয়ে ঘুমিয়ে সই করে দিয়েছেন, কিন্তু সেই rate bookটা অত্যন্ত harmfully operate করে on the consumers এবং সেটা revision করা অত্যন্ত দরকার। সেজন্য সেদিকেও দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি। সেই rate book যা তাঁরা করছেন সেই India Electricity Actও তার againstএ, publicও তার againstএ। কাযেই তার revision কি ভাবে পাশ হয়ে গেল সেটা আশ্চর্য্যের বিষয়, তার enquiry করে লাভ নেই, কিন্তু সেটাকে revise করা দরকার। আর একটা বিষয় এই যে পশ্চিমের দিকে electricity supply হয় কিন্তু পূবের দিকে হয় না। কারণটা জানি না; এদিকে Jute Mills Association রয়েছে, তাঁদের interestএ এদিকটা বোধ হয় দিচেচন, কিন্তু ওদিকের জন্য তাঁরা মোটেই ব্যস্ত নন্। অনেকগুলি ছোট ছোট municipality আছে যেমন Panihatyতে, তাঁদের কাছ থেকে বিশেষ করে অভিযোগ আমরা পেয়েছি যে সেই সব যায়গায় electricity তারা পাচ্ছেন না; অথচ তাঁদের নিকট rail lineএর opposite sideএ যাঁরা তাঁরা পাচ্ছেন। এটা আমার মনে হয় খুব অন্যায় হচেচ। Jute Millএর চাপে যা করছেন সেটা মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের চাপে অন্য সকলের জন্যও করবেন আমি মনে করি।

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, let me first take up the arguments put forward by Janab Khuda Bukhsh. I think he missed the general discussion on the budget and now wants to raise financial questions which have nothing to do with the present demand moved by the Industries Minister. Of course I would have been able to satisfy his curiosity if I thought that he made a real attempt to understand the problem. He has confused between the Inter-Dominion Conference and the Partition Council Resolutions. What we have realised, how much we have paid, how much they have paid—he does not know. He seems to think "Nation" to be a great financial expert of the city and he has made his recommendations on the basis of that paper.

Another point he has raised with regard to the Industries Budget is that Government by their negligence ruin the businessmen of Bengal to the extent of several crores of rupees. Wherefrom he has got this figure I do not know. I suppose, he has referred to the banking failures, and I can say this that banking is a matter under the jurisdiction of the Central Government, but in spite of this, to save the depositors, to save some of these institutions from a close-down of their business what this Government have done is known to both the Central Government and the Reserve Bank. They are also known to the banking circles of this Province, though Janab Khuda Bukhsh may not know anything about the real cause of the crisis. Of course when he comes to the Assembly he says anything he

likes. I will appeal to him to think over the matter before putting a question to me. I am not a politician in the sense that I can talk about anything I like. I want to understand the problem and then answer. Finance, I would like through you, Sir, to tell Mr. Khuda Buksh, is not a simple matter and it is not an arithmetical calculation like 5 × 3 = 15.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Tell us how much have you realised.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: You put a definite question and I will give you an answer. Don't bring in matters about which you do not know anything.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: How much realisation have you made available from the payment of bills?

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: In the interests of the country, I should not reply to these questions,—questions which are not based on proper knowledge and appreciation of facts. It is our responsibility and we will do to the best of our ability. If Mr. Khuda Bukhsh is anxious about these bills, let him approach his co-religionists at Pakistan and ask them to pass the bills as soon as they can.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: The Application Committee passed the bills to the tune of one and a half crores.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: No. We have not got that information yet; he has to accept my information.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: I rise on a point of order, Sir. Such talks should not be allowed.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Hear, hear.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is no point of order.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Mr. Sayeed Mia has said about historical things, like a speech in a public meeting. I am sorry I am unable to meet all his points. About silk industry we are doing our best and even in this year we have spent about 48 *per cent.* of the total expenditure in his own district, Malda.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Have you shown that one crore and a half as balance——

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: I am not discussing financial things now. You raise this question next year and I shall see whether you get this answer from me or not.

The honourable member opposite has given me many advice regarding what is to be done. I think, many of them are undigested repetitions of what I have already said in my policy statement.

Mr. Badrudduja has raised two points which are really pertinent to the Industries Department. The first is about the bucket industry. The bucket industry is concentrated in and around Calcutta, and 90 *per cent.* of the requirements of India and East Bengal are met from this industry. That is an important item in our programme, but the whole difficulty is the scarcity of raw materials. There are 300 units for bucket manufacture. If they work for 26 days at the rate of 8 hours a day, they will require 4,000 tons of mild steel and black sheets per year. So it is not possible to supply the whole of the industry with their full requirement. Steel is a controlled commodity, and it is supplied by the Government of India. We distributed last year about 1,100 tons per quarter to this industry, and this is distributed from the Civil Supplies Department. As far as I know, they distributed through associations. It is advantageous to distribute through associations, because if it is distributed to individual manufacturers

it means a lot of cost and also sometimes corruption. But if Mr. Badrudduja's information that some *bona fide* bucket manufacturers are not getting it and that there is corruption within the association, is correct, then I shall certainly look into it, because that is a very important industry, and I am prepared to do as much as I can.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Thanks very much. Can't we have a Syndicate?

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Syndicate we can't have. He wants that the manufacturers themselves will distribute all steel, but that cannot be done. Steel is controlled by the Government of India to meet the requirements of the whole of India. The Government of India will allot something to us, and we will distribute out of that.

Mr. Badrudduja has raised another question, namely, about the Beldanga Sugar Mill. For the last two years we have been trying to set the Beldanga Sugar Mill started again. We sent two experts at two different times. They submitted their report to us, and according to the latest report received six months ago the mill cannot be worked unless we spend another Rs. 1,50,000 for repairing the machinery. Since then I have heard that some of the parts of the machinery have been taken away by somebody. (A VOICE FROM THE TREASURY BENCHES: বেলডাঙ্গার লোকের কাজ ?) Must be from Beldanga, but the difficulty is that we cannot bring it in working order. A liquidator had been appointed, and today I understand that the liquidator has been changed. We shall try if it is possible and if we can get it at a moderate price from the Liquidator with the High Court's permission. About other aspects of the sugar industry we got five allotments from the Government of India. One we have issued to Bahadur Sugar factory at Krishnagar, and another will be allowed to applicants from Jalpaiguri very soon. We have tried our best to get private enterprise interested in starting Sugar factories in Bengal, but there has been very little response. I am not prepared at this stage to start Government factories unless the protection question is settled for sometime to come.

About the electricity, I have not heard any complaint about the Electric Supply Corporation sabotaging private consumer and I do not think they can, because we have appointed a Committee for the supply of surplus electricity to the consumers and from that committee sanctions are given. But still if Mr. Banerjee gives me specific cases, of any underhand method going on there I shall certainly look into them. In these matters, for eliciting information it will be better for Mr. Banerjee to put questions to which answers might be given.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Will you please say what is the quantity and quality of silk industry in Murshidabad which is fast deteriorating?

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: It is true that for various reasons, one of them being foreign competition, silk industry is deteriorating, but we are trying to prevent it as far as possible. But we have spent Rs. 1,60,000 in the Murshidabad district alone, for mulberry cultivation, rearing, reeling and weaving. We are paying attention to the silk industry, particularly in the Malda and Murshidabad districts.

I am sorry that I have to oppose all the cut motions.

Janab MUDDASSIR HOSSAIN: In view of the Hon'ble Finance Minister's clarification of the points I beg leave of the House to withdraw my motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your turn will come later. Anyhow I have taken notice of what you have stated just now.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: In view of the assurance held out by the Hon'ble Finance Minister I beg leave of the House to withdraw my motion No. 3.

(There being no objection.)

The motion of Janab Syed Badruddųja that the demand of Rs. 88,07,000 for expenditure under the heads "43—Industries—Industries" and "72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: In view of the reply given by the Hon'ble Minister I beg leave of the House to withdraw my motion.

(There being no objection.)

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 88,07,000 for expenditure under the heads "43—Industries—Industries" and "72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development" be reduced by Rs. 100 was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 88,07,000 for expenditure under the heads "43—Industries—Industries" and "72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development" be reduced by Rs. 100 was by leave of the House withdrawn.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker that a sum of Rs. 88,07,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "43—Industries—Industries" and "72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development" was then put and agreed to.

43—Industries—Cinchona.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, I beg to move on the recommendation of the Governor that a sum of Rs. 33,68,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "43—Industries—Cinchona".

Mr. SPEAKER: There being no cut motions there will be no debate, I believe.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I should like to speak, Sir. You would remember, Sir, that the Hon'ble the Prime Minister when replying to the cut motions on the production of quinine, etc., said that my friend the Finance Minister would be able to tell the House exactly what development, if any, has been made in the cultivation and whether any increase has been made at all in the cultivation of cinchona and its allied products and we now expect, Sir, that the Hon'ble Minister for Finance will tell us exactly how the department is working and what is the area under cultivation; what is the produce by pounds and what is the expected produce next year and at what ratio cinchona production is increasing.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, if the Hon'ble Premier has said so I must give some information but not all the information which my friend has asked and I am not giving the information as a Finance Minister but as a Commerce and Industry Minister. Sir, West Bengal and Madras are the only two quinine producing provinces in India. In 1940-41, the consumption of quinine in India was estimated at 2,10,000 lbs. a year of which Bengal produced 50,000 lbs. and Madras 20,000 lbs., making a total of 70,000 lbs. a year, the balance was imported from Java and other foreign countries. With a view to attaining economic self-sufficiency in this country in regard to quinine production, it has been decided to expand cinchona plantation in two quinine bearing provinces of India and accordingly Government of Madras has programmed for increasing the production of quinine to reach a target of 80,000 lbs. a year and the Government of West Bengal has fixed a target to produce one lakh pounds of quinine per annum in the course of 10 years ending in 1960. Cinchona

plantations have therefore been expanded and the present production of quinine by West Bengal Government have been raised to 70,000 lbs. from 50,000 lbs. and it is expected that the target would be reached in the course of the next 10 years. In adopting this expanded programme the West Bengal Government have asked for a guarantee of a minimum price and specified off takes of quinine by the non-producing provinces and States of India with a view to safeguard it against unfair competition from the imported quinine. The Government of India have taken up the matter with the non-producing provinces and states within the Indian Dominion. The manufacture of quinine has been yielding a profit to the Government all along. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What is the consumption of quinine in Bengal?) I do not know. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What is the exact percentage of our requirements you are supplying from your own source?)

Mr. SPEAKER: You cannot go on making a running commentary on the Hon'ble Minister's speech.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I did not want to intervene but I may say that if Mr. Khuda Bukhsh is really serious about this why can't he put in a question so that we can give him the correct answers. Just now he says "Will you answer this question". Sir, is that the way he will conduct himself by interrupting the Hon'ble Minister like that to have some information. I do not understand all this, Sir. Let him send a question and he will get the answer. There is nothing to hide.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker that a sum of Rs. 33,68,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "43—Industries—Cinchona" was then put and agreed to.

30—Ports and Pilotage.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 5,59,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "30—Ports and Pilotage."

Sir, of this sum a sum of Rs. 2,14,000 is put in for a new scheme, the scheme for the training of inland water transport crew. Sir, as a result of the expert committee appointed by the Government of India on the training of maritime and riverine personnel appointed by the Ministry of Labour we have drawn up a scheme for the training of various types of personnel for the inland steamers, serangs, sukhanis and tindal and on the engineering side, engine drivers and engine tindals. The scheme is that a certain number of trainees will be in the steamer accommodated in a vessel which has been given to us by the Government of India, "Princess Mary", which is a paddle steamer. Some of them will be on the shore in a shore establishment. For the present we have decided to utilise an institution called the Calcutta Marine School at Ghusuri. It is a scheme which will be worked for six months and it is expected that 200 trainees will be trained for three months at a time, so that within six months we shall have the experience of training 400 people as personnel on the lines that I have mentioned above. There will be an Advisory Board under the scheme which would consist of Marine Superintendent, Assam Railway, Secretary, Calcutta Port Commissioners, Inspector of Technical Training Institution and an Administrative Officer who will act as Secretary of the Board. This opening will not only enable us to have a technical personnel trained for our inland steamers but, incidentally it will mean an opening for some of the refugees who might like to have the training and who might get afterwards into these inland steamers. If after the experience gained during the six months of the running of the scheme we find that it is possible to continue it as a

workable scheme, then the scheme will be continued. We need a very large number of this personnel for our inland steamers, particularly those that navigate between Calcutta and Assam through our inland rivers.

With these words I beg to move the demand that stands in my name.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

36—Scientific Departments.

The Hon'be Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 4,42,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "36—Scientific Departments".

Sir, honourable members will please see in the Red Book that last year only Rs. 41,000 was provided in the budget under this head "36—Scientific Departments." Now, Sir, this year we are going to provide for the next year a sum of Rs. 4,42,000 for "36—Scientific Departments", and this demand is made up of the following items, namely—

	Rs.
Grant to the Royal Asiatic Society	28,800
Grant to the Art Gallery and the Art Section of the Indian Museum	8,000
Grant to Darjeeling Natural History Museum ...	3,600
Grant to the Malda Museum	600
Grant to the Indian Chemical Society	1,000
Grant to the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science	4,00,000

Sir, the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science is a research institution that was set up towards the beginning of the last quarter of the last century by one of the most distinguished Bengalees of the last generation, the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar. Since then the Association has grown not only in importance but in reputation also. Sir, within the walls of the Indian Association, as is well known, were pursued those researches which led to the discovery of the Raman Effect in 1928. Not only did it nurse Sir C. V. Raman's genius into maturity but it also nursed and brought into full development the genius of Dr. Krishnan. It has therefore come to enjoy a wide reputation—rather an all-India reputation. This institution has grown in stature, and it is going to have an extension of its laboratories on a big plot of land that it has acquired at Jadabpur, a plot of 29 bighas of land, and on that its authorities are going to raise their new laboratories. Their estimate is that the erection of the laboratories will require a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs. The Government of India is going to help them to the extent of Rs. 15 lakhs, and so far as the balance is concerned they expect to raise Rs. 8 lakhs out of the sale proceeds of their existing house. The Government of West Bengal have therefore agreed to contribute the remaining seven lakhs towards the completion of their scheme, and it is proposed to give them this amount in two instalments. The first instalment of rupees four lakhs will be given next year and therefore, Sir, this new demand is being put forward, and I hope the Assembly will readily agree to it.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

42—Co-operation.

The Honb'le SRI NIKUNJA BIHARI MAITY: সভাপতি মহাশয়, মহামান্য প্রদেশপালের অনুমতিক্রমে, co-operation, সর্ব্বার্থ-সাধক বিভাগের খাতে ১৯,৬৪,০০০৲ টাকা ব্যয় মঞ্জুরী সম্পর্কে এই প্রস্তাব পরিষদ সভায় উত্থাপনের অনুমতি প্রার্থনা করিছি।

সমবায় মাধ্যমে কার্য্য আমাদের জাতীয় জীবনে অত্যন্ত আবশ্যক, একথা সর্ব্ববাদীসম্মতিক্রমে স্বীকৃত হয়েছে। সেই জন্য আমি এ সম্বন্ধে কিছু লিখিত শোনাতে চাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Maity, please move your motion in English because the order paper shows the motion in English.

The Hon'ble Sri NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 19,68,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "42—Co-operation".

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of information, Sir, আমরা কি এতটুকু স্বাধীনতাও পাই নি যে এই motionটা বাংলায় পড়া যেতে পারে এই Houseএ......

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. The procedure is that if you want to move a motion in Bengali you must give the notice in Bengali, but if you give a notice of a motion in English it must be moved in English.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আশা করি ভবিষ্যতে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বাংলায় নোটিশ দেবেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. That is another matter.

The Hon'ble SRI NIKUNJA BIHARI MAITY: সমবায় সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলতে যাবার আগে সর্ব্বভারতীয় ক্ষেত্রে সমবায়ের স্থান কোথায় নির্দ্ধারিত হয়েছে, সে কথা সংক্ষেপে বলা হয়ত অপ্রাসঙ্গিক হবে না। পণ্ডিত জওহরলাল নেহেরুর সভাপতিত্বে ১৯৪৭ সালের ১৭ই জানুয়ারী Economic Programme Committee গঠন করা হয়। সেই কমিটী আবার জাতীয় অর্থনীতির বিভিন্ন বিষয়, যেমন কৃষি, কুটীর-শিল্প ও ছোট আকারের পল্লী-শিল্প, বড় ধরণের শ্রম ও যন্ত্র-শিল্প, শ্রম-সম্পর্ক (Industrial Relation) সমবায় প্রথায় প্রাত্যহিক জীবনের আবশ্যকীয় দ্রব্যাদির বণ্টন ইত্যাদির বিবেচনার জন্য বিভিন্ন উপ-কমিটি গঠন করেন এবং এই একাধিক উপ-কমিটীর সুচিন্তিত অভিমতের সমন্বয় সাধন করে Economic Programme Committee তাদের সম্পূর্ণ রিপোর্ট ১৯৪৮ সালের ২৫শে জানুয়ারী কংগ্রেস সভাপতির নিকট দাখিল করেন। তাতে সর্ব্বসম্মতিক্রমে এই অভিমত দৃঢ়ভাবে ব্যক্ত করা হয় যে জাতীয় জীবনের পুনর্গঠন ক্ষেত্রে সমবায়ের কার্য্য-কারিতা ও উপযোগিতা অপরিহার্য্য। ভবিষ্যতে জাতীয় জীবনের যে সমৃদ্ধ প্রাসাদ নির্ম্মিত হবে, তার সুদৃঢ় ভিত্তির রচনা করবে এই সমবায়।

এই পটভূমিকায় আলোকে আমি এই প্রদেশের সমবায় সমস্যার আলোচনা করব। খুব সংক্ষেপে বলতে গেলে বঙ্গবিভাগের সময় পর্য্যন্ত সমবায় আন্দোলনের প্রধান রূপ ছিল কৃষি-ঋণ। রিজার্ভ ব্যাঙ্কের পল্লী-ঋণ বিভাগের অভিপ্রায় অনুযায়ী অবশ্য কৃষি-জাত পণ্য ও শস্যের ক্রয় বিক্রয়, পল্লীবাসীদের দৈনন্দিন জীবনের দ্রব্যাদির আহরণ ও বণ্টন প্রভৃতি কার্য্যপন্থা সমবায় সমিতির মাধ্যমে গ্রহণ করা হয়; কিছু কিছু তন্তুবায় সমিতি, ধীবর সমিতি, সেচ সমিতির উদ্ভব হয়। কিন্তু তাদের প্রসার ও সংখ্যা কৃষি-ঋণ সমিতির তুলনায় তেমন উল্লেখযোগ্য হয়নি। ঋণ সমিতিগুলিই আগাগোড়া আসরের অনেকটা জায়গা জুড়ে ছিল—আন্দোলনে শ্রেষ্ঠাংশ ছিল উক্ত সমিতিগুলিই।

প্রাক-বিভাগকালীন যুগে ক্রমবর্দ্ধমান ও গুরুভার দেনার দায়ে সমিতিগুলির অবস্থা অবনতির পথে যাচ্ছিল। একদিকে সমিতির সভ্যশ্রেণীভুক্ত কৃষককুলের আর্থিক অক্ষমতা, অপর দিকে নিত্যপ্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষপত্রের অতি উচ্চ মূল্যমান, এই অবনতির গতিকে তীব্রতর করে তুলেছিল। বিভাগোত্তর যুগে, এই দেড় বৎসরে, অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থার বিশেষ কোন পরিবর্ত্তন বা উন্নতি না হওয়ায় সমিতিগুলির অবস্থারও আনুসংগিক পরিবর্ত্তন হয়নি। যেমন আশা করা গিয়েছিল, আরও অবনতির দিকে না নামলেও সমিতিগুলি উল্লেখযোগ্য উন্নতি করতে সমর্থ হয়নি, পুরানো স্থিতিশীল অবস্থারই পুনরাবর্ত্তন হয়েছে মাত্র। সেণ্ট্রাল ব্যাঙ্ক বা কেন্দ্রীয় ঋণ-সমিতিগুলির কথা অবশ্য স্বতন্ত্র। কৃষিজাত দ্রব্যের উচ্চ মূল্যের দরুণ কোন কোনও সমিতি তাদের বহুসঞ্চিত দাদন অনেকাংশে তুলে এনে নিজেদের অবস্থার উন্নতি করতে পেরেছে কিন্তু বাকী সমিতিগুলি নানাকারণে এ সৌভাগ্যের অধিকারী হয়নি। তবে সাধারণভাবে অপরাপর কিছু কিছু কার্য্যপ্রণালী নিয়ে এই সব কেন্দ্রীয় সমিতির বিপর্য্যস্ত আর্থিক ভিত্তির পুনর্গঠনের আয়োজন করা হয়েছে। জনসংভরণ বিভাগের আনুকূল্যে এসব প্রতিষ্ঠান স্ব স্ব এলাকায় দ্রব্যাদি বণ্টনের wholesale agency নিয়ে সন্তোষজনক অর্থাগমের পথ করেছে এবং এভাবে ইতিমধ্যেই

কোন কোন সমিতি সুদৃঢ় ভিত্তিতে দাঁড়িয়ে গিয়েছে। এসব সত্বেও বলতে হয় মোটামুটিভাবে ঋণ-দান সমিতিগুলির চিত্র উজ্জ্বল নয়। প্রাক্ বিভাগ যুগে এই চিত্র আরও মলিন ছিল। বঙ্গ বিভাগের ফলে সেই উত্তরাধিকার আমাদের উপর বর্তেছে। সমবায় বিভাগের ১৯৪৮ সনের বার্ষিক বিবরণী থেকে দেখা যায় সাকুল্যে ১৩,৪৮৮ সমিতির মধ্যে একমাত্র ঋণদান সমিতির সংখ্যাই ছিল ৯,৯৮৯, যদিও অন্যান্য ক্ষেত্রেও যেমন কুটীরশিল্প, উৎপাদন, স্বাস্থ্য, পল্লী-উন্নয়ন প্রভৃতি সমবায়ের ক্রমিক প্রসার লাভ হয়েছে। এই উত্তরাধিকার যতই নগণ্য হোক, গোড়াতেই একথাটা স্পষ্ট হয়ে ওঠে যে, সমবায় আন্দোলনের পুরাণ ধারা ও জীর্ণ কাঠামো নিয়ে দেশের পুনর্গঠনের কোন সহায়তা হবে না। সুতরাং যত শীঘ্র হোক, তার পরিসমাপ্তি ঘটিয়ে সেই ধারাকে সম্পূর্ণ নূতন খাতে প্রবাহিত করতে হবে। সমবায়-সম্ভূত কৃষি-ঋণ অবশ্য পল্লী-ঋণকে সহজলভ্য করে দরিদ্র কৃষককে সুদখোর মহাজনের হাত থেকে কিছু পরিমাণে রক্ষা করেছিল কিন্তু অন্যান্য ক্ষেত্রে দালাল, ফরিয়া বা মধ্যবর্ত্তী ব্যবসায়ীর অপসারণ অথবা অপরাপর সুযোগ সুবিধার ব্যাপারে কৃষকের বিশেষ কোন কাজে আসেনি। কাজেই প্রয়োজন হ'ল এমন ধরণের সমিতির যা কৃষকের এবং গ্রাম্য জীবনের বিভিন্ন ও সর্বাঙ্গীন উন্নতির পথ যুগপৎ সুগম করে তুলবে—সমধিক উৎপাদন, উন্নততর ব্যবসায় ও উন্নততর জীবনের মাল মসলা জুগিয়ে যে সমিতি সমষ্টিগত পল্লীজীবনকে উত্তরোত্তর বিকাশের পথে নিয়ে যাবে। এই আদর্শ সম্মুখে রেখে সমবায় বিভাগ যে ধরণের সমিতি গঠনের উপরে ঝোঁক দিয়েছে তা হচ্ছে Multi-Purposes Society বা 'সার্বার্থসাধক সমিতি'। বঙ্গ বিভাগের পর থেকে ৩১।১২।৪৮ তারিখ পর্য্যন্ত দেশে এ জাতীয় সমিতি গঠিত হয়েছে সাকুল্যে ১,০১৪টি; এই সমিতিগুলির মোট সভ্য সংখ্যা ছিল ১৪২,৫২২ এবং কার্য্যকরী মূলধন ২৫,৯৬,১২৪ টাকা। দিনে দিনেই এর যেরূপ প্রসার হচ্ছে তাতে সহজেই বোঝা যায় যে, এই সমিতি গণজীবনের বিভিন্ন দিকের প্রয়োজন মেটাতে সমর্থ হয়েছে কাজেই এত সহজলভ্য হয়েছে জনচিত্তের সমর্থন।

প্রদেশের বিভিন্ন স্থানে সফরের সময় এই ব্যাপার আমি নিজে প্রত্যক্ষ করে আনন্দিত হয়েছি। নানা প্রকার সমস্যায় জড়িত থাকায় আজ পর্য্যন্ত এদিকে খুব যে একটা উন্নতি বা পরিবর্তন হয়েছে সে কথা বলব না, কিন্তু এটা স্বীকার করতেই হবে এই নূতন ধরণের সমিতির ক্রমপ্রসার ও সংগঠন আন্দোলন আমাদের জাতিগত আলস্য ও শিল্প নিরুদ্যমকে চূড়ান্তভাবে ঝাঁকুনি দিয়ে দূরীভূত করেছে, তাই আজ নানা দিকে কর্মোদ্যমের কম্পন অনুভূত হচ্ছে।

একটা বিষয়ে কৌতূহল উদ্রেক হওয়া স্বাভাবিক যে এই সর্বার্থসাধক সমবায় সমিতিগুলি কি পরিমাণ সরকারী অর্থ সাহায্য পেয়েছে। তার নিরসনকল্পে বলতে হয় যে আনুসংগিক পরিকল্পনা ও সংকল্প থাকা সত্বেও অর্থাভাবে এই সমিতিগুলিকে অতি সামান্য পরিমানেও অর্থ সাহায্য করা সম্ভব হয় নি। যেটুকু উন্নতি এরা ইতিমধ্যে করেছে সম্পূর্ণ নিজের পায়ে দাঁড়িয়ে নিজেদের সংগৃহীত অর্থভাণ্ডারের সাহায্যে করেছে। সত্যিকার সমবায় প্রচেষ্টার শক্তিমূল যে কতখানি বলিষ্ঠ এই ক্রমোন্নতি ও ক্রমপ্রসারের মাত্রা হইতে তাহা উপলব্ধি করা যায়। তবে আজ এইটুকু আশা করা যায় যে অর্থাভাবের সমস্যার সমাধান হইলে রাজকোষ থেকে প্রয়োজনীয় ক্ষেত্রে অর্থসাহায্যের আয়োজন করা যাবে। তারপরে আর একটা দিকের কথা বলব যেখানে আমার বিভাগ অর্থসামর্থ বিনিয়োগ করেছে। আমাদের দেশে এক শ্রেণীর শিল্পী আছে, তারা মিলের মজুর নয়, অতি নগণ্য তাদের পুঁজি, ভূমিহীন, দৈনন্দিন সংসার যাত্রার চাপে যারা নিজেদের শিল্পচাতুর্য্যকে সম্যক বিকাশ করতে পারছে না অথচ উন্নতির অপরিমেয় সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে তাদের মধ্যে। তারা মূর্ত্তি গড়ে, পট আঁকে, তাঁতে কাপড় বোনে, জুতা তৈরী করে, বেতের চেয়ার তৈরী করে; তারা চামার, কুমোর, তাঁতী, পটুয়া, ইত্যাদি। জাতীয় অর্থনীতিতে তাদের আর্থিক মর্য্যাদা কার্য্যকারণের ন্যূনতর হলেও স্থান নগণ্য নয়। দেশের জন সংখ্যায় তারা এক বিরাট সম্ভাবনাপূর্ণ অংশ। পরীক্ষামূলকভাবে এই সব বিচ্ছিন্ন শিল্পী কারিগরদের উৎপাদন সমিতির মারফৎ একত্রীভূত করে পরীক্ষামূলক প্রচেষ্টা করা হয়েছে এবং সমিতি গঠিত হয়েছে। এ ধরণের সমিতি ভিন্ন বর্ত্তমানের কঠিন প্রতিযোগীতায় তাদের নিশ্চিত মৃত্যুর হাত থেকে রক্ষা করা সম্ভব নয়। এ কথার উল্লেখ আগেই করেছি যে কংগ্রেসের Economio Programme Committeeর পরিকল্পনায় এ ধরণের সমিতির জন্য বিশিষ্ট ও গুরুত্বপূর্ণ স্থান নির্দ্ধারিত হয়েছে। গোড়ার দিকে কোনও কোনও ক্ষেত্রে এই সমিতিগুলিকে হয়ত সরকারী ঋণ বা খয়রাতীয় বরাদ্দ দিতে হবে। এই ধরণের সমিতি যে কত সম্ভাবনাপূর্ণ, একটা পরীক্ষামূলক সমিতির উল্লেখ করলেই সে কথার তাৎপর্য্য পরিস্ফুট হবে। ১৯৪৮ সনে ডিসেম্বরে মাত্র ১৬ জন সঙ্গতিহীন পটুয়াকে নিয়ে ফতেপুর চিত্রকর সমবায় সমিতি গঠিত হয়। এরা ক্রমেই দেনার দায়ে ডুবে যাচ্ছিল, অর্থাভাবে তাদের শিল্প যোগ্যতাও ক্রমে ক্রমে নষ্ট হবার উপক্রম হয়েছিল, কিন্তু সমবায় সমিতি গঠন করে সরকারী সাহায্য নিয়ে ইতিমধ্যেই তারা চিরবিলুপ্তির পথরোধ করেছে। তাদের শিল্পী জীবনের পুনরুজ্জীবন হয়েছে। ১৬ জন সভ্যকে মোট ১,৯৭৫৲ টাকা ঋণ দেওয়া হয়

সরস্বতী পূজার পরেই বৃত্তি বিক্রি করে ১,৪৫০৲ টাকা পরিশোধ করা হয়েছে। সমিতি গঠন করার আগে যারা রকম সুদের দায়ে এমন কি সময় সময় শতকরা একশত টাকা সুদের চাপে এ সব অসহায় নিঃসম্বল পটুয়া নিষ্পেষণের চূড়ান্ত হচ্ছিল। আজ সমিতির মারফৎ অল্পহারে, শতকরা ৬৷।৶০ টাকা হারে, টাকা ধার পেয়ে তা স্বস্তির নিশ্বাস ফেলে বাঁচছে।

আমি এই প্রসঙ্গে নিবেদন করবো যে পশ্চিম বঙ্গে যে সমস্ত ছোট ছোট শিল্প রয়েছে তাদের স্বার্থে য আমরা এই রকম করে এই ঋণ নিয়ে যেতে পারি তাহলে তাদের উপকার করা হবে।

আলোচ্য বছরে সেচ ও বাঁধ নির্মান সমিতি গঠনের উপরেও যথেষ্ট জোর দেওয়া হয়েছে। এবং Reli Budget থেকে প্রয়োজনীয় অর্থ সাহায্যের বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে। প্রতি বৎসর দুর্যোগের দরুণ বারে বা অর্থ ব্যয় না করে এককালীন অর্থ ব্যয় করে দুর্য্যোগ প্রতিকারের উপায় উদ্ভাবন করাই কাম্য। মেদিনী জেলায় চোলাখা ও ঘাটাল এবং হুগলী জেলায় খানাকুলে এ ধরণের সমিতির পরীক্ষামূলক কাজ চলছে। চোলখ বোরোবাঁধ সমিতিকে সাকুল্যে ৩০,০০০৲ টাকা ও খানাকুলে ৭০,০০০৲ টাকা অর্থ সাহায্যের বরাদ্দ করা হয়ে এই সর্ত্তে যে উক্ত টাকা প্রতি বৎসর খাটিয়ে সমিতির মারফৎ এতদসম্পর্কীয় কর্ম্মের প্রসার করা হবে। মেদিনী পুর জেলার কেশপুর ও ডেরাতে সর্ব্বার্থসাধক সমিতির মারফৎ দুঃস্থদের খয়রাতি দেওয়া হচ্ছে। এতে ক "আরও শস্য ফলাও" আন্দোলন যে পুষ্টিলাভ করবে তাতে সন্দেহ নেই। এই সম্পর্কে আমি আর একটা বি নিবেদন করব। আমাদের যে "Grow More Food" Campaign আছে, তাতে মন্ত্রী ও কয়ে জন বিশিষ্ট লোককে নিয়ে গঠন করা হয়েছে। এই প্রদেশের বিভিন্ন জেলায় এবং subdivisionএ সমস্ত সেচের কাজ করতে হবে কিম্বা যে সমস্ত জল নিকেষের কাজ করতে হবে, যেমন sluice তৈরীর জ খাল কাটা ইত্যাদি। সেই সমস্ত কাজ যাতে সত্বর হয় এবং সেই সমস্ত কাজ করবার জন্য যাতে শ্রমিক পাও যায় সেই জন্য অতি শীঘ্র এক বিরাট সমবায় সমিতির মারফৎ করা হবে। এবং সেই জন্য গত কয়েক দিনে মধ্যে প্রায় দুশোর উপর পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে। আমি আশা করি যে আমাদের যে সমস্ত ব্যবস্থা পা ষদের সভ্য রয়েছেন তাঁরা যেন, তাঁদের বিভিন্ন সবডিভিসন্ ও বিভিন্ন জেলায় যে সমস্ত সেচের কাজ রয়ে কিম্বা যে সমস্ত drainageএর কাজ করবার ইচ্ছা রয়েছে, তার scheme এবং plan করার জন্য আমা কাছে প্রেরণ করবেন।

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN:—Sir, I suggest that the Hou should adjourn now for prayer.

The Hon'ble Sri NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITY: If it is the desire of t House, I have no objection.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The Hon'ble Sri NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITY: এ কথা অস্বীকার করার উপায় ে যে কালোবাজার দেশের অর্থনৈতিক জীবনে যথেষ্ট বিপর্য্যয় এনেছে এবং সমষ্টিগত নৈতিক জীবনে মারাত্ম অবনতি ঘটিয়েছে। সমবায় ষ্টোর্স ও সর্ব্বার্থসাধক সমিতির বহুল প্রসার দ্বারা এই বিভাগ সেই চূড়ান্ত স নাশের গতিরোধ করেছে। এ ধরণের সমিতির যতই প্রসার হবে, কালোবাজারের কালোছায়া ততই বেশী ব দেশের বুক থেকে অপসৃত হবে।

এ অতি আনন্দের কথা যে সমবায় ষ্টোর্স, সেচ সমিতি, উৎপাদন ও বণ্টন সমিতির গঠন ও প্রসারের ক্ষে অন্যান্য সংশ্লিষ্ট সরকারী বিভাগের ভারপ্রাপ্ত আমার সহকর্মী মন্ত্রীগণ স্ব স্ব দপ্তরের তরফ থেকে প্রয়োজনীয় সাহ ও আনুকূল্য প্রদান করতে অগ্রসর হয়ে এসেছেন। জাতীয় জীবনের বৃহত্তর ক্ষেত্রে সমবায়ে প্রসার কল্পে সরকা বিভিন্ন বিভাগের এই চির আকাঙ্খিত সহযোগিতা অচিরেই যে সুফল প্রসব করবে, সে বিষয়ে আমার বিন্দু সন্দেহ নেই।

সাধারণভাবে বিচার করে দেখতে গেলে আজ একথাটাই স্পষ্ট হয়ে ওঠে যে নানাবিধ সমস্যা-প্রপীড়িত প্রদেশে আজ সর্ব্বপ্রধান প্রয়োজন হচ্ছে আর্ত্তত্রাণ ও তাদের পুনর্বসতি। এ সমস্যার যাতে আশু ও সুষ্ঠু প্র বিধান হয় তজ্জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় সমবায় সমিতি গঠন করে তার মারফৎ কাজ চালিয়ে যেতে সরকার বদ্ধ পরি হয়েছেন। এ ক্ষেত্রে ইতিমধ্যেই উল্লেখযোগ্যভাবে অগ্রসর হওয়া সম্ভব হয়েছে।

এ প্রসঙ্গে একটা কথা উঠতে পারে যে সমবায় সমিতি নিজেদের মূলধনের জোরেই কার্য্য নির্ব্বাহ করবে—সরকারী সাহায্য দ্বারা তাদের স্বাধীন বৃত্তি ও সত্তাকে পঙ্গু করার প্রচেষ্টা কল্যাণপ্রদ নয়। কিন্তু এ ধারণা ভ্রান্তিমূলক। সেচ সমিতিসমূহকে বা আর্ত্তত্রাণের জন্য অন্যান্য সমিতিকে যে অর্থ সাহায্য করা হয়েছে, সেটা সমিতিগুলির নিজস্ব মূলধনের প্রয়োজনকে অস্বীকার করা নয়। শেষ সমস্যার নিরসন, আর্ত্তত্রাণ ও সেচ পরিকল্পনা কার্য্যকরী করার জন্য সরকারকে স্বাভাবিক উপায়ে এমনিতেই তদ্রূপ বরাদ্দ টাকা খরচ করতে হত, তবে সমবায় সমিতির মাধ্যমে সেই অর্থ ব্যয়টা সুনিয়ন্ত্রিত ও সুপরিমিত উপায়ে হবে—অপচয় ও অপব্যয়ের সম্ভাবনাকে দূরীভূত করা যাবে, এজন্যই সরকারী অর্থ সাহায্যের প্রয়োজনীয়তা অনুভূত হয়েছে।

"৪২—কো-অপারেশন" খাতে নিম্নবর্ণিত কর্ম্মপ্রণালীগুলি অন্তর্ভুক্ত—(১) বর্দ্ধিত বেতনের বরাদ্দ সহ সাধারণ ব্যয় নির্ব্বাহ, (২) সমবায় শিক্ষা, (৩) তাঁত শিল্পের ক্রমোন্নতি।

সমবায় সমিতির সংগঠন, রেজিষ্ট্রেসন, পরিদর্শন, অডিট ও লিকুইডেসন প্রথম কর্ম্মপ্রণালীর আওতায় পড়ে। দ্বিতীয় খাতের ব্যয় বরাদ্দ এই প্রদেশে সমবায় শিক্ষা প্রণালী চালু রাখার জন্য অপরিহার্য্য। ১৯৩৭ সনের ১লা এপ্রিল থেকে পাঁচ বছরের জন্য ভারত সরকার এই সর্ত্তে এই প্রদেশে সমবায় শিক্ষার প্রবর্ত্তন করেন যে উক্ত সময়ের পরে প্রাদেশিক রাজস্ব থেকে উক্ত ব্যয় নির্ব্বাহ হবে। তৃতীয় কর্ম্মপ্রণালীর জন্য ভারত সরকারের অর্থ বরাদ্দ শেষ হবার পরে প্রাদেশিক রাজস্ব থেকে অর্থ সংস্থান করা হচ্ছে।

কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের ব্যয় সংকোচন নীতির প্রবর্ত্তনের দরুণ মাত্র দুইটী বাদে সমুদয় পরিকল্পনা স্থগিত রাখতে হয়েছে। যে দুটী পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করে কার্য্যে অবতীর্ণ হতে হয়েছে তা হচ্ছে সমবায় বিভাগের পুনর্গঠন ও দ্বিতীয়, সর্ব্বার্থসাধক সমিতির প্রসার সাধন।

আমার দৃঢ় অভিমত এই যে পশ্চিম বংগ প্রদেশে সমবায় আন্দোলনের সুনিয়ন্ত্রিত প্রসারের পথে প্রধান অন্তরায় হচ্ছে যথোপসংখ্যক কর্ম্মচারীর স্বল্পতা। এ কথা অবশ্য নূতন নয়। অবিভক্ত বংগের আমলেও ইহা একটা পুরাণো ব্যাধি বলে পরিগণিত হয়ে এসেছে। এ বিষয়ে তদন্তকারী স্পেশাল অফিসার যথোপসংখ্যক কর্ম্মচারী সংস্থানের সুপারিশ করেছেন। কিন্তু বাজেটে যে ব্যয় বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে, প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় তা মোটেই পর্য্যাপ্ত নয়। এতদসম্পর্কে মোট ১৬ লক্ষ টাকা আনুমানিক ব্যয় বরাদ্দের সুপারিশ করা হয়েছিল। তন্মধ্যে ১৯৪৯-৫০ সনে মাত্র ১ ৯ লক্ষ টাকা মঞ্জুর হয়েছে। অতএব এই সংকুচিত বাঁধা বরাদ্দের মধ্যেই আমাদের যথাসাধ্য কাজ চালিয়ে যেতে হবে। তবুও এই বিপর্যয়ের মধ্যে এটাই মস্ত আশা ও আশ্বাস যে জনচিত্ত আজ সমবায়ের উপকারিতা ও উপযোগিতা সম্বন্ধে অবহিত হয়েছে, লোকের মনে সমষ্টিগত সামাজিক ও অর্থনীতিক বৃত্তি জেগে উঠে উত্তরোত্তর সমবায় সমিতির জন্য দাবীকে স্ফীত করে তুলছে। সাহরিক অঞ্চলে ষ্টোর্স, পল্লী অঞ্চলে সর্ব্বার্থসাধক সমিতি, বাস্তহারাদের ও গৃহহীনদের গৃহ নির্ম্মান ও পুনর্বসতি সমিতি ইত্যাদির ক্রমেই বহুল প্রসার হচ্ছে। স্থানীয় নানাবিধ জনহিতকর প্রতিষ্ঠান—বিশেষত: কংগ্রেস-কর্ম্মীদের অক্লান্ত সহযোগিতা ও স্বত:প্রবৃত্ত প্রচার এতে যথেষ্ট সাহায্য করছে এবং তা কৃতজ্ঞচিত্তে স্মরণ করার যোগ্য। এই সমবায় চেতনার স্ফুরণের দরুণ আন্দোলন কী ব্যাপকভাবে প্রসারিত হচ্ছে তা ১৫।৮।৪৭ থেকে ৩০।৬।৪৮ ও তার পর থেকে আজ পর্য্যন্ত হিসাব পরীক্ষা করলেই পরিষ্কার বোঝা যাবে।

নীচে সমবায় আন্দোলনের প্রসারের ধারাবাহিক তথ্য সন্নিবিষ্ট হল। বংগ বিভাগের সময় অর্থাৎ ১৪।৭।৪৭ তারিখে সমিতিসমূহের সংখ্যা ছিল নিম্নলিখিত রূপ :—

ঋণদান—১০,১৮৪ ; সর্ব্বার্থসাধক—৫০ ; অন্যান্য কৃষি সমিতি—৮৯০ ; তন্তুবায় সমিতি—৫৯২ ; উৎপাদিকা সমিতি—১,২৮৮ ; অন্যান্য বিবিধ—১,০১৯ ; মোট সংখ্যা—১৩,২৯৩।

৩০।৬।৪৮ তারিখে—

ঋণদান—৯,৯৮৯ ; সর্ব্বার্থসাধক—৯০ ; অন্যান্য কৃষি সমিতি—১,০৪৪ ; তন্তুবায় সমিতি—৭৭৮ ; পুনর্বসতি—৩ ; উৎপাদিকা সমিতি—১,৫৫০ ; অন্যান্য—৩৪ ; মোট—১৩,৪৮৮।

৩১।১।৪৯ তারিখে—

ঋণদান—১০,০৮২ ; সর্ব্বার্থসাধক—১,২১৯ ; তন্তুবায় সমিতি—৭৯৪ ; অন্যান্য কৃষি সমিতি—৯৪৮ ; পুনর্বসতি—২৩ ; উৎপাদিকা ও অন্যান্য—১,৮২১ ; মোট—১৪,৮৮৭।

অসংখ্য বাধাবিপত্তি সত্বেও সমবায় বিভাগ নিজেকে জনগণের কল্যাণে নিয়োজিত করে স্থিরভাবে তার কার্য্যপ্রণালী অনুসরণ করে যাচ্ছে। যুদ্ধোত্তর যুগে এই নব পরিকল্পিত আন্দোলনের ইতিহাস দীর্ঘ দিনের নয় কিন্তু

ইতিমধ্যেই সুফল ফলতে আরম্ভ করেছে। গভর্ণমেণ্টের বিবিধ টেক্‌নিক্যাল বিভাগ অকুণ্ঠ সহযোগিতা দিয়ে এ বিভাগের উদ্যম ও প্রচেষ্টাকে সমৃদ্ধ করেছে। সর্ব্বার্থসাধক সমিতির মারফত বীজ বিতরণের পরিকল্পনা কৃষি বিভাগ গ্রহণ করেছে; জনসংভরণ বিভাগে এই নীতি গৃহীত হয়েছে যে বস্ত্র, কয়লা, কেরোসিন ইত্যাদি নিয়ন্ত্রি দ্রব্যাদির বণ্টন সমবায় সমিতির মারফৎ হবে এবং ইতিমধ্যেই তা বহুলাংশে কার্য্যে পরিণত হয়েছে। বাস্তত্যাগীদে পুনঃ সংস্থান ও শিল্পী কারিগরদের ব্যবসার উন্নতির জন্য সমবায় সমিতির মাধ্যমে সাহায্য করার জন্য শিল্প আর্ত্তত্রাণ বিভাগ অগ্রসর হয়েছে। যেখানে যেটুকু প্রয়োজন, সমব্যয় সমিতিকে সাহায্য করার জন্য অন্যা বিভাগ ও প্রতিষ্ঠানও প্রস্তুত রয়েছে।

সমস্ত অবস্থা পর্য্যালোচনা করে এইটুকু বলিষ্ঠ কণ্ঠে বলা যায় যে সমবায় আন্দোলনের এই নব পর্য্যায় অচিরে যাবতীয় অন্তরায়ের মূলোচ্ছেদ করে স্বার্থক হয়ে উঠবে। সেদিন হতচেতন জনসমাজ আবার উদ্বুদ্ধ হয়ে উপলা করবে যে তার অচিন্তনীয় রূপান্তর ঘটেছে। সমষ্টিগত জীবনে যে শীঘ্রই বিপুল সমৃদ্ধিশালী হয়ে উঠবে, তার ইঙ্গিত আজকের এই সমবায় আন্দোলনের ব্যাপক প্রসারের মধ্যে দেখতে পাওয়া যাচ্ছে।

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Sir, I beg to move that the sun of Rs. 19,68,000 for expenditure under the head "42—Co-operation" b reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the policy of the Government.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the sum o Rs. 19,68,000, for expenditure under the head "42—Co-operation" b reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this to raise a discussion about the inefficiency of the departmen and the failure of the Government to organise agricultural and industria co-operative societies.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon'bl Premier while moving his demand under General Administration said tha the Co-operative Department was so long neglected and the presen Government is going to re-vitalise the movement. Sir, I welcome th move as an humble co-operator and heartily thank the Hon'ble Premier fo his statement which, I hope, will be implemented. In the light of th above statement, I will make certain constructive suggestions:—

Sir, from my past experience I can say that the thorough overhaulin of the existing system of audit of Co-operative Societies is necessary Nothing is more important in a financial institution than a sound systen of accounts and audit. According to the present system, Auditors o Co-operative Societies who, according to the words of late Sir R. N Mookerjee, when retiring as Chairman of the Bengal Provincial Co-operativ Bank, remarked that the Registrar is the pivot around which the whol movement rotates. So, my humble opinion is that the head of the Audi Department should be completely independent of the control of the hea of the Co-operative Directorate—I mean the Registrar of Co-operativ Societies.

Sir, Government might say that they are contemplating to separate th Audit Section from the Administrative side but that will be of no avai unless the Audit Section is made independent of the Registrar. Withou meaning any aspersion on the integrity of the officers conducting the audit I may unhesitatingly say that there are latches on the part of th Administrative Department which it will be difficult for the Auditor t point out without incurring displeasure of the Adiministrative Department

Sir, I do not know what will be the advice of the Department to th Hon'ble Minister about the suggestions I have made above, but I can sa that I am voicing the opinion of the entire non-official side of the movement

Sir, to strengthen my argument I am quoting here the observation made by Dr. P. N. Banerjee, late Minto Professor of Economics of th Calcutta University, an authority in Co-operation. He said, "I

is really surprising that Auditors of the Co-operative Department, who are subordinate to the Registrar, have been entrusted with the work of auditing the accounts of Co-operative Banks. Nothing is more important in a financing institution than a sound system of accounts and audit. Here again, a thorough over-hauling of the existing system has been suggested".

Sir, my sugestions would be to amalgamate the Audit Branch of the Department with the Accountant-General of West Bengal, who controls the expenditure side of the Government. If this could be done, it would be an ideal thing. As an alternative, I would suggest to transfer the Audit Section of the Department to the Finance Department so that they could control the audit side of the movement independent of the administrative side, which will only carry out the policy of the Ministry.

Sir, I shall now deal with the system of nomination in Co-operative Societies. This system is not in consonance with the spirit of democracy and, as such, when Government have abolished nomination from all local bodies, there cannot be the least justification for the continuance of the system here. The predecessors of the present House while enacting the Co-operative Societies Act, 1940, gave discretionary powers to the Registrar to nominate up to a maximum of one-third proportion of the elected body. During the period when undivided Bengal was governed by section 93, at the instance of the then Adviser to Co-operative Department, in order to completely officialise the movement, raised the figure to half of the number of the total strength of the elected Directors. Sir, no Legislature would have dared to make this preposterous legislation.

Sir, I want to quote again the observations made by the distinguished authority on Co-operation, Dr. Banerjee, who while addressing as President of the Bengal Co-operative Organisation Society at the Bengal Co-operative Conference held as early as August, 1937, said that "Some of you may remember that in his last speech as Chairman of the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank, Sir Rajendra Nath Mukherjee said how wide are the powers and authority that the Registrar exercises over the affairs of the Co-operative Banks. These powers have been further amplified by the additional authority given to the Registrar of nominating several members in the Board of Directors of the Co-operative Societies. Sir, I am strengthened by illuminating observations made by Mr. Jamshed Mehta as President of the All-India Provincial Co-operative Banks Conference held at Bangalore. Conditions in Bengal are approaching to a point where the epithet 'co-operation' is almost becoming a misnomer."

Sir, in this connection it will not be out of place to mention here that as a Minister of Co-operation in undivided Bengal, I gave a directive to the Department, while considering the nomination of the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank, not to nominate more than three persons who were only official experts, and though request came to me from various sides, I did not nominate a single non-official in the Board, as I thought that non-officials should only come by election.

Sir, if my information is correct, our sister Dominion in Eastern Pakistan is following the principle of giving nominations except in very special cases.

I would further humbly suggest that if it is not possible for the Government to abolish nomination immediately, to which I do not agree, the least the Government should do is to issue a directive to the Department not to nominate more than one-third, as was provided in the original Act. I would here point out, Sir, that I am voicing the opinion of the non-official co-operators on this point.

Sir, I will now deal with the indiscriminate and hasty organisations of multi-purpose societies in utter disregard of the principles recommended by the All-India Co-operative Planning Committee. You are aware, Sir,

that this Committee was composed of persons very eminent in the field of Co-operation in the whole of India. It has been said by some that every Co-operator should swear by the recommendations of this Committee, which is the beacon light of the Co-operative Momement. The Registrars of Co-operative Societies in Madras and Bombay have already taken action to implement the recommendations of this Committee to achieve the objective of the expansion of the Rural Credit Societies in all non-credit spheres and organisation of most such societies so as to serve more than at least 80 *per cent.* of the villages and 30 *per cent.* of the population in each of these provinces. In Bombay, the Nanavati Committee was appointed to report on the possibilities of implementing the recommendations of the All-India Co-operative Planning Committee in re-organising the Co-operative movement in the Province and the Government of Bombay has launched a scheme on the basis of the said report. But I regret to say, Sir, that our Government has not yet set up any Expert Committee or formulated any scheme on the lines stated above in other Provinces. Sir, I cannot too strongly impress on the House the immediate and imperative necessity of setting up a similar Expert Committee of veteran Co-operators of this Province as well as economists of all-India reputation for drawing up a scheme to give effect to the recommendations of the All-India Co-operative Planning Committee within the resources at our disposal. Sir, I may give this warning here that the present policy of the Directorate of indiscriminate and hasty organisation of multi-purpose societies without re-vitalising the old societies and side-tracking the credit side of the movement will lead us nowhere Sir, I may quote here the observations made by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bombay, in this connection very recently. He observed that, "Though rapid strides have been made in recent years in the field of non-credit co-operation, the Rural Co-operative Movement still continues to be the backbone of co-operation in this province. This is as it ought to be, for ours is predominantly an agricultural Province and the rural population constitute more than 80 *per cent.* of the total population In spite of the pre-occupations of the District Central Banks with the financing of food procurement and cloth distribution, there is no gainsaying the fact that Rural Credit Societies should claim their primary attention."

I quote this observation, Sir, only to draw the attention of the Co-operative Directorate for neglecting this side of the movement. I may make one prophecy, Sir, if I may be allowed to do so, that the present mushroom Multi-purpose Societies are taking their birth in the wake of control and they will vanish with the discontinuance of control.

Sir, my next suggestion is that all appointments in all grades in the Co-operative Directorate should be made by competitive examinations conducted by the Public Service Commission; and during my period as Minister of this Department I felt that unless this is done, however much the Hon'ble Minister might wish, he would not succeed to man the Directorate with right types of officials, and unless this is done, however much the Hon'ble Minister may try to strengthen the Department, it would not go far to rest the Movement on a solid foundation but will help to procure a few jobs for a particular set of people.

Sir, I will now draw the attention of the House for provision of adequate finance for the expanded activities of the Movement through the West Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank—the Apex Bank of the movement and an institution on which the whole fabric of co-operation in the Province rests. In Bombay and Madras, the non-credit side of the movement has expanded by leaps and bounds because of the fact that Government has always provided sufficient guarantee against any loss which the financing institution may incur for financing the activities, as stated above.

Sir, I would urge that our Government should follow the lines of those provinces in this matter if they want to see the growth of the movement as in other provinces.

Sir, I will now conclude my observations with a request, though most reluctantly, to look into the affairs of the West Bengal Provincial Co-operative Industrial Procurement and Distribution Society, Limited. Sir, various rumours are afloat which do not reflect credit to the department regarding the administration of the Society which deals with crores of rupees and where there are several officers of the department who control, to some extent, the management of the Society. It is to be expected that when there are departmental officers in the administration of the Society, it should be beyond criticism; but on the other hand, there is a serious misgiving in the minds of the public that the Society is not being conducted as it should be.

Sir, co-operation will have to play a great part in the future social and economic reconstruction of our country and as an humble co-operator, I have tried within the short time at my disposal to give my humble suggestions to the Co-operative Directorate. But, Sir, I would like to assure the Hon'ble Minister that my suggestions are offered in a spirit of co-operation and friendliness and I hope that it will be taken in the same spirit in which it is offered.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, our Hon'ble Minister Mr. Maity is cooing like a dove. Sir, he has failed to produce even a faint imitation of the English vituperation uttered in foreign intonation.

The Hon'ble Sri NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITY: আমি বুঝতে পারছি না, আপনি বাংলায় বলুন।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: আপনি বুঝতে পারলেন না কিরকম। (A VOICE—গোড়া থেকে আবার বাংলায় আরম্ভ করুন) যেটুকু আরম্ভ করেছি সেটা ইংরাজীতে বলে, তারপর বাংলায় বলবো। আবার গোড়া থেকে ইংরাজীতে বলছি, আপনারা বোঝবার চেষ্টা করুন।

Our Hon'ble Minister Mr. Maity is cooing like a dove. I am glad that he has failed to produce even a faint imitation of the English vituperation uttered in foreign intonation, but, Sir, he is full of misrepresentation and mis-calculation and he seems to be an adept in doing rehabilitation in the shape of embarkation, disembarkation and transportation, but he has the knack of posing all these actions as co-operation. (VOICE: এবার বুঝেছেন, বুঝেছেন। আপনি বাংলায় বলুন। না, আপনি ইংরাজীতে বলুন......noise) স্পীকার মহোদয়, আপনি আমাদের মাথা, মুরুব্বি, আপনি হুকুম করুন আমি কোন languageএ বলবো।

Mr. SPEAKER: Please go on in whatever language you like.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, Mr. Maity has conveniently forgotten that the days of chivalry, the days of conferring boons are gone. The days of cool economics, hard calculations and political philosophies have come to play. The days of speech-making are gone and the days of action have come. Sir, don't be angry. My leader said the other day "hard words break no bones", but I am using some hard words. Don't mind them.

Sir, it seems to me that my friend over there has got no plan, has no intelligence to understand anything like that. I have already said more than once on the floor of this House that co-operation is the salvation of the country. (Sri SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Of the নির্বাসিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী) My leader got angry with me for uttering several times নির্বাসিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী Therefore I have given it up because my leader expressed dissatisfaction over my saying this. Our Speaker was not satisfied when I said নির্বাসিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী। Therefore I have given it up altogether.

My Speaker, Sir, the gentleman over there, Mr. Maity, our Hon'ble Minister, is speaking of co-operation. But co-operation in what matters? Has he understood the meaning of the word "co-operation"? Co-operation in what? As our Hon'ble Leader of the House said the other day, there may be co-operation in General Administration, there may be co-operation in Police, there may be co-operation even in Jails, there may be co-operation in Agriculture, there may be co-operation in Industry, there may be co-operation in fisheries, there may be co-operation in thousand other things. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Even in non-co-operation.) There may be co-operation even in non-co-operation, as my friend has said.

The Hon'ble Finance Minister has said and repeated several times that independence is an abstract thing. So co-operation is an abstract thing. therefore, I say there is not much difference between independence and co-operation. Co-operation is an abstract subject. It has no figure but if you can give it a figure by applying it in agriculture, by applying it in industry, by applying it in general administration, by applying it in police, it will be co-operative agriculture, co-operative industry, co-operative administration, co-operative police. Like independence it is merely a conception, a philosophic idea. Therefore, I say although you say vociferously "co-operation", "co-operation", "co-operation", you say that you have done many things and that the whole thing will be changed by the method of co-operation which you have put in motion, I can tell you that you have not understood the meaning of co-operation. Have you applied co-operation in agriculture according to Mr. Wolffe? Have you applied co-operation in industry? No, you have not applied it. Therefore, Sir, I repeat what I said just before our Hon'ble Finance Minister delivered his final speech in reply, namely, that it is an antidote to communism. If you practise co-operation in every department you will save the country from communism and socialism, because after all what does co-operation mean. Co-operation means that everyone will be allowed to enjoy the fruits of his own labour. and there will be no middle men to take away the fruits of his labour. If it is the principle of co-operation that everyone will be entitled to get the price of his labour, then co-operation is the best thing. Co-operation is conducive to productivity, both in agriculture and in industry including cottage industries and such like things. If you organise the people then only co-operation is possible. I agree with the Hon'ble the Finance Minister when he says in his speech that the country is in a disorganised condition Therefore, Sir, as I said when I delivered my speech in connection with the subject "Industries" your first duty as a leader is to organise the whole people into one so that they can inculcate the principle of co-operation. It is by these methods only that you can raise the standard of living and also raise the agricultural produce to its highest pitch and you can make the industry independent. There will be no more strikes. If everyone is given the fruits of his labour for the production which he helps, if everyone is given the price of his labour, there will be no strikes, and communism and socialism will be things of the past. Therefore, Sir, with folded hands through you, Mr. Speaker, I entreat our noble leaders to take up the work according to the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi, organise the villages and inculcate in them the principle of co-operation. Thereby communism socialism, separatism and everything will be things of the past. This is not the time for making a plan or for speaking about a plan.

(At this stage the member having reached his time-limit, resumed his seat.)

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: এটা অনস্বীকার্য্য অর্থাৎ যা স্বীকার না করে পারা যায় না যে বর্ত্তমান Co-operative Department-এর মন্ত্রী Co-operative সম্বন্ধে যে রকম ভাবে চেষ্টা করছেন, সেটা সত্যই আনন্দের বিষয় এবং খুব প্রশংসার বিষয়। কিন্তু তিনি চেয়েছেন মাত্র ১৯ লক্ষ টাকা; তাই দিয়ে ঋণদান সমিতি করবেন, multipurpose society করবেন, fishery করবেন, তন্তুবায় সমিতি, কাংস্যকার

সমিতি সব করবেন ১৯ লক্ষ টাকায়। Refugeeদের কথা ভুলে গেছি, তিনি তাদেরও organised করবেন। Cut motionতো আমার নাই, বাক্ motion করে যা হোক কিছু বাড়ানোর জন্য তাঁকে অনুরোধ করছি। তাঁকে টাকা দিয়েই বা কি হবে? গতবারে তাঁকে দেয়া হয়েছিল ১২ লক্ষ ৯৭ হাজার, তার মধ্যে ১১ লক্ষ ৫৮ হাজার খরচ করেছেন, তিনি যদি এত কৃপণ হন তাহ'লে তাঁকে টাকা দিয়ে কি হবে? যা হোক ১৯ লক্ষ টাকা আশা করি তিনি এবারে খরচ করবেন। এবং যদি পারেন অন্যান্য Department থেকেও কিছু কিছু কেড়ে কুড়ে নিয়ে খরচ করবেন। তাঁর open speechএ যে প্রেরণা জাগিয়েছেন, যে scheme দিয়েছেন, তাতে ১৯ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ করতে হবে যদি সত্য সত্যই কৃষকদের কাছে, শ্রমিকদের কাছে benefit পৌছাতে চান। সর্বার্থ-সাধক সমিতি multipurpose society মফঃস্বলে করবেন—মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের এটা fadএর মতন হয়েছে। পূর্ববর্ত্তী বক্তা রহমান সাহেব যে বলেছেন এ বিষয়ে তাঁর সতর্ক হয়ে চলা দরকার। কারণ, দেখা গেছে এর আগে যতগুলি রকমারি সমিতি হয়েছিল দুদিন পরই তার কতকগুলি লিকুইডেসনে গেল। যারা কোন দিন Co-operativeএর সঙ্গে সংযুক্ত নয় তাদের উপর দেয়া হয়েছে চালাবার ভার, এতে every chance—co-operative বিপর্য্যস্ত হবার। তবে আস্তে আস্তে এ বিষয়ে যে চেষ্টাটা হচ্চে সেটা আমরা welcome করি। আমরা Industrial Co-operation করবার বহু চেষ্টা করেছি, Department থেকে সাহায্য পাওয়া যায় নাই, সুতরাং তাদের কোন উৎসাহ যে নাই একথাটা অবশ্যই বলা যায়। আমার কথা এই যে societyগুলি রয়েছে প্রথমে সেইগুলিকে ভাল করা দরকার। আব্দার রহমান সাহেব বলেছেন অডিটের বিষয়। Auditএর সম্বন্ধে এই Houseএ বহুবার বলা হয়েছে, ৩।৪।৫ বৎসর ধরে সমিতির audit হচ্চে না এ রকম ঘটনা বিরল নয়; এই audit যাঁরা করেন তাঁরা দয়া করে করেন না। টাকা নিয়েই করেন। তারপরে Auditor audit করে যে সমস্ত recommendation করেন সেগুলি বেরুলো পরের বৎসরে, সুতরাং এ রিপোর্ট পেয়ে তাদের লাভবান হবার সম্ভাবনাই থাকে না। Separation করার কথা আব্দার রহমান সাহেব যে বলেছেন তা আমি সমর্থন করি। যাঁরা আজ ওদিকে বসে আছেন (pointing to the Government Benches) তাঁরাও বরাবর এটা সমর্থন করে গিয়েছেন, আজ যখন কাজ করবার ক্ষমতা তাঁদের হাতে এসেছে আশা করি একাজটা তাঁরা সম্পন্ন করবেন। Nomination সম্বন্ধে রহমান সাহেব যা বলেছেন সেটার প্রতি আপনাদের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি। অনেক জায়গায় উঠেছে, এদিক থেকেও যেন ওঠান হয়। আশা করি সামনের বছরে যারা আসবে তাদের যেন আর বলতে না হয়—"এখনো nomination রয়েছে।" অন্যান্য বিষয়ে তিনি যা বলেছেন আমি তাতে ditto দিচ্ছি।

আর বিশেষ কিছু না বলে আমি এখন ছোট ছোট দুচারটে difficultyর কথা বলব। তার মধ্যে একটা হচ্চে Co-operative Bus Society, যাঁরা আমার বক্তৃতা শুনেছেন এই Houseএ তাঁরাই জানেন এটা আমার একটা fadএর মতন হয়ে গিয়েছে। ৬ বৎসর লেগেছে এটা রেজেষ্টী করতে। দশ হাজার টাকার মতন তুলে ৪২ সালে জেলে গিয়েছি, তখন Co-operativeএর মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ও সেখানে আমার সঙ্গেই ছিলেন। যাক সে সব অতীত কথা তুলে লাভ নাই। কিন্তু এটার বিরুদ্ধে ডাঃ রায় বলেছেন "বাসের permission আপনারা পাবেন না, আমরা State Bus করব"। কিন্তু আমি বলছি যেখানে State Bus করেন নি সেখানেও ত অন্ততঃ দয়া করে দিতে পারেন। Permission পাচ্ছি না বলে এই জিনিষটা হয়েও হচ্চে না। আমি শুধু সমবায় মন্ত্রীর কাছে নয় মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর কাছে আবেদন জানাচ্চি—তাঁরা যেন এ সম্বন্ধে তাঁদের policyটা বদল করেন।

তারপরে multipurposes society সম্বন্ধে একটা কথা বলব। জেল থেকে বেরিয়ে দেখতে পাচ্চি কোন বিশেষ রাজনৈতিক দল বিশেষের লোক না হলে বা তাদের হাতে ক্ষমতা না দিলে অনেকগুলিরই রেজেষ্টী হতে বাধা সৃষ্টি হচ্চে; নাম উল্লেখ করে বলা যায় ভবানীপুর, সিংটী এ সব জায়গার কি অবস্থা? কংগ্রেস আর ফরোয়ার্ড ব্লকের মধ্যে ভোটাভুটি হচ্চে এই জন্য সেখানে multipurpose society হতে পারছে না। আশা করি Co-operative Department দলাদলির উপর Co-operative জিনিষটাকে দাঁড় না করান। এ বিষয়টাও শুধু Co-operativeএর মন্ত্রিমহোদয়কে বলছি না, মন্ত্রী মণ্ডলীর কাছে বলছি তাঁরা যেন বিষয়টার প্রতি অবহিত হন। তারপরে wholesale cloth dealing নিয়ে যে Co-operative Society গুলি হয়েছে তার বিরুদ্ধেও অনেক কথা শোনা যাচ্ছে। সত্য কিনা জানি না, কিন্তু যা রটে, তা বটে। অতএব তার মধ্যে কিছু সত্য আছে কিনা মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর সে সম্বন্ধেও একটা তদন্ত করা দরকার। কারণ যে ভাবে বদনাম হচ্চে তাতে লোককে জানানো দরকার যে বদনামের কোন কারণ নাই। যদি বদনাম রটে থাকে তাহ'লে Co-operativeএর মন্ত্রীর চুপ করে থাকা উচিত নয়, তাঁর বদনাম যাতে না হয় সেইজন্য public

statement করে হোক, বা accounts published করেই হোক লোকদের বোঝাবার একটা ব্যবস্থা তিনি যেন করেন। তাঁর একটা অযোগ্যতার প্রমাণ আমার হাতে রয়েছে। তার নিয়েছেন তাঁরা এখানকার মিলের যত কাপড় তাঁরাই নেবেন। মিলের মালিকেরা notice in advance দিয়েছে "আমাদের মিলে stock হয়ে যাচ্ছে, মাল কেউ নিচ্ছে না।" কিন্তু আমরা ত জানি কাপড়ের অভাব, কেউ পায় কেউ পায় না তারপরে খবর নিয়ে জানা গেল তাঁদের নিযুক্ত handling agent যারা তারা lift করতে পারছে না। বাজারে মাকি ওগুলি চলে না। তারপরে Civil Supply মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের কাছে approach করে এই পর্য্যন্ত করতে পেরেছি যে Mills তাদের নিজেদের agent নিযুক্ত করতে পারবে। তারপরে এই telegram হাতে রয়েছে—

লোকে কাপড় পায় না অথচ মিলে কাপড় রয়েছে Co-operative Departmentএর handling agentরা নিতে পারছে না কিন্তু যখন তারা নিজেরা ব্যবস্থা করলো তখন বল্লেন dodged হচ্চে। এই সব অব্যবস্থার ফলে যাদের সঙ্গে আমি বেশী সংশ্লিষ্ট সেখানকার দেড় হাজার লোক বেকার হয়ে যাবে। ফলে Co-operative Departmentএর উপর লোকের যে ভক্তি ও বিশ্বাস বাড়বে তা নয়। (A VOICE: মিলটার নাম করুন না।) সেটা হচ্চে রাধাকৃষ্ণ কটন মিল।

তারপর, এখন আমি কয়েকটা পুরাতন প্রতিষ্ঠান সম্বন্ধে যা শুনছি সে সম্বন্ধে বলছি। একটা হচ্ছে—Milk Unionএর স্বপক্ষে বিপক্ষে বহু কথা Houseএ এবং বাইরে বলা হয়েছে। যতদিন জেলে ছিলাম, ভালই ছিলাম, সেখানে কোন কথা কানে যেতো না। বাইরে এসেই অনেক কথা কানে আসছে। কয়লা আসে তার ওজন ভাল হয় না, বল্লে, বলে ওজন এখানে হয় না। টাকা নিয়ে যায় কিন্তু মাল লোপাট হয়ে যায়। (The Hon'ble Sri BHUPATI MAJUMDER: কে বলেছে এ সব বাজে খবর আপনাকে?) সংবাদ রাখি বলেই বলছি। (At this stage the blue light was on.) আমার Labour বক্তৃতা থেকে ৫ মিনিট না হয় কাটবেন আমি এটায় একটু বলতে চাই। I want five minutes more, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: You will please take two minutes. As you know, tomorrow is the last day of the budget session and the budget will have to be passed, and there are many items yet to be covered.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আর একটা হচ্চে—গো-সেবা। Sir Daniel Hamilton—Co-operationএর পাগল ছিলেন। তিনি তাঁর যা কিছু ছিল Co-operationএর জন্য দিয়ে গেছেন, তিনি যে আমাদের দেশের কেউ নন এটা গৌরবের নয়। গো-সেবাটা যেন বিলীন হয়ে গেছে। Daniel Hamilton এ জগতে নাই। যাদের উপর এটার ভার আছে তাঁরা একে business হিসাবে চালাচ্ছেন, এটার একটা enquiry হওয়া দরকার। Sir Daniel Hamilton যে বহু লক্ষ টাকার সম্পত্তি Co-operationকে অগ্রসর করবার জন্য দিয়ে গিয়েছেন সে জিনিষটে না হয়ে যদি তাঁর capitalটার অপচয় হয়ে থাকে তাহ'লে সেটা খুব অন্যায়বলে মনে করি। Time হয়ে গেছে আর বিশেষ বলবো না—তবে Rehabilitationএর কথা একটু বলব। তাঁরা আন্দামানের পরিকল্পনা করেছেন। আন্দামানে আপনাদের multipurposes Society কোরে গোড়াথেকেই Co-operative Commonwealth করবার সুবিধা রয়েছিল।

পূর্ববর্ত্তী বক্তা বলেছেন যে এটা antidote to Communism এবং Socialism. Communismএর antidote কিনা বলতে পারি না কিন্তু Socialismএর যে নয় সেটা আমি জোরের সঙ্গেই বলতে পারি। Co-operationএর যা মূল—"সকলের তরে সকলে আমরা

প্রত্যেকে আমরা প্রত্যেকের তরে"—

এই principle যিনিই অনুসরণ করুন না কেন, সে ডা: রায়ই করুন বা নিকুঞ্জ বাবুই করুন, তিনিই Socialismএর দিকে এগিয়ে যাবেন; কংগ্রেসী হোন বা অকংগ্রেসী হোন এখানে Socialismএর সঙ্গে মূলগত পার্থক্য নাই। বিলেতে Co-operative Party, Labour Party একযোগে কাজ করেনি।

(The member having reached the time limit resumed his seat.)

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, আমি সংক্ষেপে ২।১টা কথা co-operation সম্পর্কে বলতে চাই। আমাদের co-operationএর মন্ত্রী মহোদয় co-operation সম্পর্কে যে একটা সুন্দর ছবি আমাদের সামনে ধরেছেন, তাতে বাস্তবিকই মনে হয় যে কৃষি, শিল্প, স্বাস্থ্য প্রভৃতি

সমস্যা সম্পর্কে আমরা যে সব নানা অসুবিধা ও বিপদের ভিতর পড়ে আছি, এই co-operation দ্বারা হয়ত সে সমস্ত সমস্যা সমাধান অনায়াসে হতে পারবে। কিন্তু এই সমবায় সমিতি গঠন এবং কার্য্যকারিতার পথে যে সমস্ত বাধা আছে তার মধ্যে একটি হচেছ যে আমাদের বিভিন্ন বিভাগের মন্ত্রী মহোদয়রাই সবচেয়ে বেশী non-co-operation করছেন। কৃষি, শিল্প, স্বাস্থ্য ইত্যাদি সকল সমস্যার সমাধানই এই co-operationএর মধ্য দিয়ে আমরা করতে পারি। কিন্তু যখনই এক বিভাগের কোন সমাস্যার কথা উঠে তখন অন্য বিভাগের মন্ত্রী মহোদয় এই সমাস্যার খবর রাখেন না বলে প্রকাশ করেন। উদাহরণ স্বরূপ—কৃষি বিভাগের মন্ত্রী সেচ বিভাগের কোন পরিকল্পনার খবর রাখেন না। Co-operationএর সমস্যা অসংখ্য অথচ তার টাকার বরাদ্দ এত সামান্য যে তদ্দ্বারা co-operationএর কোন কার্য্যই সফল হতে পারে না। মন্ত্রী মহোদয়গণ co-operationএর সঙ্গে non-co-operation দ্বারা co-operationএ নিতান্ত অল্প টাকা বরাদ্দ করায় co-operation বিভাগের প্রতি সম্পূর্ণ অবিচার করা হয়েছে। যখন কৃষি, শিল্প ইত্যাদি সমস্ত সমস্যাই co-operationএর ভিতর দিয়ে সমাধান করা সম্ভব, তখন সমস্ত মন্ত্রী মহোদয়েরা পরস্পর co-operation করে co-operationএর মহান উদ্দেশ্য সাধন করুন। দ্বিতীয় কথা হচেছ যে, জনসাধারণের শিক্ষার অভাবে কি co-operation সফল হবে? ইতিপূর্ব্বে বহু সমবায় সমিতি গঠন করা হয়েছিল কিন্তু তার অধিকাংশই ব্যর্থতায় পরিণত হয়েছে।

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHDAUHURY: শিক্ষার অভাবে।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: সম্প্রতি বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে সর্ব্বার্থ-সাধক সমিতি গঠন করেছি তাতে মনে হয় তাদের গঠন করতে গিয়ে আমার ধারণা জন্মেছে যে, জনসাধারণের দারুণ মূর্খতা, অজ্ঞতা, দুর্নীতি, স্বার্থপরতা ও black-marketing প্রভৃতি দুষ্ট বুদ্ধির কারণে সর্ব্বার্থ-সাধক সমিতির মহান উদ্দেশ্য বানচাল হয়ে যাবার সম্ভাবনা হয়েছে। (আমি লক্ষ্য করছি—মাননীয় শিক্ষামন্ত্রী মহোদয় আমার দিকে দৃষ্টি নিবদ্ধ করে আছেন।) আমি বলব—co-operationএর সাফল্য উপযুক্ত শিক্ষার উপর সম্পূর্ণ নির্ভর করছে। আমাদের সমস্ত মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী যদি সমবায় বিভাগকে সর্ব্বোচচ স্থান দিয়ে তার উপযোগী টাকা বরাদ্দ করেন এবং জনসাধারণের মধ্যে শিক্ষা বিস্তারের সঙ্গে co-operationএর উদ্দেশ্য তাদের হৃদয়ঙ্গম করাইবার জন্য জাতীয় চেতনা সম্পন্ন বহু সংখ্যক রাজকর্মচারী পল্লীবাসীদের সঙ্গে মেলা মেশা ও সহযোগিতা ও ভাবের আদান প্রদান করেন এবং এই সব সর্ব্বার্থ-সাধক সমিতি দেশের প্রত্যেক অঞ্চলে গঠন করেন তাহলে আমাদের কৃষি, শিল্প, শিক্ষা, সর্ব্ববিধ সমস্যার সমাধান হতে পারে।

The Hon'ble Sri NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITY: মাননীয় সভাপতি মহোদয়—মাননীয় সদস্যগণ যেসব কথা উত্থাপন করেছেন তার সবগুলিই আমি মূল্যবান বলে মনে করি। আমি প্রথমে আবদার রহমান সাহেবের কথা বলব। তিনি কয়েকটা বিষয় উল্লেখ করেছেন। তিনি বলেছেন যে সমবায় বিভাগ এবং উহার নীতি সম্বন্ধে তিনি যেভাবে বলেছেন, সেটা যেন সেইভাবে গ্রহণ করা হয়। আমরা নিশ্চয়ই সেই-ভাবে গ্রহণ করব। তিনি বলেছেন হিসাব, audit এই বিভাগটা Registrarএর আওতা থেকে সরিয়ে নেওয়া দরকার। আমি শুনেছি যে ভারতবর্ষের অন্যান্য প্রদেশে এ রকম ব্যবস্থা নেই। এটা অবশ্য স্বীকার করায় অসুবিধা কিছু নেই। Registrarএর influence বা প্রভাব হিসাব যারা করে, তাদের উপর বিরূপ প্রভাব বিস্তার করতে পারে। সুতরাং এই প্রশ্নটা আরও বিবেচনা করে সিদ্ধান্তে পৌঁছতে হবে তারপর মনোনয়ন প্রথা চলে যাওয়া সম্বন্ধে— আমিও আগে অবশ্য মনে করতাম চলে যাওয়া উচিত কিন্তু একটা জিনিষ আমি এই বিভাগে আসবার পর দেখতে পেয়েছি, সেটা হচেছ যে যারা দেনা করেন--borrowers তাদের প্রতিনিধিরা সরাসরিভাবে আমাদের কেন্দ্রীয় ব্যাঙ্কে আসেন কিন্তু যারা deposit দেন তারা আসেন না। এটা অনেক সময় দেখা যায় যে উহারা পরের টাকা নিয়ে পোদ্দারি করছেন। এটা ঠিক ভাল মনে হয় না। এবং সেই জন্য যাতে depositorদের টাকা ঠিকভাবে এবং অপরে এসে তা নিয়ে ছিনিমিনি না খেলে সেই জন্য nomination দ্বারা তাদের মধ্যে লোক ঠিক করা দরকার। হতে পারে depositor তাদের মধ্য থেকে election করে লোক পাঠাতে পারবে কিন্তু এর ফলে এটা হবে কিনা জানি না যে depositorদের interest এক দিকে যাবে ও borrowerদের interest অন্য দিকে যাবে—অর্থাৎ কিনা দুটো nation হয়ে যাবে কিনা জানি না। সুতরাং এই প্রশ্নটা খুব মনোযোগের সহিত বিবেচনা করা উচিত।

কাজেই যে প্রশ্নটা উঠেছে এটা খুব মনোযোগের সঙ্গে আরো ভাল করে পরীক্ষা করতে হবে। Co-operative planning Committee'র যে সমস্ত সিদ্ধান্ত তাকে কার্য্যে পরিণত করা সম্বন্ধে রহমান সাহেব একটি expert committeeকে বিবেচনা করবার জন্য

বলেছেন। আমার এই প্রস্তাবটি গ্রহণ করতে কিছুমাত্র আপত্তি নেই এবং আমিও এই প্রস্তাবটি খুব সমীচিন বলে মনে করি। গ্রাম্য কৃষি-ঋণদান সমিতিগুলিকে পুনরুদ্ধার করা সম্বন্ধে কিম্বা তাদের কার্য্যকারিতা যাতে বাড়ে সেজন্য তিনি বলেছেন। আমরা সেই পথে চেষ্টা করছি। পুরাণো যে সমস্ত ঋণদান সমিতি আছে সেগুলি সম্বন্ধে অবহেলা করবার একমাত্র কারণ হচেছ যে আমাদের Auditorএর সংখ্যা খুব কম এবং কম বলেই তাঁরা কাজ করতে পারছেন না। All-India Planning Committeeতে ৫০টা Society'র উপর একজন Auditorএর কথা বলা হয়েছে; কিন্তু আমাদের এখন ২০০ সমিতির উপরে একজন মাত্র Auditor এবং সেজন্য অনেক কাজ করাই সম্ভব হচেচ না। আমি এটা স্বীকার করছি যে সর্ব্বার্থ-সাধক সমিতি-গুলি যে রকম তাড়াতাড়ি গড়ে উঠছে তাতে আমাদের তাদের হিসাব দেখা অত্যন্ত দরকার এবং সেজন্য আমাদের আরো বেশী লোক নিযুক্ত করা প্রয়োজন। আমি আশা করি যে এ প্রয়োজনের ভাব ক্রমশ: ক্রমশ: উপলব্ধি হবে এবং এ অভাব দূর করতে পারা যাবে।

রহমান সাহেব Multipurpose Societyগুলি সম্বন্ধে যে ছবি এঁকেছেন আমি সেটা ঠিক মনে করি না; আমি মনে করি যে আমাদের জাতির জীবন পুরাণো যেভাবে ছিল সে রকমভাবে এখন নেই এবং যতই আমাদের সময় যাবে ততই আমাদের অভিজ্ঞতা বাড়বে এবং ততই আমাদের কাজ করবার স্পৃহা বাড়বে। অবশ্য কিছু কিছু ত্রুটি কোথাও কোথাও হতে পাবে কিন্তু সে ত্রুটির জন্য কিম্বা তার জন্য সন্দেহ করে যদি আমরা বসে থাকি তাহলে আমাদের কাজ এগুবে না এবং আমরা সময়ের সঙ্গে ঠিক তাল রেখে যা চলা বলে তা আমরা চলতে পারবো না। আর Provincial Co-operative Bank সম্বন্ধে উনি বলেছেন যে সে সম্বন্ধে এই Government কিছু কাজ করবার চেষ্টা করছে। সকলেই জানেন যে যখন বাংলাদেশ বিভাগ হয়ে গেল তখন পাকিস্থানেতে এই Provinceএর ব্যাঙ্কে এক কোটি ২৪ লক্ষ টাকার উপর দাদন ছিল, সে দাদন আদায় করতে পারা যায়নি। তখন সেই ব্যাঙ্কের অবস্থা খুব শোচনীয় হয়েছিল। বর্ত্তমান Government যখন এই কার্য্যভার নিলেন তখন এই সমস্যা উপস্থিত হয়েছিল এবং মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী সেই কথা বিবেচনা করে কয়েক বছর, দশ বছরের মধ্যে তাঁরা effect দিয়েছেন যে, যে Provincial ব্যাঙ্কে ঐ টাকার জন্য যে অভাব পড়বে সেটি তাঁরা কয়েক বছর ধরে দেবেন এবং তাতে যাঁরা depositors তাঁরা আশ্বস্ত হয়েছেন। কাজেই এ দিক দিয়ে Provincial Co-operative Bankএর সাহায্যে মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী এসে যথেষ্ট কাজ করেছেন। এ ছাড়া Provincial Co-operative Bankকে আরো কতকগুলি সাহায্য তাঁরা দিয়েছেন। সেগুলি যখন advances এবং loans বিবেচনা করা হবে তখন আপনারা দেখতে পাবেন।

রহমান সাহেব, শিবনাথ বাবু West Bengal Provincial Industrial Co-operative Society সম্বন্ধে কিছু কিছু কথার উল্লেখ করেছেন। এ Society'র কাজ বর্ত্তমানেতে আমাদের Officerরা দেখছেন এবং তদন্ত করছেন। যদি কোন লোকের মনে কোন সন্দেহ উপস্থিত হয় আমি আশা করি যে কিছু দিনের মধ্যে সে সন্দেহ তাদের নিরসন হবে।

মুদাসির হোসেন সাহেব অনেক কথাই বলেছেন। তিনি কৃষি এবং শিল্পের কাজে যাতে সমবায় প্রথা অনু-সারে কাজ হয় তা বলেছেন। আমি আগেও বলেছি এবং এখনও বলছি এবং আমাদের মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী সকলেরই মত যে আমাদিগকে যদি কাজ করতে হয় তাহলে কৃষকদের এবং শিল্পীদের সমবায়েতে আবদ্ধ করে অগ্রসর হতে হবে। অনেকের এটা ধারণা আছে যে সমবায় সমিতি উপর থেকে গড়া যাবে। কিন্তু বাস্তবিক তা নয়। যাঁরা যে কাজ করেন তাঁদের নিজেদের ভিতর থেকে একটা ইচ্ছা উদ্ভূত হওয়া দরকার। তাঁরা সকলে মিলে সকলের সাহায্যের জন্য, প্রত্যেকে সকলের জন্য এবং সকলে প্রত্যেকের জন্য কাজ করবেন। এই রকম ইচ্ছা উদ্ভূত যদি হয় তাহলে কাজের পক্ষে সুবিধা হয়। Government অবশ্য সেই রকম ইচ্ছা যাতে উদ্বুদ্ধ হয় তার জন্য চেষ্টা করছেন এবং করবেন। এবং যে-সমস্ত সরকারী কর্ম্মচারী আছে তাঁদেরও ধারণা ধীরে ধীরে বদলে যাচেছ; তাঁরাও সময়ের সঙ্গে নিজেদিগকে খাপ খাইয়ে নিচেছন। আমার সম্পূর্ণ ধারণা, আমি এ বিষয়ে একমত যে co-operation এর যে movement বা সমবায় প্রথা এটা Communismএর antidote এ বিষয়ে সন্দেহ নেই এবং আমি শ্রদ্ধার সঙ্গে বলতে পারি—যে Socialism বা Communismএর দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী এবং Co-operative way of doing thingsএ তফাৎ নাই। শিবনাথ বাবু বলেছেন যে ১৯ লক্ষ টাকাতে এত কাজ করবেন কি করে। সত্য সত্যই ১৯ লক্ষ টাকাতে এত কাজ হয় না। কিন্তু এ-কথাটা আমাদের ভুললে চলবে না যে Co-operative Societyকে যে টাকা দিতে হবে তা নয়,

Co-operative methodএতে কাজ করিয়ে নিতে হবে। আমি একটা উদাহরণ দিই তাহলে জিনিষটা পরিষ্কার হয়ে যাবে। আমি একটা খাল খুঁড়তে চাই, সেজন্য আমার ৫০।৬০ হাজার টাকা দরকার, Government সেই ৫০।৬০ হাজার টাকা কাকে দেবেন? জনগণকে। তারা সেই খালটা খুঁড়িয়ে নেবে; কি করে—তারা খনন্ করবে? তারা খনন্ করবে Co-operative methodsএ, সকলে মিলে। কাজেই Co-operative organisationকে টাকা দেওয়া হয়নি, টাকাটা দেওয়া হচ্চে সাধারণ জনগণকে। কাজেই জনগণেরা—they will form themselves into a society and they will get the work done.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: আপনারা লোক, Officer, না দিলে ত কাজ হতে পারে না।

The Hon'ble Sri NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITY: সে কথা ঠিক। সেজন্য আরো লোক দরকার, officer দরকার, কর্ম্মচারী দরকার। গত বছর টাকা খরচ হয়নি। এ সম্বন্ধে শিবনাথ বাবু যে কথা বলেছেন এটা হচ্চে development idea; সেটা হ'লো Government of Indiaকে টাকা দিতে হবে। Government of India যদি টাকা দেন্ তাহলে এ কাজগুলি হবে। Government of India টাকা দিতে অগ্রসর হন্‌নি। আমার আরো কিছু কিছু কথা বলবার আছে।

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: শুধু একটা কথা আপনি বললেন না। মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে জিজ্ঞাসা করি যে চাকরী সম্বন্ধে তিনি কি করবেন, কি পন্থায় নিয়োগ করবেন।

The Hon'ble Sri NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITY: চাকরী? অবশ্য এ বিষয়েতে বলা কঠিন তবে এটা ঠিক যে চাকরীতে যাদের নিয়োগ হবে তাদের শিক্ষা দেওয়া হচ্চে Co-operation সম্বন্ধে; principleগুলি জানা না থাকলে তাদের নিয়ে কাজের সুবিধা হবে না। আমি এই কথা বলে সমস্ত cut motionকে oppose করছি এবং বলছি তাঁরা যদি অনুগ্রহ করে cut motion উঠিয়ে নেন্ তাহলে ভাল হয়। এবং জনাব মহম্মদ সইদ মিয়া কতকগুলি কথা বলেছেন যে মন্ত্রীরা নিজেরা co-operation করেন না। এবং সেচ বিভাগের কথা বলেছেন, সেচ বিভাগের মন্ত্রী যখন সেই বিভাগের মাথায় রয়েছেন তখন তাঁর কথাই authoritative, কাজেই সেচ বিভাগের কথা সেই বিভাগের মন্ত্রীই বলুন, এবং কৃষি বিভাগের কথা কৃষি বিভাগের মন্ত্রীই বলুন।

(A VOICE: Co-operation কোথায়?) Co-operation রয়েছে at a lower stage এই কথা বলে আমি আমার motion commend করছি।

The motion of Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman that the demand of Rs. 19,68,000 for expenditure under the head "42—Co-operation" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I want to withdraw my motion.

(There was no objection.)

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 19,68,000 for expenditure under the head "42—Co-operation" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behary Maiti that a sum of Rs. 19,68,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "42—Co-operation" was then put and agreed to.

4—Taxes on Income other than Corporation Tax.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 3,18,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "4—Taxes on income other than Corporation Tax".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

9—Stamps.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 4,92,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "9—Stamps".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

11—Registration.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 14,18,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "11—Registration".

The motion was then put and agreed to.

47—Miscellaneous Departments.

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 22,92,000 be granted under the head "47—Miscellaneous Departments" for the year 1949-50.

The most important item under this head is the grant on Labour and so I take this opportunity to explain the activities of my Department in tackling labour problems.

It may be stated at the outset that as a result of partition, 1,755 factories, *i.e.*, 87 *per cent.* of the total of 2,011 perennial factories in the whole of undivided Bengal fall within this province and the number of workers employed in these perennial factories in West Bengal is 672,943 as against 43,271 in East Bengal which is about 93·9 *per cent.* of the total labour population of the undivided Bengal. The partition of the province has therefore in no way affected the labour situation in this new province.

Since the 15th August, 1947, this Government have consistently pursued a forward labour policy, which is in consonance with the policy of the Government of India. It is based on the principles embodied in the Industrial Truce Resolution adopted at the Industries Conference in December, 1947, and the directive principles of State policy in the Draft Constitution of India regarding labour, viz., making provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief and securing to all workers, industrial or otherwise, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full employment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities.

The objective of our effort is to harness the new consciousness amongst labour into a creative force by eliminating all scope for exploitation and making them a willing partner in production. Necessary statutory and non-statutory machinery have been set up for the resolution of all labour disputes, preferably by collective bargaining, failing that, by conciliation, and ultimately through adjudication, so that wastage of manpower and resources and loss of national wealth due to any kind of direct action may be eliminated by all means during this transition period when the closest co-operation between labour and management for increasing production is so very vital for the economy of the country.

One hundred and twenty-three Works Committees formed so far have been working smoothly. These will help a great deal in promoting a spirit of co-operation amongst labour and management and developing the spirit of negotiation.

The Conciliation Machinery of the Labour Directorate has also been successfully tackling quite a large number of disputes. In 1947, there were 376 strikes and lock-outs, of which 118 were settled by conciliation. In the

same year there were 2,258 disputes other than strikes and lock-outs which were settled by the same method of conciliation. In 1948 up to November, out of 200 strikes, 85 have been settled by conciliation and 2,309 other disputes also settled by the same method.

33·15 *per cent.* of the total number of disputes settled during the year 1947 was done by the conciliation machinery of the Labour Directorate showing a still further improvement in 1948—as 45·45 *per cent.* of the total settled in 1948 was done through the same machinery. It may be interesting to note in this connection that the activities of this Directorate began to show an appreciable improvement in the settlement of disputes in the period just following the partition as 26·45 *per cent.* of the cases settled before partition was done through conciliation while the percentage in the post-partition period is 55·43 of the total disputes settled in that period.

In 1948, 7 Judges of Industrial Tribunals have been busy with the adjudication of industrial disputes. Since August, 1947, up to the end of February, 1949, 208 awards have been given by these tribunals. Generally, the awards of the tribunals are implemented in all essentials, but there are some exceptions. In 22 cases, they have not been implemented. When a party persists in refusing to implement an award and proves obdurate in spite of request from Government, prosecutions are launched. In 7 cases, prosecutions have been launched already and in the others, negotiation for securing implementation is still in progress. Prosecution is always considered to be an extreme measure which is resorted to only when all other methods fail.

The awards relating to all the jute textiles, all the cotton textiles and 121 engineering firms in West Bengal have in a large measure succeeded in securing uniform and improved conditions of work, ensuring better standard of living in those industries and conferring material benefits on them. The tangible gains derived by workers by those awards are known and it will be enough if only some of the more salient features of the awards are enumerated here—

(I) The Jute Tribunal has awarded among other things—

(*i*) the minimum total remuneration of a manual worker at Rs. 58-8 per month (pay Rs. 26 plus dearness allowance Rs. 32-8) against the previous remuneration of Rs. 46 in all;

(*ii*) payment for involuntary unemployment at the rate of 50 *per cent.* of the basic wages and dearness allowance for one month in each half year. Each worker will continue to receive the full food concession benefit in cash or kind;

(*iii*) compulsory Provident Fund with equal contribution from employers and employees at the rate of 6¼ *per cent.*

(*iv*) ten days' continuous holidays under the Factories Act and another five days' leave in continuation to accumulate for two years. Leave without pay up to 15 days in a year accumulative for two years;

(*v*) sick leave on half pay for fifteen days in a year;

(*vi*) festival holidays for eight days on full pay.

(II) The Cotton Textile Tribunal has awarded, among other things,—

(*i*) minimum wages for an unskilled worker at Rs. 50-2-5 (pay Rs. 20-2-5 and dearness allowance Rs. 30). Wages in the Cotton Textile Industry have been linked with production;

(*ii*) payment for involuntary unemployment at the rate of 75 *per cent.* of the average daily rate of pay for the first fortnight and 50 *per cent.* in the second fortnight for one month in a half year.

No benefit will accrue unless the period of involuntary unemployment exceeds seven days in a half year. A worker must answer to a muster roll once a day at his usual place of employment or with the permission of the employer at any other place and he must be prepared to do work even of a different sort in the factory and refusal will render him ineligible for the benefit;

(*iii*) Compulsory Provident Fund with equal contribution from employers and employees at the rate of 6¼ *per cent.*;

(*iv*) ten days' leave as in the Factories Act cumulative for two years—five days' C.L. with full pay;

(*v*) sick leave for fifteen days in a year on full pay;

(*vi*) festival days for six days on full pay.

(III) The Engineering Industry Tribunal has awarded, amongst other things,—

(*i*) minimum wages at Rs. 55 per month (Rs. 30 pay and dearness allowance Rs. 25);

(*ii*) Compulsory Provident Fund as in the case of the Jute and Cotton Textile Tribunals;

(*iii*) ten days leave as in the Factories Act—five or six days other leave with pay in continuation—cumulative for 2 years;

(*iv*) sick leave for fifteen days on half pay;

(*v*) festival holidays for eight days on full pay.

All these awards have, besides, laid down definite instructions that have to be followed in the matter of appointment and discipline of the employees so as to regulate their service and create a sense of security of their service. No employee can be punished without being given an opportunity for explaining the charges against him, service records have to be maintained for each employee and confirmation bar to be made after certain period of approved service.

It has been my constant endeavour to see that the disputes are settled as promptly as possible. As a rule, the Labour Directorate tries to settle disputes promptly but at times, delay occurs under unavoidable circumstances. The parties, who take part in the negotiations, want to get directives from their principals before committing anything. Representatives of workers do not feel competent to commit anything without placing the matter before the meeting of the workers' Union, and representatives of the employers also consult the Board of Directors or the Managing Director before committing anything. The process of bargaining and recalcitrance on the part of either or both parties often makes negotiations difficult. And the Labour Directorate is handicapped for lack of legal power to enforce attendance. Although the conciliation procedure thus takes a little time, the net result is undoubtedly satisfactory because a very high percentage of disputes is settled by conciliation.

If the conciliation officer occasionally takes time to recommend reference for adjudication that is because he considers it incumbent on him to exhaust all possibility of settlement by collective bargaining, which is so essential for the growth of sound trade unionism here.

A number of tribunals have been set up in order to prevent delay in adjudication proceedings, and of late, I have been personally watching the progress of all cases.

The question of retrenchment has been the most difficult problem. When Government is satisfied that retrenchment is due to real shrinkage of work or lack of raw materials, and transport difficulties or any other valid ground and that adequate compensation will be given to the workers who are to

be laid off, retrenched or discharged, there is no need to interfere. In all cases of alleged victimisation by way of unfair labour practice or wrongful dismissal without reasonable cause, where no satisfactory explanation is offered, reference is made for adjudication to decide whether there has been any unjust victimisation or wrongful retrenchment. In a number of cases, the tribunals have ordered reinstatement of retrenched employees. It has been held in the High Court also that under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, the Tribunal can legally make an award directing employers to reinstate a workman or workmen. The employers have now taken the matter to the Federal Court to contest the jurisdiction of the industrial tribunals over the question of retrenchment. The employers have always insisted on what they call their inherent and inalienable right to hire and fire. Government are not prepared to accept that contention because the state should protect, as effectively as it may, a social order in which social and economic justice prevails, and an employee cannot be unfairly thrown out of employment at the will of the employer. The ideal solution would have been to secure a gentleman's agreement by which the employers could have agreed during the period of operation of the Industrial Truce Resolution to hold up all cases of large scale retrenchments due to alleged unfair labour practice till the matter was discussed before a tripartite committee. A number of attempts were made in the Provincial Labour Advisory Board to reach an agreement but they failed.

The Government while recognising the right of the freedom of association and collective bargaining including the right to strike with a view to securing the redress of the legitimate economic grievances, must resist a strike as a political weapon which is aimed not in the *bona fide* interest of the worker but to further the political end of a party or group of anti-social and disruptive forces.

Every facility has been given to the workers' union so as to develop it on the true trade union line.

Although action has been taken against the Communist Party for its anti-social and disruptive activities, even the communist sponsored unions have been allowed to carry on their trade union activities if they function on constitutional lines.

Equal opportunities are given to all the trade union organisations as evidenced by our inviting the different trade union organisations to participate in the different tripartite boards and committees. But the Indian National Trade Union Congress deserves special mention as an organisation which seeks to settle the dispute through peaceful negotiation with the employers in the true interest of the labour and also believes in maintaining the spirit of the industrial truce resolution which is essential for our national economy at this critical stage of our national life.

The measures taken and the policy outlined above have undoubtedly borne fruit and resulted in improved relation between employers and labour as reflected in the figures below—

	1946	1947	1948
Number of disputes	393	376	200
Workmen involved	486,378	412,432	238,858
Man days lost	4,682,146	5,984,742	2,292,782

So far the problems of industrial workers have monopolised our attention. It has now been decided to investigate into the conditions of work of agricultural labour and devise means to improve their lot.

A Tripartite Labour Advisory Board was constituted early in 1948 for advising Government on labour problems. In consultation with that body, it has now been decided to form two industrial committees, one on cotton

textile industries and the other on engineering industries, which will tak up standardisation of occupational nomenclature and other matters no already covered by the award.

So far as progressive labour legislation can achieve in securing socia justice, Government have spared no pains and all defects and shortcoming have been sought to be remedied after a series of discussions with th representatives of all the parties concerned. To remove the defects of th Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, the Government of India have drafted a Bil which provides among other things for additional machinery for speed disposal of minor disputes and an appellate tribunal for redress of mistake, if any, in the original tribunal and for adequate penalty for non-implementa tion of awards. Under the Minimum Wages Act which is intended t redress grievances of labour in sweated industries, steps have been take already to fix minimum wages in scheduled industries. The amende Trade Unions Act which provides for statutory recognition of unions wil come into force before long. The Factories Act, 1948, which is a distinc improvement on the Factories Act, 1934, will come into force from 1s April, 1949. A survey of the existing medical facilities and of the scop for providing more facilities under the Employees' State Insurance Act 1948, is almost complete, and a regional office will be set up in this province West Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Act, 1948, will ensur adequate benefit to tea garden women labour.

Labour Welfare.

Labour welfare is primarily the responsibility of the employer. Th State undertakes these measures purely on humanitarian grounds not t supplant but to supplement the measures undertaken by the privat employers.

Seventeen welfare centres are being run by Government under its direc supervision. The activities of the centres include provisions for recreation indoor and outdoor games, dissemination of news and views on labou problems through radios and newspapers. Provision for medical aid on small scale has also been sanctioned and is on its way to be implemented Under this scheme each centre will have a part-time medical officer and dresser-cum-compounder to assist him. Establishment of eight mor labour welfare centres is under consideration. Two classes are held in eacl centre—one in the morning and another in the evening—for impartin rudimentary general education to the labourers and their children.

Directorate of Factories.

The most important function of the Inspectors of Factories is t administer the provisions of the Factories Act relating to the health safety and working conditions of the workers. Most of the factories ar visited at least twice a year and any violation of the provisions of th Factories Act is brought to the notice of the employers and if the defec is not rectified within a specified period, the matter is brought to the cour for adequate punishment.

One hundred and ninty-one new factories were registered during th year. In 1948 the factory inspectors visited 2,042 registered factories an 176 unregistered factories. The Certifying Surgeon visited 467 factories.

Forty-nine prosecutions were launched. Twenty-nine cases ended i conviction and one in acquittal. One case was withdrawn and 18 ar pending.

Two hundred and twenty-two canteens are in operation. Governmen have been making arrangements for framing Canteen Rules requiring al factories employing more than 250 men to have canteens for supply of chea food to the workers.

Under the new Factories Act to be brought into force from the 1st April, 1949, the number of registered factories is likely to be increased to almost double as a result of which the normal activities of this Directorate involving statutory functions will increase tremendously necessitating the appointment of a large number of Inspectors and other staff in the near future for which necessary steps are being taken. When this is done, grant under this head will have to be augmented considerably by supplementary demand.

Administration of the Bengal Shops and Establishments Act.

The Bengal Shops and Establishments Act is the only piece of legislation enacted for the welfare of a very large number of lower middle class employees working in the shops and small establishments. The Act has so far been enforced in Calcutta and Howrah only. For some time past there has been a persistent demand for employees coming within the purview of this Act for its application throughout the province. Government have, therefore, decided tentatively to extend the provisions of the Act to certain other towns and important trade centres in the mufassil as early as possible. To keep down the expenditure on this score it is proposed that for the time being an experiment will be made to utilize the available administrative machinery in the districts to administer the provisions of the Act within their respective jurisdictions.

Family Budget Investigation Scheme.

Under this scheme investigation is carried on in respect of the family budget of the working class people according to the industry in which they are employed as also areawise. A group of field workers have just completed an enquiry into the family budget of workers engaged on tea plantations in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts. Similar enquiry is proposed to be undertaken very shortly in the Ranigunj-Asansol area.

When such statistics for workers employed in different industries and in different areas are collected, it will go a long way to help in fixing the minimum wages of the workers in accordance with the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act recently enacted by the Central Legislature and proposed to be brought into force all over the country within March, 1950, at the latest.

I have already referred to the embarrassing question of retrenchment and have observed that in cases of retrenchment due to normal shrinkage of employment scope Government find it difficult to interfere. Not only in the case of retrenched employees but in the matter of finding employment for all classes of employment-seekers Government had been handicapped in the past due to absence of any effective machinery for assessing either the actual opportunities for employment or the actual number of employment-seekers. This gap has lately been filled up by the Employment Exchange Organisation set up by the Government of India. This Organisation which was originally intended to tackle the problem of rehabilitation of demobilised war personnel has been found to be of considerable service in tackling the problem of unemployment in civil life too. During the year 1948 the Exchange including its several branches recorded a registration of 116,294 employment-seekers and secured employment for 25,535 of them. With co-operation from employers and their organisations it is hoped that this organisation will be able to render better service during the coming financial year. Under the present financial arrangement this Government contribute 40 per cent. of the total expenditure on establishment plus free accommodation for the Exchanges to be provided at the cost of the province in addition to their maintenance and upkeep.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: ওটা তুলে দিন। অত টাকা একত্রে প্রয়োজন কি ?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please.

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Before I conclude, Sir I would like to make an earnest appeal to the employers, trade union leaders and the industrial workers at large to create and develop a new outlook in view of the changed situation in the country and to act in a true spirit of co-operation and collaboration for increased production of national wealth. What is needed at the present moment is a sense of security all round and a spirit of co-operative effort and class collaboration which alone can lead the country to peace, progress and prosperity. And at the same time it will raise the standard of living of the ordinary man.

With these words I beg to commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

(At this stage the question arose whether the House should sit longer than 8 p.m.)

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, we have no objection to sit till 9 o'clock. I will take twenty minutes and the only other speaker Mr. Sibnath Banerjee, may speak for about the same period.

Mr. SPEAKER: Are both the parties willing?

Sri D. N. MUKHERJI: Up to 8 o'clock.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, may I submit we are not unwilling to sit till 9 o'clock. It appears your appeal to the Hon'ble Minister for curtailing his speech was not paid heed to. So, their opinion need not be taken.

Mr. SPEAKER: As a matter of fact, whenever the House has to sit beyond a particular hour, it is always with the consent of the parties that the hour is increased, otherwise not. Therefore, unless both the parties agree, I do not think I shall be justified in extending the time.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: If they are willing to continue, let them not say that we are not willing to continue also. Let us go on.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, go on.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Thank you, Sir, and I thank the Leader of the House also for giving us this opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, here I have a book published by the Government of West Bengal in its Department of Labour. It gives on the front page—cover page—"Satisfied Labour and More Production". I do not know if he wants to indicate that the department has been able to ensure satisfaction to labour and also ensure more production, but, Sir, I have materials in my possession that they have failed dismally in either satisfying labour or in increasing production.

Sir, he, in his inordinately long speech, tried to refer to the Government's labour policy and he has gone on to say that his has been a forward labour policy. Sir, I shall quote only two lines from a speech that he delivered at some place, reproduced in the valuable book of the Labour Department. "The policy of the Congress" he went on to say "is that the Congress is pledge-bound to set up a Kisan-Praja-Majdoor Raj and does not think in terms of the class struggle and so the workers should eschew violence and help Government to establish Kisan-Praja-Majdoor Raj by non-violent means." Sir, I do not quarrel with the object that he has set out in his speech, but I want him to help me to find out whether he has proceeded in the right direction to achieve the object that he has set himself.

Sir, I have here a brief in regard to the Lloyds Bank strike and the incidents and cases arising therefrom. The time at my disposal is very short and I shall only refer to the salient points in the Press Communique issued by the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Labour. He has admitted that Government saw valid reasons for empowering Mr. Parker of Lloyds Bank to prosecute 11 employees. Sir, his is such a forward policy that has no parallel in India. In no other province in India has Government seen fit to empower a private employer to prosecute employees under the Industrial Disputes Act.

Sir, the history of the case is briefly this. On the 17th August, 1948, in response to a call given by the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees Association, the Indian employees of the Lloyds Bank observed a general strike along with all other bank employees of Calcutta. It may be mentioned here that the Indian employees of ten other banks who are parties to the Industrial Tribunal (Mercantile) appointed by the Government of West Bengal on 17th January, 1948, along with the Lloyds Bank employees also participated in the aforesaid strike.

For joining the strike the Indian employees of all the Foreign Exchange Banks including Lloyds were penalised with a cut of one day's salary. With this the matter was settled in all the banks except in Lloyds. Over and above the general punishment of all the Indian employees, the Lloyds Bank took the following punitive measures to punish their employees further. Eighty-four members of the Union were chosen out including all its executive and were served with notices to show cause why they should not be dismissed, discharged or otherwise punished, as if cut in one day's salary is no punishment at all in these hard days, for participating in this strike. Recognition of the registered Trade Union was withdrawn.

On the 23rd and 24th August, 1948, the representatives of the Lloyds Bank Indian Staff Association and the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees Association interviewed the Hon'ble Minister, Labour, Joint Secretary (Labour), the Labour Commissioner and Assistant Labour Commissioner regarding the Central Bank strike then going on and the dispute in Lloyds Bank. On the 24th August, the then Labour Commissioner Sri M. M. Sen and Joint Secretary (Labour) consulted the Premier Dr. B. C. Roy and informed the representatives that as the Lloyds Bank dispute arose out of the general strike of bank employees on the 17th August in sympathy with the Central Bank strikers, the Lloyds Bank issue would be settled if the Central Bank strike was called off within a short time. Later, the President of the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees Association was advised on the same lines by the Hon'ble Minister, Labour, on the same day. Accordingly, the Central Bank strike was called off on the 25th.

Since then several representations were made to the Labour Commissioner, Assistant Labour Commissioner, and Joint Secretary (Labour), but on each occasion the representatives were told that no decision had yet been arrived at on the Lloyds Bank affair and the discussions were being carried on on the "Ministerial level". During this period the Managements of the Exchange Banks in Calcutta had interviews with the Premier on more than one occasion.

On the 24th September the Association informed the Labour Commissioner in writing about the state of affairs in Lloyds Bank and urged for an intervention with a view to reach an amicable settlement by the end of that month. No action whatsoever was taken by the Government and on 27th September, 1948, the Labour Commissioner merely informed the Association that the said letter has been forwarded to the Labour Secretary.

From the correspondence by Mr. Parker, General Manager of Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Eastern Branches, in the case that was referred to the High Court, it has been made clear that the prosecution was permitted by Government.

On the 19th of October, 1948, the employees of the Lloyds Bank were taken aback to see that the Government of West Bengal had empowered Mr. Parker to institute under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, criminal proceedings against 11 of the employees of Lloyds Bank. This is the first case of its kind in India wherein a democratic Government in a free counrty has delegated its authority to a private employer in contravention of the spirit of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. Sir, it is worthy of note and it is remarkable that in two other Industrial Disputes cases of West Bengal Government themselves are conducting prosecution, viz., Balmer Lawrie & Co., Ltd., and J. R. Hutchinson & Co., Ltd. Sir, I should like here to make this point that if Government see reason that there have been breaches on the part of the employees of provisions in the Industrial Disputes Act and that their prosecution is justified, they should be prosecuted by the Government with the help of Public Prosecutors, with the help of the Government machinery for the prosecution of these offences. This should not be given to an interested party—the bank. Sir, I do not understand why the Government of West Bengal has made this flagrant departure from the customary methods and procedure.

Now, after this, as a protest, most of the staff went on a pen-down strike from the morning of the 20th. Ultimately, at the intervention of the Hon'ble Minister, Labour Department, the then Minister Mr. Mazumdar —I find he is not in the House—a settlement was arrived at on the following terms. Sir, I should like to pay particular attention to the terms of settlement:—(1) The Bank will take no steps against any of the staff other than those against whom criminal proceedings had been instituted for any act done by them. That is No. 1.

(2) The employees who had taken part in the pen-down strike would be paid their salaries for those two days.

(3) The employees would make up the arrears of work that had accumulated due to the pen-down strike by working extra time if necessary without remuneration.

(4) This is the most important clause. The employees would not be required to sign any declaration or undertaking. Sir, I shall have to refer to this article or clause of the agreement later.

(5) The employees will call off the pen-down strike.

Pursuant to the aforesaid agreement the pen-down strike was called off and the Government were duly intimated of the same on the morning of the 22nd instant and normal work was resumed on that date. There was no term in the settlement that the extra time that the employees might be required to work would be dictated by the bank. The employees agreed that they would make up their arrears, but there was no such agreement between the bank and the employees that the bank would be authorised or entitled to dictate the working hours. The agreement was that the bank employees would make up their arrears. Despite this settlement a notice was circulated on the 22nd instant directing the employees to work extra hours on the following days:—

Saturday (23rd October)—up to 5 p.m.

Monday (25th October) to Friday (29th October) both days inclusive—up to 7 p.m.

The work in arrears was very little and the employees felt that even without working extra hours they would make up the arrears by the following Tuesday.

As a matter of fact by the following Monday they did make up more than three-quarters of the arrears. Sir, this is an assertion made by the employees, and I do not think I can vouch for the exact quantum of arrears made up, but this shows that they were sincere, this shows that they wanted

to stick to the terms of the agreement and that they did want to make up the arrears. But on the pretext that the employees had disobeyed the direction given in the circular of the 22nd instant the bank wanted to go back on the settlement and directed the employees to sign up a bond which was circulated among the employees in the afternoon of the 25th instant. Sir, there was no question of any bond, and this was an afterthought, and Mr. Parker of the Lloyds Bank circulated this bond.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. I understand that the case instituted by the Lloyds Bank is *sub-judice*. Is it, therefore, in order to go into those matters which are *sub-judice*? I am afraid also, Sir, that the honourable member was somewhat misleading the House in so far as it is the right of any employer or worker to launch a prosecution if he feels that he is justified in doing so, and Government cannot prevent a worker or an employer from launching a prosecution. My point of order is this: the honourable member has said that a particular employer has instituted a case, and after that he is discussing the facts of that case which are *sub-judice*. Is it in order, Sir? I submit it is not.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, may I make my submission in order to make the point clear?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. A point of order has been raised. If the matter is *sub judice* then you cannot refer to it.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I am not going into the merits of the case.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: A member cannot refer to a matter which is *sub-judice*.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I am astounded when the Labour Minister is giving me a patient hearing why should the Judicial Minister of all persons, to whom it is of no concern except that he is a labour leader, should try to interrupt me. In reply to the point of order raised by the Hon'ble Judicial Minister my submission is this: He said he wanted to—I shall not call it mislead—tell the House that any employer (The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: or worker for the matter of that) or worker has authority to launch a prosecution.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, will you kindly give your ruling? He has referred to a case which is *sub-judice*. His statement here may prejudice either one side or the other. I submit, Sir, that under these circumstances he should not be allowed to refer to this particular case in his speech.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have already said——

(Janab Abul Hashem and Sri Sibnath Banerjee rose in their seats while Mr. Deputy Speaker was on his legs.)

Order, order. Please take your seats.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I was in the middle of my submission when the Hon'ble the Premier, the Leader of the House, wanted to monopolise your attention. You have not yet heard me and, therefore, it is not yet time for you, Sir, to give a ruling.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Will you please sit down?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir. I heard the Hon'ble the Leader of the House saying "you sit down; order, order",

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: No, no. I only said "will you please sit down?". I was only pointing out the decorum of the House.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: We know the decorum of the House.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. I have already cleared myself that if the matter is *sub-judice*, then you are not allowed to refer to this matter. The question whether the matter is *sub-judice* or not concerns a particular Minister, and that Minister is of opinion that the matter is *sub-judice*. Therefore, my ruling is that you are not allowed to refer to this matter.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I bow down to your ruling and with all deference and respect to the Chair which you decorate I am constrained to say, Sir, that I have not yet been able to say what I wanted to express, and if you would please in your wisdom, in your charity, allow me to make my submission, I should be very grateful.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The ruling has already been given.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: The Hon'ble Judicial Minister being a lawyer as he is wanted to tell the House that it is possible——

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: You admit that the case is *sub-judice*.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I do not.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Verify. This is a *sub-judice* matter.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Only some part of the case is *sub-judice* and not the whole case.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What I want to criticise is the labour policy of the West Bengal Government and I have to make it relevant by referring to a case.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: You cannot do that. You cannot import a *sub-judice* case in connection with your speech.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, shall I be allowed to continue?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: May I know, Sir, who is presiding over the meeting—whether you are presiding or those gentlemen over there are presiding over the Assembly?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He can refer to this case but he cannot go into the facts of the case.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am only stating the historical background. How can that be *sub-judice*?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You cannot refer to a matter which is *sub-judice*.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am only quoting the chronological events as to what happened.

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: You are narrating the facts of the case.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am not narrating the facts of the case that is *sub-judice*. I am only giving you a chronological statement as

to what happened in the Lloyds Bank. How can that be ruled by the Deputy Speaker as *sub-judice*? As long as that is not done, you must permit me to go on.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please go on.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: They are nervous.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, on the 26th of October when the employees went to join office, they were refused admission to the Bank premises——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You are stating facts. You cannot do that. You must not state facts.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What I am stating is the historical fact. It is not under adjudication and therefore it is not *sub-judice*.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May I suggest, Sir, that it is not under adjudication; it is *sub-judice*, because when the Court takes cognisance of the case, it has got to refer to all these things. Supposing I make a statement about the Police as to what the police did or the police did not do. That may affect prejudicially either one party or the other. That is the reason why a matter which is *sub-judice*, which is under the cognisance of the court should not be referred to here.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I most respectfully submit that what the Hon'ble the Leader of the House has stated is his interpretation of what is *sub-judice*. I want to know your interpretation of the word *sub-judice*. Is this matter *sub-judice* whether the employees were or were not allowed to enter Lloyd's Bank with police help? Is that *sub-judice*? Is that under investigation?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have given my ruling that you can refer to the case but you cannot refer to the facts of the case. I think that will serve your purpose. You should not go into the facts of the case.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am not going into the facts of the case. I am only telling you the circumstances that led to the case, that led to this complication, I have glossed over the prosecution side of it. I have not gone into the merits of the prosecution. Eleven people are being prosecuted, that is *sub-judice*; but this is not *sub-judice* that the employees were refused admission to the bank premises (with the help of the police) if they did not sign bonds——

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: May I make my submission. May I draw your attention to the fact, Sir, that what is now pending in the court of law for a decision is whether certain persons under the provisions of the Trade Disputes Act were or were not guilty of certain illegal acts. That is the question to be decided by the court. Now the court will decide that question in the light of the entire series of facts which led to this situation which has given rise to the case. Therefore, Sir, now to refer to those facts, to state those facts is to touch upon the matter which is *sub-judice*. I do not mind the honourable member referring to this matter that some particular employer has started a case. That is quite all right and because an employer has started a case if he wishes to criticise the Government or even condemn the Government he is quite free to do so but, Sir, under the provisions of the Rules of Procedure of this House he cannot go into those citations of the facts which may prejudice the decision in the court. That is my submission, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have already given my ruling and that is clear, namely, that you cannot refer to a matter which is *sub-judice*. I hope you will abide by my ruling.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I tried to clarify the position before you have given your ruling, Sir. I will obey your ruling, I am here to obey it. It is only the other side, Sir, who are trying to disobey the ruling of the Chair. (Interruptions from the Congress benches.) In spite of your shouts and interruptions I insist on clarifying the position. The Hon'ble the Deputy Speaker——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think you are insisting upon what you have already said. I hope you will continue properly.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: As I was saying, Sir, the employees were refused admission to the bank premises with the help of the police on the ground——

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: This is a point to be proved. This statement is sought to be proved in connection with a case and therefore it has a bearing on it. One-sided statements here in connection with a pending case will prejudice the case.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You cannot do that.

(When Sri Sibnath Banerjee rose.)

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am on a point of disorder. Sir, how long are you going to tolerate the disorder that is being created by the Judicial Minister. He jumps like a spring and there must be an end to that.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: May I be permitted to make a statement, Sir. I want to make the position clear. Of course, Sir, there is a case pending in connection with 11 persons. But 600 persons were involved in the strike and Janab Khuda Bukhsh is referring to and narrating the facts relating to the strike in which 600 persons were involved. This is quite different from the *sub-judice* case in which 11 persons are being prosecuted. So what Janab Khuda Bukhsh is narrating with regard to 600 persons involved in the strike is not a matter for the court to decide because it affects persons other than the 11 persons against whom a case is pending.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Can my friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh say that these 11 persons do not belong to the 600 about whom he is talking? I am sure he does not know this himself.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: You will please follow my submission, Sir. The order by the Government granting approval to Mr. Parker was issued on the 19th October and the matter rests there. I am not going into that. They have been prosecuted. The matter I am referring to is of the 26th October. How can the 26th October case have any relation to an order that has been passed by the Government on the 19th October——

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On which date they were prosecuted?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Who are you to ask me this? The Labour Minister is not perturbed over this.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is not a matter of debate. I have already given my ruling that a matter which is *sub-judice* cannot be discussed.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I have obeyed your ruling and if you permit me I shall proceed.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is not the function of the Chair to find out whether a matter is *sub-judice* or not. If the Government say that the matter is *sub-judice*, you cannot refer to it.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On the 26th October when the employees went to join the office they were refused admission to the Bank premises with the help of the police on the ground that they had not signed the Bond as required by the Bank. Consequently, in the issue of certain newspapers on the 27th October the Bank advertised that all such employees had been dismissed. The purported dismissal amounts to a lockout according to section 2(*b*) of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. This lockout during the pendency of a Tribunal proceedings is in direct contravention of the provision of the Industrial Disputes Act.

No steps however were taken by the Government against this illegal action of the Management, rather elaborate police help was given to the Management by the Government to harass the employees and some members of the Association were arrested on the complaints of the Management and produced before the Chief Presidency Magistrate where no evidence whatsoever was put forward and they were acquitted on 9th January, 1949, an understanding was made between the Government and the Association that if the Association agrees to send individual applications collectively through the Government then the staff will be reinstated "*en bloc*" without any break of service and they will not be required to sign any undertaking. I wish, Sir, Sri Majumdar were here to corroborate my statement. Accordingly the Association forwarded their applications to the Government. But in flagrant violation of the terms of Settlement, neither reappointment has been made "*en bloc*" nor the "undertaking" was withdrawn. Forty persons were dismissed and 18 persons were forced to retire and all the employees who were reinstated were compelled to sign bonds during the pendency of the Tribunal proceedings.

Representations were made on several occasions to Hon'ble Sri Bhupati Mazumdar and Hon'ble Sri Kalipada Mookerjee and both of them gave the representatives of the Association to understand that the Bank was not playing fair to the Government. Sri Mazumdar said that he would move the Government and Government would move to see that their commitments to the employees were honoured. But uptil now the Government has failed to fulfil their commitment. The representatives of the Association were told that inspite of the several reminders from the Government the Bank has not conceded to the request of the Government so much so that the Government's letters have not been replied to. I would point out that on an issue of general strike in which some 20,000 bank employees of this province including employees of Reserve Bank were involved this particular bank management obtained authority from the Government to prosecute. Sir, this is a thing that I shall have to refer to later. This is the one particular bank to which authority was given to prosecute. But when 20,000 people were involved in a strike and no authority for prosecution was given, why that particular bank alone was given the authority I shall deal with later. But the said employer now refuses to accept the Government proposal and rather dares to contravene the terms of agreement made between the Government and the bank authority. It is now clear that although the Government has admitted that it is committed to see that the employees are taken *en bloc*, for the last four months Government has not been able to make any improvement in the situation regarding the

reinstatement of the forty employees and of the staff retired forcibly during the pendency of the tribunal proceedings excepting writing a few letters to the management to which the latter has not cared to give any reply——

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, if my friend wants to go on still longer, may we reconsider our decision and suggest adjournment of the House now, because it is already half past eight o'clock.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Is there any objection?

(No objection was raised in the House.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: As there is no objection I adjourn the House till 4 p.m. tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 8-28 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 29th March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 29th March, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 58 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Issue of licences to wholesale and retail dealers of cloth

*34. **Sri ANANDILAL PODDAR:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Civil Supplies Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) how many new licences for (*i*) wholesalers, and (*ii*) retailers have been issued, district by district, for distribution of cloth since between 15th August, 1947, and 15th November, 1947, or latest available date;

(*b*) what policy, if any, has been followed in the issue of these licences;

(*c*) how many of these new licensees, district by district, had been in the cloth trade during any of the years from 1940-1942;

(*d*) whether it is a fact that a number of these new licensees has failed to take delivery of the cloth bales allotted to them for distribution during the *Puja-Id* season;

(*e*) what is the name, date of licence and previous experience in cloth trade of the present wholesaler in cloth for the Tehatta thana area in Nabadwip district;

(*f*) whether it is a fact that this wholesaler has been distributing cloth at a number of places in the Tehatta police-station area through some non-authorised retailers to the exclusion of existing licensees for retail cloth; and

(*g*) what steps, if any, Government have taken to ensure that mal-practices may not take place in the selection and functioning of these new dealers in cloth?

(While the Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen rose to reply.)

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: May I submit——

Mr. SPEAKER: No, you cannot make any submission.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Today is the last day. Therefore I am requesting you to postpone it till tomorrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is only one question.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: The thing can be taken as read. That is my submission.

Mr. SPEAKER: No.

MINISTER in charge of the CIVIL SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen): (*a*)

Calcutta.—For Calcutta area only—

15th August to 15th November, 1947—

(*i*)	48
(*ii*)	170
	218

16th November to 31st December, 1947—

(*i*)	396
(*ii*)	1,037
	1,433

Malda.—

15th August to 15th November, 1947—

(*i*) Nil.

(*ii*) Nil.

15th November to 30th December, 1947—

(*i*) 2

(*ii*) Nil.

Alipore.—

15th August, 1947, to 30th November, 1948—

(*i*) 70

(*ii*) 3,998

Bankura.—

15th August to 31st December, 1947—

(*i*)	5
(*ii*)	19
	24

1st January to 31st December, 1948—

(*i*)	15
(*ii*)	1,273
	1,288

Midnapore.—1947-49—

(*i*) 21

(*ii*) 1,252

Hooghly.—1947-49—

(*i*) Nil.

(*ii*) 28

Burdwan.—1947-49—

(*i*) 3

(*ii*) 47

Darjeeling.—15th August to 15th November, 1947—

(*i*) 58

(*ii*) 626

Jalpaiguri.—15th August to 15th November, 1947—

(*i*) 22

(*ii*) 422

Krishnagar.—15th August to 18th November, 1947—

(*i*) 11

(*ii*) 158

West Dinajpur.—15th August to 15th November, 1947—

(*i*) 2

(*ii*) Nil.

Howrah.—15th August to 15th November, 1947—

(*i*) 48

(*ii*) 745

Murshidabad.—15th August, 1947, to 31st December, 1948—

(*i*) 11

(*ii*) 290

Birbhum.—15th August to 15th November, 1947—

(*i*) Nil.

(*ii*) 50

(*b*) Licences for non-rationed varieties such as handloom cloth, ready-made garments and hosiery goods, etc., were freely issued to new applicants including refugees from East Pakistan and this relaxation in the Licensing policy was allowed in view of the Government declared policy of gradual decontrol. It may be mentioned here that control over cloth was withdrawn from 22nd January, 1948. In mofussil, urban and rural areas new dealers including co-operative societies and refugees from East Bengal were also selected on the recommendations of the local Congress Committees and Presidents of union boards in addition to the existing retailers in the interest of the common man.

(*c*) *Calcutta.*—As new licences were issued for non-rationed varieties only, this condition was not enforced. In fact most of them were new-entrants in cloth trade.

Malda.—None.

Alipore.—Nil.

Bankura.—

Wholesalers—Three.

Retailers—Two hundred and seven.

Midnapore.—Nil.

Hooghly.—Eighteen.

Burdwan.—Five.

Darjeeling.—

Wholesalers—Five.

Retailers—One hundred and forty-eight.

Jalpaiguri.—Wholesalers—One.

Krishnagar.—One hundred and one.

Dinajpur.—One.

Howrah.—About 80 per cent.

Murshidabad.—One hundred and fifty-five.

Birbhum.—Nil.

(*d*) Almost all the districts lifted the quota of allotted cloth during the *Pujas* and *Id* festival save and except the wholesalers of Karimpur and Tehatta police-stations of Nadia district, and also of West Dinajpur, where the whole *Puja* quota was delivered to the Bengal Textiles Association's representative of the district.

(*e*) *Name.*—Secretary, Tehatta Multi-purpose Society.

Number and date of licence.—I/C, dated the 25th September, 1947, renewed under No. 36/C, dated the 13th December, 1948.

Previous experience.—No experience previous to 25th September, 1947, when the first licence was issued.

(*f*) This society is the only Approved Retailer for all 14 unions. They are carrying on business through their agents against 14 licences in Group "D". These 14 licences have subsequently been consolidated in one retail licence bearing No. 124D, dated the 20th December, 1948.

(*g*) New licences are issued to Multi-purpose Societies and dealers approved by the Advisory Boards with a view to check malpractice.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Supplementary questions may take one hour. Today is the last day of the Budget and we shall not have sufficient time to discuss this. This is an important subject. Therefore I would request you to postpone the supplementaries till tomorrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, I cannot postpone. Put your supplementary questions and let me see how much time it takes.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Is it a fact that the Civil Supplies Department have changed the names of the two districts—24-Parganas and Nadia—into Alipore and Krishnagar?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I am very sorry. Alipore will be 24-Parganas and Krishnagar will be Nadia.

Shaik MOHAMMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if like other provinces the licences of those dealers who fail to take delivery are cancelled?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: We are considering that question.

Future recruitment of Sub-Registrars.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, may I crave your leave and indulgence of the House to inform that Government are considering that all recruitments of Sub-Registrars in future will be through a system of competitive examination rather than by selection and nomination as in the past, so that the State may avail itself of the services of the best men. I really ought to have given this information yesterday at the time of the discussion under the head "Registration", but to economise time in a hurry I omitted to do so. I think everybody will welcome this very important information and I thank the House for the opportunity given me.

RULES COMMITTEE.

Extension of time for the submission of final report.

Sri ASHUTOSH MALLICK (Deputy Speaker): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as you are aware, a Committee was constituted on a motion passed in the House on the 9th January, 1948, appointing a committee to frame rules

and that the Committee had to submit its report by 31st March, 1949. The Committee had a number of sittings and had made some progress but could not finish deliberations within the time granted by the House and as such, I beg to move, with your permission, Sir, that the time for submission of the final report may kindly be extended till 31st March, 1950.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is there any objection?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I do not know if it is proper to speak on a motion like this. Sir, we have seen in the past that whenever such a prayer was made for an extension of time, it automatically went through. Sir, the Hon'ble the Deputy Speaker today has asked for an extension of time till March, 1950, which appears to be an inordinately long time. When the Committee was appointed everybody in this House felt that there was a need for that Committee, that the business of the House and other businesses relating to the House should be governed by well-defined rules and laws, and I remember to have suggested that the privileges of the members also should be defined and embodied in the rules. That was also agreed to. Now the Hon'ble Deputy Speaker has more or less sprung a surprise on the House. Sir, I do not know the correct procedure. If it is your ruling that the time must be extended, I shall bow down to your ruling, but if it is not your ruling then I may be permitted to register my protest. Sir, I, on behalf of the party I represent, should like to enter our protest. I think that the Committee should sit oftener than it is wont to sit and they should do something about it, so that the rules are framed. We cannot have a Parliament without rules, and you, Sir, ought to be more interested in those rules than we members. We are interested in transgressing them, but, Sir, since the questions will have to be decided by you according to the rules, it will be convenient for you to have those rules and that as early as possible.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Sir, I submit that this period of one year up to 31st March, 1950, is an inordinately long time. I appeal to you to make it three months or so, say, up to June, 1949, or something like that.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: It appears as if it is being dropped.

Shaik MOHAMMAD RAFIQUE: Sir, I was one of the members of this Committee. For the last twelve months we had only one or two meetings and in the last meeting Government flatly refused to co-operate with this Committee and accept its decision. At that time it was thought that we should disperse and the Committee had been buried. It is unfortunate that after so many months the Deputy Speaker thought it fit to bring this matter before the House. Sir, I think no useful purpose will be served so long as Government is adamant in extending its non-co-operation to this Committee. If Government says that it is going to extend its co-operation to this Committee and will stand by the decision of the Committee, then of course this extension may be welcome, otherwise it will be mere waste of time of the House and waste of the papers on which the minutes of this Committee will be written.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, it is very very unfair to say that Government is adamant and not co-operating. Government does not come anywhere in the picture at all. The Rules Committee is a committee of the House and it is entirely left to the Committee to decide its own procedure and to fix time when it may finish its business. I think that it is very very unfair to bring Government into the question of the Rules Committee of the House of which the Hon'ble Deputy Speaker is at the head and he has taken charge of the Rules Committee on your behalf, Mr. Speaker. Government is not at all interested in this matter. It is entirely left to the Committee. Therefore, I repudiate the charge levelled against the Government.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, such interim reports and prayers for extension of time are usually circulated to the members, but there is departure this time from that practice. None of us knew what the Deputy Speaker was going to move.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I was thinking whether I should intervene in this matter or not. But in order to put an end to the discussion I may inform you that so far as this Committee was concerned, it was not to frame the rules of this House for the conduct of its business. Those rules are there. This Committee was formed in connection with the relationship between the Legislative Assembly Department and the Government Departments and not to decide the question of privileges. Now, so far as I know, that is a very big constitutional question about which there is going to be a Speakers' and Presidents' Conference on the 10th of April at Delhi to decide as to what relationship the various Assembly Departments will have with regard to the Government Departments. This is a constitutional question and this is a question of great importance as to how far the Legislative Assembly and its departments can be made free from governmental control, and for that purpose a Conference of all the Speakers including the Speaker of the Central Assembly has been convened, I should say, at our suggestion, because the conference was going to be held in September. As a matter of fact when I went to Delhi I had a talk with Dr. Ambedkar and others and a question did arise as to whether any amendment in the Constitution itself which is going to be framed is necessary or not, and I personally sent a memorandum to all the Speakers in the beginning of this month drawing their attention to the necessity of consideration as to whether the Constitution itself requires any amendment on this score or not, as they are going to make the Judicial Department more or less independent in the Constitution itself. I yesterday received a letter from the Central Legislative Assembly that this is a subject which they are going to discuss. That is the reason why some more time is necessary in order to define the relationship and it involves a good deal of financial as well as administrative difficulties. The mutual relationship which ought to be between the two wings of the Government is to be defined also with due regard for the independence of the Legislative Assembly Departments. So far as time is concerned, because we do not know when the Assembly may come into session again, the time is fixed there, but as soon as the constitutional question is settled one way or the other, it will be for us to make a headway so far as this Province is concerned.

Sri J. C. GUPTA: Sir, as the Conference of the Speakers will be held on the 10th of April, I suggest that instead of March, 1950, we ought to take time till the next session which would not be later than July or August, because it is very important to have these rules and to define the relations, and if I may make this suggestion and if it is acceptable to you, Sir, then instead of March, 1950, let it be, say, July or August, 1949.

Mr. SPEAKER: Personally I should not have any objection to it. The Speakers' Conference will only make a suggestion. As to whether that suggestion will be carried out in the Constitution itself or not is a matter which naturally will take a little time. After the Constitution Act is amended we shall know as to where we stand and what steps are to be taken by the Provincial Governments in the light of the constitutional changes which may be thought fit by the Constituent Assembly. Therefore the time is fixed so that we can finish it at any moment we desire; we are not prevented from doing so. That is the position.

Sri J. C. GUPTA: My suggestion is that we should proceed with this matter as soon as the difficulties are solved. It should not be shelved up till March if it can be avoided.

Mr. SPEAKER: I can assure you that I myself am very anxious that the whole position should be clarified and as a matter of fact we are proceeding on this assumption that after freedom has been attained for this country it is necessary that the Assembly and its department should be autonomous and independent so that a democratic form of government may function properly. It is not a question of one particular Assembly or one particular Government but it is a general question which has got a great bearing on the constitutional position of the country. As a matter of fact there are conventions so far as the House of Commons are concerned by which the freedom has been ensured. But so far as this country is concerned we are having a written constitution and therefore it becomes all the more necessary that the written constitution should deal with this matter if necessary. Therefore I suggest that this time may be given. Nobody prevents us from concluding our labours much earlier. Has the House any objection?

(There was no objection.)

So this is carried.

BUDGET FOR 1949-50.

Fixation of time for guillotine.

Mr. SPEAKER: Today is the last date for the voting of Demands for Grants. There are as many as nine heads under which there are 89 cut motions including those given notice of by Government party members. In conformity with the previous practice I fix that the House will sit today up to 8-30 p.m. and I also fix that the guillotine will fall at 7-30 p.m. Thereafter I shall put all outstanding questions without any debate. I hope the members on both sides will try to be brief in their speeches so that the business may be finished before the time for guillotine arrives. I have extended it by half an hour in order to make good the loss due to other questions croppinng.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS.

"47—Miscellaneous Departments."

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I was telling the House last night the Lloyds Bank had not even cared to reply to the letters written by the Government of West Bengal. Sir, in view of this defiant and unfair attitude adopted by Mr. Parker of Lloyds Bank towards the Government dishonouring the terms of the agreement made with Government and violating the provisions of section 33 of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, by dismissing the 40 employees, forcing the 18 to retire and forcing the staff to sign bonds, thus changing the conditions of employment during the pendency of Tribunal proceedings, have made themselves liable for prosecution under section 29 of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

Sir, since there is not much time and I have to be short I shall not mention the other points but, Sir, I shall come to the press-note issued by the Government of West Bengal trying to clarify the position. Sir, it is not necessary for me to go through the whole press-note except, Sir, to draw your attention to the fourth paragraph where it says "On October 21 it was reported that the members of the staff had resorted to a pen-down strike again after individually giving verbal assurance at the gate that they would work normally. That day again Mr. Parker saw the Hon'ble Minister and agreed to take no action whatsoever as regards the strike of October 20 and 21 on the understanding that the strike would be called off immediately and that the staff would resume normal work on the day following, that is, 22nd October."

Sir, here the Government have omitted to mention an important thing. Not only was this decided but it was also part of the agreement that the bank authorities would circularise among its members this fact that it was not the intention of the bank to victimise any more than those 11 persons against whom Government had authorised the bank to institute legal proceedings. Sir, it is very important because there are as many as 89 bank employees who had received either notice of discharge or dismissal or other notice asking them to show cause why this or the other should not be done. Naturally, Sir, they were labouring under an apprehension that if the bank authorities refused to implement the undertaking given to the Government of West Bengal that they would circularise their intention not only verbally but by way of a circular that they would not proceed against any one other than against the 11. It would not be possible for them, Sir, to know what exactly was at the back of the mind of Mr. Parker. That has not been done and, Sir, the Hon'ble Minister knows that that has not been done.

Now, Sir, I come to the concluding portion of the Hon'ble Minister's press-note under the heading "Another move for settlement". It says that on November 6 and thereafter some gentlemen of other parties approached the Hon'ble Minister for a settlement. The Hon'ble Minister asked them to contact the Deputy Labour Commissioner, Sri Chatterjee. The Deputy Labour Commissioner told them that if they applied individually he might request the bank authorities to take them in without any formal declaration or any break of service. Some members of the Lloyds Bank staff contacted the Deputy Labour Commissioner and their Association wrote a letter to him saying that they would submit their applications but would expect that they would be taken in *en bloc*. Since then another week has elapsed without any response from the staff of the Lloyds Bank.

Sir, this is an absolute misrepresentation which I shall be able to show you from letters written by the Government. Sir, copy of letter dated 9th February 1948 from the Joint Secretary, Lloyds Bank Indian Staff Association, of which Hon'ble Minister must have a copy, but that is not important. I will refer to Labour Commissioner's letter No. 5563L.C., dated 17th February 1948. Sir, I shall read out with your permission the body of the letter "Referring to the discussion which you had with Sri Chatterjee, Deputy Labour Commissioner, I am forwarding 393 applications from ex-employees for reappointment." Sir, Labour Commissioner has forwarded as many as 393 applications and the Hon'ble Minister would have us believe that there was no response from the bank staff. These 393 applications were sent back to the Labour Commissioner, and the Hon'ble Minister knows it, on the plea that the wording of these applications was not acceptable to the bank authorities. Again, Labour Commissioner wrote to the bank telling them that the wording has been accepted by Government and the bank must accept the applications. Sir, in proof of that I shall place this before the Hon'ble Minister. It says in a press-note under the heading "Talks of Labour Commissioner", "while the discussion was proceeding the Joint Secretary, Labour Department, telephoned Mr. Parker to enquire about the exact wording of the office notice for overtime, etc." Sir, Government have tried to conceal the thing, I do not know why they should if they are sincere. If they have nothing to hide they can come out in the open and tell the world that here is one bank that we have not been able to bring round to our views or to our methods of working. They are adamant and they have refused to come to our view. But, Sir, the reason is something else. Government has weakness for this particular bank. Sir, I shall tell you exactly why this bank has got preferential treatment. I do not know, Sir, if that is the reason but I am inclined to think that it may be one of the reasons. Sir, in course of business an important member of the Cabinet has to go to this bank for overdrafts and

that bank, Sir, thinks it fit to issue clear overdrafts of 32½ lakhs of rupees on the recommendation of a firm whose paid-up capital is only Rs. 5 lakhs and whose authorised capital is only Rs. 10 lakhs. I would ask you, Sir, to draw your own conclusion as to how that could be possible if some influential gentleman was not at the back of that firm. Ordinary banking business would not permit the granting of an overdraft of 32½ lakhs of rupees on the guarantee of a firm whose paid-up capital is Rs. 5 lakhs. That is the weakness, Sir. I am sure the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Labour will be able to tell us exactly what is working in the Cabinet and what is preventing him from taking action against that particular recalcitrant bank.

(At this stage the time-limit was reached, but the member was allowed two minutes more to conclude his speech.)

Sir, another instance of the forward policy of the Labour Department of the Government of West Bengal. This is in regard to the Union of Posts and Telegraphs Workers of West Bengal. The Posts and Telegraphs Workers recently, along with the prospective railway strike, took a strike ballot and the strike ballot was favourable for a strike and the Executive of this Union went to Madras to take a final decision there. The Government of West Bengal, and the Government of West Bengal alone,—you would appreciate, Sir, that it is an all-India body of Posts and Telegraphs workers and the delegates from all the provinces gathered at Madras,—took it into its head to telegraph the Madras Government to arrest all Bengal delegates. And they were not satisfied even at that: they started arresting those who were promoting that strike ballot. It was not a strike, they were only taking strike ballot, and the Labour Department with their forward policy thought it illegal and they were hauled up. Then a habaes corpus petition was moved in the High Court of Judicature of Bengal, when we were told that they were arrested under the Security Act. Sir, that is how the West Bengal Government is trying to further the interest of labour that if somebody chooses to go to Madras and chooses to take part in the strike ballot, he is to be arrested under the Security Act.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE : মি: স্পীকার স্যার, আমি আশা করেছিলাম যে মাননীয় শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের বক্তৃতা কাগজে পাওয়া যাবে, তাহ'লে ভাল হ'ত, আলোচনার সুবিধা হ'ত। আমাদের বক্তৃতা তো কাগজে বেরোয় না, কিন্তু আমাদের মন্ত্রী মহাশয় শ্রম বিভাগের মন্ত্রী হয়েও বোধ হয় তিনি অস্পৃশ্য হয়ে গিয়েছেন। ওঁর স্পিচ্‌টা কাগজে দেখতে পাওয়া যায়নি তাই বক্তৃতা আলোচনা করতে অসুবিধা হচ্ছে। তিনি খুব সুবক্তা, তাঁর বক্তৃতা বাংলায় ঘণ্টার পর ঘণ্টা ধরে লোকে শুনত, এখনও শুনেন কি না জানি না। তিনি ইংরাজীতে না বলে যদি বাংলায় বলতেন তাহ'লে আমাদের এত অসুবিধা হ'ত না। যাই হোক প্রথমে দেখাতে চাই যে Labour Department একটা খুব important department, কিন্তু তার একটা নিজের grant নেই, সে বিবিধর মধ্যে পড়ে গিয়েছে। Fishery, Cinchona ইত্যাদির জন্য আলাদা আলাদা grant আছে, কিন্তু labourএর জন্য কোন আলাদা grant নাই, এটা একটা বিষদৃশ্য, আশা করি এর যদি কোন প্রতিবিধান থাকে, তার চেষ্টা মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় করবেন। আর একটা বিষয়, যার জন্য শ্রমিকদের ভীষণ অসুবিধা ভোগ করতে হয়, সেটা হচ্ছে যে Civil Supply Departmentএর underএ যে সমস্ত office আছে সেগুলি এক জায়গায় না থাকার ফলে শ্রমিকদের নানা দিকে দৌড়া-দৌড়ি করতে হয়। Registration Officers, Labour Commissioner, Factory Inspectors, Tribunal Officer, ইত্যাদি যাঁরা আছেন তাঁদের সকলকে এক জায়গায় নিয়ে শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় যদি বসেন তাহ'লে নিরক্ষর শ্রমিকদের এত অসুবিধা ভোগ করতে হয় না। কারণ বাইরে থেকে যাঁরা আসেন তাঁদের এই depaitmentগুলি বুঝতে বেশী অসুবিধা হয়। এই অবস্থার কথা আমি আজ বলছি তা নয়, পূর্ব্বেও বলেছি, কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় এর প্রতিকার এখনও পর্য্যন্ত দেখা যাচ্ছে না। এই departmentএর এত গলদ, omission and commission—যে তা বলে শেষ করতে দুই-চার ঘণ্টায়ও হবে না। সামান্য আধ ঘণ্টার মধ্যে কতটুকু বলতে পারব তা জানি না। আশা করি স্পীকার মহাশয় বিবেচনা করে আর একটু সময় বাড়িয়ে দেবেন।

আমাদের ডাঃ রায়, প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের একটা theory আছে। সেটা আমি এই প্রথম জানতে পারলা তিনি প্রধান মন্ত্রী হবার আগে থেকেই ব্যাপারটা চলছিল। হাওড়া জুট মিল, শিবপুর জুট মিল ও বেঙ্গল জুট মিল, এ তিনটি জুট মিলে মারপিট হওয়ার পরে সেগুলিকে বন্ধ করে দিলেন। তখন আমরা প্রধান মন্ত্রীর কাছে য এর একটা মীমাংসা করবার জন্য এবং Writers' Buildingsএ যিনি শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় ছিলেন তাঁর কাছে গেলাম এবং বললাম এর একটা ব্যবস্থা করুন। তিনি তাঁর নূতন theory বিশ্লেষণ করে শুনিয়ে দিলে যে "লোকগুলি খুব খারাপ নয়"। এখানের কাজ হয়ত মন দিয়ে করছে না কিন্তু, অন্য জায়গায় তাদে দিলে হয়ত কাজ তারা ভালভাবে করবে, এবং বলা হ'ল যে তাদের অন্য জায়গায় কাজ দেওয়া হবে এবং ত সমস্ত condition ঠিক হয়ে গেল, ও আমরা সেই groundএ রাজি হয়ে গেলাম। কিন্তু আজ সে বছর হয়ে গেল এখনও তাঁরা misfit হয়ে রয়েছেন, ডাক্তার রায়ের প্রতিশ্রুতি পালন হয়নি। তার জ ডাঃ রায় অথবা নলিনী বাবু কাকে দোষ দেব তা জানি না। কারণ ডাঃ রায়ের পূর্ব্বে যে scheme ছি সেটা নলিনী বাবু নাকচ করে দিয়েছেন। তাতেই তার প্রতিশ্রুতি তিনি রক্ষা করতে পারলেন না। কাজে misfitএর যে theory রয়েছে এটা apply করে। আমাদের শ্রমিক মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অতি বিচক্ষ লোক, কংগ্রেসের Secretary, তিনি চাণক্যের মত কূটনীতি চালিয়েছেন। কিন্তু Labour Department এ তিনি একটী নিরেট বলা যেতে পারে (Laughter), শুধু তিনি নন্ সেই department আরও যাঁরা এসেছেন তাদের মধ্যে কেউ ছিলেন মুনসেফ, কেউ ছিলেন ডেপুটী বা সাব্-ডেপুটী, যাদের এখা থেকে ওখান থেকে নিয়ে আসা হয়েছে, তাঁরা খুব ভাল লোক যেমন আমাদের শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়। কিন্তু departmentএ তাঁরা একেবারে misfit.

তারপরে আমাদের দুর্ভাগ্য যে আমরা শুনলাম যে একটা লোককে misfit বলে তাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে এতে আমরা আপত্তি করে জানাই যে তাড়িয়ে দেওয়াটা অন্যায় হয়েছে, কিন্তু তাঁরা জবাব দেন যে এটা মোটে অন্যায় নয়। যে ধারণায় বদ্ধমূল হয়ে তাঁরা অন্যায় নয় বলে এঁদের তাড়িয়ে দিয়েছেন, সেই ধারণা নিয়ে তা রয়েছেন, সুতরাং হঠাৎ এই জিনিষটা বুঝবেন কি করে। তারপর দেখা যায় যখন দু-চার মাস পরে তিনি এক ওয়াকিবহাল হলেন অমনি তাকে অন্য জায়গায় transfer করে দেওয়া হল ভাল চাকরী দিয়ে। এ কম দিনের মধ্যে Labour Commissioner বোধ হয় বার-তিনেক বদল হয়েছেন, নূতন নূতন লো এসেছেন। কাজেই নূতন লোক এসে এই atmosphereএ accustomed হতে যে সময় লাগে তা পূর্ব্বেই তাঁরা transfer হয়ে যান। আশা করি আমাদের শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় এখন থেকে fit হবে কিন্তু আজ পর্য্যন্ত হ'ননি, তিনি misfitই হয়ে আছেন। তিনি তার বক্তৃতায় বলেছেন যে তিনি forwar policy চালাচ্ছেন। কিন্তু আমরা দেখছি তাঁর policy কি! তিনি বক্তৃতায় বলেছেন India Government এর policyর সঙ্গে যোগ রেখে কাজ করবেন। কথাটা একেবারে সত্যি। India Government যা করছেন তার পিছনে পিছনে একটু একটু চেষ্টা করছেন, কিন্তু সেটা forward কি জানি না। (A VOICE. তিনি follow up করছেন।) তিনি করছেন বা তাঁর departmen করছেন, যেই করুন না কেন, তার জন্য এই দায়িত্বটা তাঁরই ধরবো। তিনি বলেছেন ১,৭০০ কা আছে, সুতরাং তাদের মধ্যে একশরও বেশী Works Committee আছে। আমি যে partyে belong করি সেটা হচ্ছে Socialist Party, তাদের মত হচ্ছে যে Works Committee গঠ করা উচিত নয়। তার কারণ Works Committeeর কাজ যেরকমভাবে হচ্ছে সেটা খুব অন্যায় ইউনিয়নকে bypass করা হচ্ছে এবং এটা ইউনিয়নের পক্ষে ক্ষতিকারক। তারপরে লাখনাওতে meeting হয়—Tripartite Conference—আমরা তাতে রাজি হয়েছি যে committee গঠন কর হউক, কারণ unionএর memberরা তাতে থাকতে পারবে। কিন্তু সেই Works Committee গঠ করতে গিয়ে যা নিয়ম তা মোটেই মেনে নেওয়া হচ্চে না, যে যেখানে Unionএর 50 per cent. এর বেশ member রয়েছে তার সঙ্গে consult করে unionএর right হবে to nominate the member of the Works Committee। যে সমস্ত জায়গায় আমাদের এমনি non-I. N. T. U. C member ঐ 50 per cent. কেন 90 per cent. সেখানেও সে unionকে ডাকা হচ্ছে না, কিন্তু যেখানে 5 বা 10 per cent. রয়েছে সেখানে তাদের nominate করে member করা হচ্চে।

Sri DEBENDRA NATH SEN: উদাহরণ দিন না।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: The Flour Mill in Howrah. If Mr. Sen goes there, it can be proved any day. তিনি বলেছেন Works Committee কি করেছেন তাঁর নিজের ভাষা আমার নয়; promoting a spirit of co-operation between labour and capital. খুব ভাল কথা। কিন্তু Works Committeeর কি সে কাজ—না, Works Committee শ্রমিকদের

অভাব অভিযোগের সম্বন্ধে সচেতন করবে, সেগুলি negotiate করবে, ইত্যাদি। সে সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলেন নি। অর্থাৎ শ্রমিকরা লড়াই না করে co-operation করে যেন। Co-operation মানে সেখানে বুঝতে পারছেন, হাতীর সঙ্গে যদি মশা co-operation করতে যায়, তার যে অবস্থা হয় Tata'র সঙ্গে Birla'র সঙ্গে যদি সেখানকার শ্রমিকরা co-operation করতে যায় ত এমনিই একটা হাস্যকর অবস্থা হয়। কিন্তু সেখানে শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের খুব নজর, কারণ তাঁর Works Committeeগুলি co-operation করছে। Co-operation খুব ভাল জিনিষ, আমরা আপত্তি করছি না। কিন্তু শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বক্তৃতায় দেখিয়েছেন যে strike কম হয়েছে। কম হয়েছে তার জন্য বাহাদুরী নিতে চান্ বোধ হয়, যে আমাদের খুব ভালভাবে দেখাশুনার জন্যই strike হচ্চে না। কিন্তু আর একটা জিনিষও হতে পারে, যেমন গত লড়াইয়ের সময় খুব কম strike হয়েছিল। যে সব statistics দেখিয়েছেন সে হচ্চে লড়াইয়ের পরে। লড়াইয়ের সময় ইংরাজরা এ দেশ শাসন করছিলেন, আপনারা বিদ্রোহী ছিলেন, আমরাও আপনাদের সাথে ছিলাম। আমাদের জেলের ভিতর রেখেছিল বলে বা অন্য কারণে strike হয়নি। তার জন্য বাহাদুরী নেওয়াটা বোধ হয় সঙ্গত হবে না। এটা শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় একটু মনে রাখবেন। শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলে থাকেন মাঝে মাঝে—কিষাণ-মজদুর-প্রজা-রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠিত করবার কথা।

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH : কিষাণ-মজদুর-রাজ তৈরি হয়েছে?

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE : হবে বলে তাঁরা আশা করেন। এ জায়গায় আমি বলি যে policy তাঁদের কিছু নেই। আমার সঙ্গে ডাক্তার ব্যানার্জির অনেক বকাবকি হয়েছে; তাঁর পদ্ধতির সঙ্গে আমার বিরোধ রয়েছে। কিন্তু এটা আমি বিশ্বাস করি তিনি আন্তরিকভাবে সমর্থন করেন এবং চেষ্টা করছেন যে কিষাণ-মজদুর প্রজা-রাজ হউক; অর্থাৎ union শক্তিশালী হউক। তিনি Works Committeeর খুব favourএ; তিনি চান্ Tribunal হউক এবং তার through দিয়ে উপকার হয়—এই চেষ্টায় রয়েছেন। কিন্তু দুর্ভাগ্য আমাদের যে যিনি শ্রম-মন্ত্রী তাঁর মত হচ্চে status quo,—অর্থাৎ যা চলছে চলুক, গোলমাল যেন বেশী না হয়, strike না হয়, হট্টগোল না হয়। এটাই হচ্চে তার policy, যদি policy কিছু থাকে। কাজেই আমি বলছি যে শ্রম-মন্ত্রী যিনি হবেন তিনি যদি এই উদ্দেশ্য নিয়ে থাকেন ত আর যাই হউন্ অন্তত: কৃষক-প্রজা-রাজের কথা যেন না বলেন। তাহলে সক্রিয়ভাবে তাঁকে চেষ্টা করতে হবে। আমি বলবো class struggleএর পথে চলতে; আমি হয়ত সব সময় অহিংসার পথ বলবো না। এখানে হয়ত ডাক্তার ব্যানার্জির সঙ্গে আমার মতবিরোধ হবে। কিন্তু মজদুর-কিষাণ-রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠা সম্বন্ধে তাঁর সঙ্গে আমার মতবিরোধ নেই। কিন্তু policy যা রয়েছে তা তিনিও বোধ হয় খুব বোঝেন। তাহলেই বুঝতে হবে যে deliberately এই রকম লোককে বোঝানো হয়েছে, যাতে শ্রমিক এগোতে না পারে, progressive policy follow না করা হয়। এ রকম লোককে রাখা হয়েছে যাঁর labourএর সঙ্গে কোন দিন কোন সম্বন্ধ ছিল না। এর দ্বারা সন্দেহ হয় যে এটা accidental নয়, এটা deliberately করা হয়েছে। যার labourএর সঙ্গে কোন রকম sympathy আছে সে যেন না থাকে, তাহ'লে হয়ত মালিকের অসুবিধা হয়ে যাবে এবং শ্রমিকরা হয়ত এগিয়ে যাবে। কাজেই আমি যে কথা বলেছি তিনি misfit ওখানে।

তারপরে labour disputes সম্বন্ধে লম্বা ফিরিস্তি দেওয়া হয়েছে এবং ২,০০০।৩,০০০ disputes settle করা হয়েছে বলেছেন। কিন্তু মন্ত্রী মহাশয় নিজে কি অনুসন্ধান করে দেখেছেন যে ঐ যে settle হয়েছে তার মানে কি? সেখানে শ্রমিকরা কিছু পেয়েছে, না তাঁরা চিঠির জবাব দিয়েছেন—"Regret, আর কিছু হবে না"। সত্যি সত্যি কতজন reinstate হয়েছে; দাবী পূরণ হয়েছিল? আমি বল্‌বো হয়নি। যাঁরা কাজ করছেন তাঁদের অনেক limitation রয়েছে। তাঁরা understaffed, তাঁদের ঘুরে বেড়ানোর জন্য যে একটা conveyanceএর ব্যবস্থা থাকে তা নেই। তা সত্ত্বেও তাঁরা চেষ্টা করছেন। তাঁরা চিঠি লিখতে পারেন, কিন্তু তার বেশী পারেন না; মালিককে ডেকে আনবার ক্ষমতা তাঁদের নেই। আশ্চর্যের বিষয় যে Jute Mills Association এখনও rule করছে। বাংলা দেশের অন্য সব জায়গায় তাঁরা মালিককে সোজাসুজি চিঠি লেখেন কিন্তু Jute Mills Associationএর বেলায় চিঠিও লিখতে পারেন না। সেখানে Jute Mills Associationকে Labour Commissionerএর মারফৎ চিঠি লিখতে হয়। লজ্জার কথা। এ বিষয়ে যদি মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলেন আমরা progressive policy follow করছি এর চেয়ে দুঃখের কথা কি হতে পারে! Progressive policy follow করা হচ্চে না। একথা যদি বলতেন যে আইন বদলানো দরকার তা আমি সমর্থন করতাম। যে রকম staff রয়েছে, যে রকম

facility তারা পাচেছ, তাতে এর চেয়ে বেশী কিছু সম্ভব নয়। কার্য্য সম্বন্ধে তারা অভিজ্ঞ নয় কিন্তু তাঁরা যে চেষ্টা করছেন এতে সন্দেহ নেই; তবে শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় যে ঢাক পিটালেন এত কাজ করা হয়েছে—এটা সত্যি নয়, অসত্য। দু হাজার, তিন হাজার case settle হয়নি। বহু চিঠি দেওয়ার পর হয়ত ৬ মাস পরে আমরা উত্তর পেলাম তাতে reference কিছু নেই। একজন worker, নাম হয়ত রাম কি যদু, কি শ্যাম, কি রহিম; তার সম্বন্ধে লেখা হোলো; কোন কারখানায় কাজ করে, একটি case পাঠানো হয়েছে। মালিক বল্‌ছেন যে সে অনেকদিন absent ছিল, habitual absentee, তার চাকরী গেছে। শ্রমিক আমাদের কথায় case করে আবার চিঠি নিয়ে Labour Directorএর কাছে গেল তাকে খুঁজে পাওয়া যায় কখনও, নাহলে পাওয়া যায় না।

একটু আগেই বলেছি যে Labour Commissioner—আমি নাম করে বলছি না—অনেককে তাড়িয়ে দেয়া হয়েছে, জিনিষটা অন্যায়। Right to hire and fire এ argumentএরও উত্তর আছে, আপনার বাড়ীতে যখন চাকরের দরকার নেই তখন কি জোর করে কেউ বলতে পারে যে আমি থাকবোই Sir Edward Benthall বলেছিলেন যে রেল্‌ওয়েতে যখন ২।। হাজার (?) লোক surplus হয়েছে তখন তারা বলেছিল আমরা তা বুঝিনে, যদি একজন লোককেও ছাটাই কর তাহলে "চাক্কা বন্ধ" তারপরে একজন লোকও ছাটাই হয় নাই। বেন্থল সাহেব চলে গেছেন—কিন্তু তারা রয়েছে—তাদের একটা লোকও ছাটাই হয় নাই। আমি যে scheme দিয়েছি সেটা আগে consider করে যদি দরকার হয় তবে ছাটাই করা উচিত হবে। আমার ত বোধ হয় যে scheme দিয়েছি সেগুলি যদি কার্য্যে পরিণত করা হয় তাহ'লে ছাটাইয়ের দরকার হবে না। শুধু Labour Commissioner নয়, শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ও বলেছেন retrenchmentএর দরকার হলে—দুর্ভাগ্য, কি করা যাবে। তাঁর কাছ থেকে এ উত্তর আমি আশা করিনি। তার কাছে অন্তত: এইটে আশা করেছিলাম যে retrenchment করবার আগে অন্যান্য কোন Departmentএ তাদের হাতে রাখা যায় সেই চেষ্টা করা হবে। আমি দেখেছি mintএ—টাকশালে—এক Department থেকে লোক ছাটাই হয়েছে আবার অন্যান্য Departmentএ তারা ভর্ত্তী হচেচ। চটকলে সেইরকম unskilled labour এক Department থেকে ছাটাই হয়ে অন্য Department ভর্ত্তী হয়। আর এক দিকে, দামোদর valley প্রভৃতি সব বড় বড় scheme হচেচ বলে শুনি, কেন সেখানে কি তাদের absorb করে নিতে পারেন না? তাতে unemploymentও বাড়ে না, অথচ existing staffএর কষ্টও কিছু কমে। (Addressing the Speaker) আর কতখানি time আছে, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER : 10 minutes.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE : I want another 20 minutes.

কাল এখানে *sub judice* নিয়ে অনেক কথা শুনেছি। শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের, Labour Department এর একজন বলেছিলেন—লাঠি পেটা হলো, বিচার ত হলোনা— case রয়েছে courtএ। তা পরই বলেছিলেন tribunal কিছুতেই দিব না, ওরা অত্যন্ত খারাপ লোক। এখানে এক রকম আইন বাইরে শ্রম-মন্ত্রীর Departmentএ আর এক রকম আইন। বাস্তবিকই যখন caseটা court রয়েছে তখন courtএর বিচারটা হোক, তার পরেই মন্তব্যটা করবেন। মালিকদের যে অভিযোগ সে অভিযোগ সত্য কি মিথ্যা সেটা নির্ণয় হওয়ার আগেই ইউনিয়নকে জিজ্ঞাসা না করে, কোন তদন্ত না করে, শ্রম-মন্ত্রী Labour Departmentএর লোক রায় দিয়ে বস্‌লেন। এই রকম ব্যাপারে ঐ রকম বিচার শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের Labour Departmentএ হামেশাই হয়ে আস্‌ছে। Tribunalএর কাজ অনেক চলেছে বলে তিনি অনেক কথা বলেছেন এবং তার লম্বা ফিরিস্তি দিয়েছেন। কিন্তু তিনি ক'টা tribunal দিয়েছেন? Dr. Banerjee tribunal পাগল, বেশীর ভাগ tribunalই তিনি দিয়ে গিয়েছেন পূর্ব্বতন শ্রম-মন্ত্রী যা দিয়ে গিয়েছেন তাই চলেছে। যাঁরা tribunalএ জজ্ নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন, তাঁদের আর এখন কাজ নেই বোলে হাইকোর্টে বা অন্যত্র পাঠান হয়েছে। ট্রাইবুনালের উপর আমাদের তত বিশ্বাস নাই যতটা নাকি Dr. Banerjeeর আছে। আমরা জানি যে প্রথম শক্তি হচেচ organisation next শক্তি হলো tribunal. একবার tribunalএ কিছু দিল তার পরের বছরে কিছু উন্নতি তার পরে আর একটু, এই রকম করে progressively অগ্রসর হওয়া হলো Dr. Banerjee policy কিন্তু সে policyও বর্ত্তমান শ্রম-মন্ত্রী ভুলে গিয়েছেন। এখন যা হচেচ তাতে প্রথমে যেতে হবে Labour Commissionerর কাছে, তিনি তার খেয়াল খুশী মতন পাঠাবেন Secretary কাছে, তার পর সেখান থেকে যাবে খোদ কর্ত্তা শ্রম-মন্ত্রীর কাছে তারপরে বিবেচনা হবে tribunal

disputeটা যাবে কিনা, এই ভাবে ৫।৬ মাস হয়ে গেলেও কিন্তু tribunal পাওয়া যায় নাই। যদি তিনি industrial truce চান তাহলে tribunal তাড়াতাড়ি দিতে হয়। এখন যা দাঁড়িয়েছে তাও দেখা যায় industrial disputeএ যেখানেই শ্রমিকরা strikeএর notice দিয়েছে বা strikeএর জন্য তৈরী হয়েছে সেখানেই tribunal পাওয়া যায়। যেখানে শ্রমিকদের strikeএর শক্তি নাই সেখানে tribunal চাইলেও কোন উচ্চবাচ্য নাই, চিঠির জবাব পর্যন্ত দেওয়া হয় না। Tribunalএর ইতিহাস দেখলেই দেখা যায় যেখানে যারা strikeএর notice দিয়েছে সেখানেই তারা পেয়েছে। সুতরাং এদের progressive policy বোঝা যায় না। কাজেই এ জিনিষটা যে ভাবে চালান হচ্চে বাংলা দেশে, তাতে যদি বলা যায় যে এটা চালান হচ্চে defence of capitalists' action তাহলে মোটেই অন্যায় বলা হবে না।

তারপরে আর একটা জিনিষ যে কায়দায় আজকাল মালিকেরা শিক্ষা করেছেন--সময় অতি অল্প, আমি সংক্ষেপে বলছি--tribunalএর গন্ধ পাওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই মালিকেরা একজন ব্যারিষ্টার দিয়ে হাইকোর্টে খাড়া হন, তারপরে Federal courtএ; এই ভাবে dilatory tactics চালান। কিন্তু যেমন Railwayতে হয়েছিল, যে রকম retrospective effect দেওয়া হয়েছিল তাহ'লে তারা খানিকটা relief পেতে পারে, কিন্তু tribunalএর সে ক্ষমতা কেড়ে নেওয়া হয়েছে। যে দিন থেকে tribunal বসে সেদিন থেকে নয়, যেদিন থেকে dispute arise করেছে সেই দিন থেকে effect দিতে হবে, এইভাবে না দিয়ে শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জ্ঞাতসারেই হোক বা অজ্ঞাতসারে হোক এক কোটী টাকা মালিকদের লাভ করিয়ে দিয়েছেন। এইভাবের যে হিসাব আমার কাছে রয়েছে তাতে এক জুট মিল থেকেই ৫০ লক্ষ টাকা Jute Mills Associationএর লাভ হয়েছে। এটাকে কি বলবো জানিনা—কিন্তু, আমি বলছি না, যদি দুষ্ট লোকে এটাকে দালালি বলে—সেটা কি অন্যায় বলা হবে? (হাস্য)

Profit and Productionএর মধ্যে tribunal কিছু করতে পারে না। (At this stage the blue light was on.) Sir, at least 8 minutes more. I have got eight points more and I shall take one minute for each point.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: তারপরে ওর forward policy সম্বন্ধে বলতে গেলে বলতে হয় যখন থেকে উনি Minister হয়েছেন একটাও কি Labour Law হয়েছে? Bombayর কথা ছেড়ে দিই, অন্যান্য Provinceএর কথা ছেড়ে দিলাম, এমন কি জংলি যে আসাম--(A VOICE: একটা Sister Province কে জংলী বলা অন্যায়।) সেখানেও Labour Law পাশ হয়, অথচ এখানে হয় না। (The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MUKHERJEE: আপনি যে ডুব মেরেছিলেন সেইজন্য সংবাদ রাখেন না।) আমাদের জিজ্ঞাসা না করেই? আমাদের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করবেন না জানি, আমরা যে অস্পৃশ্য, কিন্তু I. N. T. U. C.র সঙ্গে ত পরামর্শ করতে পারতেন! Legislation ব্যাপারে তাঁরা তো অভিজ্ঞ। আইন ত করেনই নাই কিন্তু যে আইনগুলি রয়েছে তার rulesগুলি করবারও কি ক্ষমতা নাই? যে rulesও বার করেছেন সেগুলি progressive মোটেই নয়। তাতে বরং দেখা যায় আরো backward move, যেমন Factory Act, Compensation Act, Maternity Benefit Act, এর একটু scope বাড়ানো যায়। এগুলি বাড়ানোর ক্ষমতা আপনার রয়েছে। Pays and wagesএর ব্যাপার রয়েছে, এ আইনের মধ্যে কারা পড়বে সেটা খোলোসা করা হয় নাই, এ আইনেরও scope সম্বন্ধে কিছুই করা হয়নি।

Housingএর টাকা নাই, কিন্তু Central Government থেকে টাকা নিয়ে অন্য province model house তৈরী করছে, কিন্তু বাংলা দেশে বোধ হয় কাণাকড়িও আসে নাই। বাংলা দেশ একটা কিছু যে করবে তার কোন আভাস শ্রম-মন্ত্রীর এখানকার কিম্বা বাইরেকার কোন বক্তৃতার মধ্যেই পাই নাই। Model employer সম্বন্ধে ডাঃ রায় তাঁর বক্তৃতার সময় বলেছেন। এই অফিসে যারা রয়েছে, Writers' Buildingsএ যারা রয়েছে, সেখানে যে সমস্ত লোক কাজ করে আমাদের unionএর member তার মধ্যে আছে; কোন রকম relief তারা পাচ্ছে না। তাদের জন্য tribunal চাইলে refuse করা হয়। Model employer যদি এরকম হয়, তাহলে Jute Millএর Anglo-Indian বা অন্যান্য শ্রেণীর মালিকদের কি বলবার থাকে? শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় কি করে বলবেন যে তোমরা dearness allowance বাড়িয়ে দাও, বা মাইনে বাড়িয়ে দাও। Central Governmentএ অন্ততঃ যে হারে

পাওয়া গেছে তাতে ২৫এর জায়গায় ৩৫ টাকা হয়েছে, সে benefit বাংলা দেশ পায় নাই। অথচ Stateএর মত big employer আর কেউ নয়। আসলে progressive policy এদের নাই, এদের policy হলো ডাণ্ডা policy. নিহারেন্দু বাবু যেমন একদিন বলেছিলেন belabouring policy followর প্রয়োজন। তারপরে reconciliation of union সম্বন্ধে গভর্ণমেণ্টের যে rules হয়েছে সেটাও চালান হয় না। গভর্ণমেণ্টের employeesদের মধ্যে যাদের essential service নয়, যারা Writers' Buildingsএ কাজ করে, কোর্টে কাজ করে, যাদের দ্বারা আশু ক্ষতির সম্ভাবনা নাই তাদের union recognitionএ যদিও বিশেষ কোন বিপদের সম্ভাবনা ছিল না, তাদের বলা হয়েছে তোমরা কিছু করতে পারবে না। কোন paper বের করতে পারবে না, federation করতে পারবে না, তোমরা কোন politics করতে পারবে না। কার মাথা থেকে জানিনে এসব বেরিয়েছে, মনে হয় ১০০ বছর পূর্বে এ আইন তৈরী হয়েছে। যা হয়েছে তাতে যে কোন Government servant এর পক্ষে union এ যোগ দেওয়াটা বিড়ম্বনা হবে। Equal opportunities for all. Statisticsএর জন্য টাকা চেয়েছিলেন। আমার মনে আছে গত বছর টাকা sanction করা হয়েছিল একটা "Labour Gazette" বার করবার জন্য। বোম্বাইয়ে "লেবার গেজেট" ভাল আছে; তাতে খবরগুলো পাওয়া যায়। সেই জন্য special একটা লোক depute করা হয় তিনি সেখানে গিয়ে নিয়ে আসবেন এবং এখানে এসে চালাবেন। কিন্তু তা হয়নি। Statisticsএর অভাবে Jute Tribunal, Engineering Tribunal বলেছিলেন যে dearness allowance কত, family allowance কত তা বলা যায় না। "Calcutta Gazette"এ এক রকম বেরোয়, মহলানবীশ আর এক রকম বলেন, Central Government আর এক রকম বলেন। কাজেই statisticsএর improvement দরকার এবং "Bombay Gazette"এর মত একটা gazette যার জন্য গত বছর টাকা sanction হয়েছিল কিন্তু এ বছর হয়নি--আমি আশা করি এ বছর হবে।

Labour Exchange form করা হয়েছিল কিন্তু তাতে গভর্ণমেণ্টই সব চেয়ে বেশী non-co-operate করেছেন। অন্যান্য employerরা তাদের প্রয়োজনটা জানান কিন্তু ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট এবং সিভিল সাপ্লাই ডিপার্টমেণ্ট কত লোক নেওয়া আবশ্যক কোন সময় কি জানান হ'ত গভর্ণমেণ্টকে? Labour Exchange আপনারা form কোরে আপনারাই যদি co-operate না করেন তাহলে কি বলা যায়!

তারপর Labour Welfare Centre আগে ছিল ৪২টা এবার হয়েছে ১৭টা। আগে যে ৪২টা ছিল সে কথাটা উহ্য রাখা হয়েছে। তার কারণ সহজেই অনুমেয়। তারপর ব্যবস্থাটা কি রকম। হাওড়ায় রেডিও কিনে রাখা হয়েছে, বাগাটেল রাখা হয়েছে, কিন্তু বসবার চেটাই নেই, মাটীতে বসতে হবে। এই রকম ভাবের well-managed Welfare Centre.

Regional Labour Office হাওড়ায় হয়েছে, কিন্তু understaffed, অথচ বারাকপুর, হুগলী--কোন জায়গায় নেই। Lobour Exchange হাওড়ায় ও মেদিনীপুরে হয়েছে, হুগলীর দু'জায়গায় একটা Labour Exchange. কিন্তু এ একটা districtএর জন্য একটা কোরে চাই। Regional Labour Office বারাকপুরের মত industrial জায়গায় নেই, কলিকাতায় এসে করতে হয়; হুগলীর ব্যাপারও তাই।

এইবার equal opportunities সম্বন্ধে বলে শেষ করছি। Equal opportunitiesত মুখে বলেছেন কিন্তু এই শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় একজনের সঙ্গে টেলিফোনে আলাপ করছিলেন, cross-connection হওয়ায় তাঁদের যে আলাপ আলোচনা সেটা আমরা শুনেছি (laughter). তাঁরা J. K. Industriesএর বিষয়ে বলছিলেন যে এখানে আমরা কল চালাতে পারছি না, উনি বলছেন, "তাইত হে ব্যাপারটা ত অন্য রকম হয়ে গেল। John সাহেব বলেছিলেন বলে তাদের রাখা হয়েছিল, কিন্তু এখন তারা অন্য দিকে গেল; যাই হোক ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটকে বলে দেব একটা *prima facie* case করে দিতে যাতে ওদের সম্বন্ধে ব্যবস্থা কোরে দেওয়া যায়"। John সাহেব public meetingএ বলেছেন আমি ওদের তাড়িয়ে দেব, জেলা খারিজ কোরে দেব। সেটা আমি J. K. Industriesএর meeting শুনে এসেছি। এখন আমার দুর্ভাগ্য যে তাঁকে telephone করতে যেয়ে এটা overhear কোরে ফেলেছি। কাজেই এই থেকে I. N. T. U. C. এবং অন্যান্য ইউনিয়নের সঙ্গে সদ্ভাবের ব্যাপার বোঝা যাচ্ছে। এ জিনিষগুলো অত্যন্ত অন্যায়। আশা করি এ জিনিষগুলো হবে না, এবং শ্রমমন্ত্রী একটা progressive policy নিয়ে চলবেন। এমনভাবে যদি প্রয়োজন হয় I. N. T. U. C.র policy নিয়ে চলুন কিন্তু যেন anti-labour policy নিয়ে না যান।

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়, কাল যখন আমি ৪৭ নম্বর বিবিধ খাতে ব্যয় মঞ্জুরি দাবী উত্থাপন করেছিলাম, তখন যেসব ছাঁটাই প্রস্তাব ছিল তার

কোন প্রস্তাব উত্থাপিত হয়নি এবং বিরোধী দলের বন্ধুরা যাঁরা এ সম্বন্ধে বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন, এই ব্যয় মঞ্জুরির খাতে তাঁরাও কোন cut motion বা ছাঁটাই প্রস্তাব উত্থাপন করেন নি। যা'হোক, খুদা বক্স সাহেব কালকে আমাদের শ্রমনীতি এবং শিল্প শান্তিনীতি, যে নীতি, ১৯৪৭ সালের ১৫ই আগষ্ট স্বাধীনতা অর্জনের পর ভারতবর্ষে প্রবর্তিত হয়েছে এবং যে শিল্পনীতি প্রতিষ্ঠার ফলে বাংলা দেশেও যে শ্রমনীতি নিরূপিত হয়েছে, সেই সম্বন্ধে আমি কাল আমার বক্তৃতায় বিশদভাবে বিশ্লেষণ করবার প্রয়াস পেয়েছিলাম। খুদা বক্স সাহেব প্রসঙ্গক্রমে আমাদের এই শ্রমনীতিকে প্রগতিবিরোধী প্রমাণ করবার জন্য কয়েকটা ঘটনার উল্লেখ করেছিলেন, তার মধ্যে অন্যতম হয়েছে Lloyds Bankএর ব্যাপার। তিনি প্রমাণ করবার প্রয়াস পেয়েছিলেন যে Lloyds Bank সম্পর্কে যে সরকারী নীতি সে নীতি নাকি প্রগতিবিরোধী। আমাদের collective bargaining প্রসঙ্গে আমি আমার প্রারম্ভিক বক্তৃতায় বলেছিলাম, মালিক এবং শ্রমিকের স্বার্থ সংরক্ষণের প্রয়াস বলতে আমাদের যে প্রচেষ্টা সেখানে মালিকই হোক এবং শ্রমিকই হোক, যারা ন্যায়সঙ্গত পথ ত্যাগ করে অন্যায়ের আশ্রয় গ্রহণ করে সরকারী সাহায্য তারা পেতে পারে না এবং তাদের সেই বেআইনি কাজের প্রতিবিধানকল্পে যা ন্যায়সঙ্গত করণীয় কাজ, সেই কাজ থেকে জাতীয় সরকার কখনও পরাঙ্মুখ হবে না। Lloyds Bankএর যে ধর্মঘট সেখানে ১৭ই আগষ্ট যে ধর্মঘট হয়েছিল, সে ধর্মঘট বেআইনি ধর্মঘট। সেটা অর্থনৈতিক কোন দাবী পূরণের জন্য ধর্মঘট নয়। সেটা দলগত স্বার্থ সিদ্ধ করবার জন্য একটা political strike এবং political strike সম্বন্ধে গভর্ণমেণ্টের নীতি আমি স্পষ্ট ভাষায় কাল ব্যক্ত করেছিলাম। Collective bargainingএর সুযোগ গ্রহণ করার অধিকারের দাবী তাদের আছে তাদের অর্থনৈতিক দাবী পূরণ করবার জন্য। কিন্তু রাজনৈতিক দলগত স্বার্থ চরিতার্থ করবার জন্য strikeএর প্রবর্তন বা strikeএর উস্কানি দান যাঁরা করবেন, তাঁরা আইনের চক্ষে অপরাধী। কাজেই সেই ১৭ই আগষ্ট তারিখে যখন সেখানে বেআইনি ধর্মঘট করতে তাদের উস্কানি দেওয়া হয় এবং সেই উস্কানি দানের ফলে যারা সেই ধর্মঘটে যোগদান করেছিল, তাদের বিরুদ্ধে ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করবার জন্য যখন সরকারের কাছে আবেদন করা হল, তখনও আমরা সরাসরিভাবে তাদের বিরুদ্ধে কোন prosecution করতে চাইনি। কারণ prosecution করবার অধিকার থাকা সত্ত্বেও আমরা জানি যে শ্রমিকরা নানাভাবে প্রপীড়িত এবং অনেক সময় হয়ত তারা অন্যের প্ররোচনায় এই সমস্ত ধর্মঘটে অংশ গ্রহণ করে। কাজেই সরকারের তরফ থেকে তাদের বিরুদ্ধে সরাসরি কোন prosecutionএর ব্যবস্থা করা হয়নি। সেটাই সরকারের প্রগতিমূলক নীতির পরিচায়ক। আপনারা জানেন যে ইতিপূর্বে গভর্ণমেণ্টের তরফ থেকে কোন মালিক যারা Industrial Tribunalএর রায় implement করেনি, তাদের সম্বন্ধে কোন ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হয়নি কিন্তু আমাদের এই জাতীয় সরকার ৭টা caseএ ইংরেজ মালিকদের বিরুদ্ধে prosecution করেছেন এবং আরও কয়েকটা caseএ prosecution করবার ব্যবস্থা করছেন। বাংলা দেশেও আজ পর্য্যন্ত যে ২০৮টা tribunalএর রায় হয়েছে, তার মধ্যে বেশীর ভাগ ক্ষেত্রে মালিক ও শ্রমিকের তরফ থেকে সেই রায়কে মেনে চলবার নীতি গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে। ২২টা ক্ষেত্রে সেই নীতি তারা মেনে চলেননি--অর্থাৎ মালিকের পক্ষে তারা সেই রায়কে implement করেননি--Industrial Tribunalএর যে award হয়েছিল, তাঁরা তা implement করেননি। তার ফলে ৭টা ক্ষেত্রে আমরা prosecution করেছি এবং বাকী কয়েকটা ক্ষেত্রেও যথোপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা করছি।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Prosecution করেছেন, না, কেবল করেছেন show cause why you should not be prosecuted.

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: প্রকৃত খবর না জেনে যাঁরা অকারণ বিরোধিতার নীতি গ্রহণ করেন, সত্য অপলাপের নীতি গ্রহণ করে যারা আত্মপ্রসাদ লাভ করে থাকেন, তাদের কাছে আমার বিশেষ কিছু নিবেদন করবার নেই।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: সেই ৭টা caseএও prosecution করা হয়নি। চিঠি লেখা হয়েছে মাত্র। প্রকৃত খবর আপনি রাখেন না।

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: ২২টা case সম্বন্ধে Industrial Tribunal যে রায় দিয়েছে, সেটা implement করা হয়নি। আমরা সেগুলি সম্বন্ধে ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করবার চেষ্টা করছি।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: এটা আপনার অসম্পূর্ণ জ্ঞানেরই পরিচয়, সত্যের অপলাপ বলছি না।

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Lloyds Bankএর কর্মচারিদের সম্বন্ধে যে ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হয়েছে, Bankএর কর্তৃপক্ষ সে সম্বন্ধে সরকারী নীতিকে বিশ্লেষণ করতে গিয়ে বলেছেন যে, সরকার অন্যায়ভাবে তাদের permission দেননি। কিন্তু আমাদের বিজ্ঞ খুদাবক্স সাহেবের ঐ আইন বিষয়ে অজ্ঞতার জন্য তার দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি ঐ Industrial Dispute Actএর ৩৪/১ ধারার প্রতি, যে গভর্ণমেণ্টের কাছ থেকে কোন রকম permission না পেলে সেখানে সে মালিকই হোন বা শ্রমিকই হোন Industrial Dispute Actএর বিধান অনুযায়ী কোন মামলা দায়ের করতে পারেন না।

Section 34(*1*) of the Industrial Disputes Act, says:—

"No court shall take cognizance of any offence punishable under this Act or of the abetment of any such offence, save on complaint made by or under the authority of the appropriate Government."

কাজেই আমি প্রথমেই বলেছি যে বেআইনিভাবে ধর্ম্মঘট করার জন্য prosecution করার অধিকার সরকারের আছে।

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH: ধর্ম্মঘট কি বেআইনি ঘোষিত হয়েছিল?

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: আমি বিজ্ঞ খুদাবক্স সাহেবকে Industrial Dispute Act পড়তে অনুরোধ করব, তার ভিতর কোনগুলি আইনসম্মত, কোনগুলি বেআইনি ধর্ম্মঘট, সেটা বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখ করা আছে।

কাজেই এই ধর্ম্মঘটটা বেআইনি ছিল। খবরের কাগজেও এ বিষয়ে তাহাদিগকে বিশদভাবে জানান হয়েছিল। কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও যখন তারা ধর্ম্মঘট করল, তখন মালিকের তরফ থেকে Bankএর কর্তৃপক্ষ সরকারের কাছে দাবী করেন এই বেআইনি ধর্ম্মঘট বন্ধ করা হোক অথবা যারা এতে অংশ গ্রহণ করেছে তাদের বিরুদ্ধে শাস্তিমূলক ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হোক। কিন্তু সরকার সরাসরিভাবে নিজেদের দায়িত্বে তাদের prosecution করেন নি, যা করবার তাদের অধিকার ছিল। কিন্তু অপরে যদি prosecution দায়ের করতে চান, তবে তাদের দাবীকে প্রত্যাখ্যান করবার ন্যায়সঙ্গত কোন অধিকার সরকারের আছে কিনা সে সম্বন্ধে আমার যথেষ্ট সন্দেহ আছে। কারণ এই কথাই আমি বল্‌তে চাই আজ যদি শ্রমিকদের তরফ থেকে কোন ক্ষেত্রে এই রকম দাবী করা হোত, তাদের সেই দাবী প্রত্যাখ্যান করা হোত না এবং এভাবে প্রত্যাখ্যান করাও হয়নি।

একথাও আমি বলতে চাই যে আজ যদি শ্রমিকদের তরফ থেকে কোন এরকম দাবী করা হতো তাদের সে দাবী প্রত্যাখ্যান করা হতো না এবং প্রত্যাখ্যান করা হয়নি।

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH: উদাহরণ দিন, প্রত্যাখ্যান করা হয়নি, তার উদাহরণ দিন।

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: কোন শ্রমিক সংস্থার তরফ থেকে এরকম দাবী উত্থাপিত করা হয়নি।

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH: সেই জন্যই কি হয়নি?

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: তারপরে বলা হয়েছে Lloyds Bank সম্বন্ধে, যে সেখানে ১১ জনকে ছাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়। তাঁরা যে pen-down strike করেছিলেন তখন তার বিরুদ্ধে শাস্তিমূলক ব্যবস্থা কোম্পানী নিয়েছেন, শাস্তিমূলক ব্যবস্থা সম্বন্ধেও বলেছেন যে Governmentএর সঙ্গে একটা gentlemen's agreement হয়েছিল। সে agreement মালিক পক্ষ প্রতিপালন করেন নি। কিন্তু যে সমস্ত কাগজপত্র আমাদের হাতে আছে—কারণ আমি সেই সময় বাংলায় ছিলাম না--(A VOICE: Geneva গিয়েছিলেন।) যে কাগজ আমার হাতে আছে তা থেকে দেখে আমি বলতে পারি যে gentleman's agreementএর যে চুক্তি হয়েছিল সে চুক্তি ভঙ্গ করেছিলেন শ্রমিকরাই। শ্রমিকদের তরফ থেকেই চুক্তি ভঙ্গ হয়েছিল। কারণ ২১ এবং ২২ তারিখ Octoberএ তাঁরা যে pen-down strike করেছিলেন তারপরে যখন ২৩ তারিখে তাঁরা কাজে ফিরে যান তখন এই চুক্তিবদ্ধ হয়েছিলেন যে শনিবার এবং রবিবারে তাঁরা খাটবেন, যে দু'দিন তাঁরা pen-down strike করেছিলেন তার বিনিময়ে। কিন্তু সে সত্ত তাঁরা প্রতিপালন করেননি। এবং প্রতিপালন না করবার জন্য—

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH: আপনি বলেছিলেন কালকে, আপনার এ সৎসাহস ছিল (loud noise.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: আপনি বলেছিলেন আমাদের পূর্বের Judicial Ministerএর উল্লেখ করে বলেছিলেন যে তিনি অসংযম দেখিয়েছেন। আপনি যতক্ষণ বক্তৃতা করছিলেন ততক্ষণ আমি নিঃশব্দে আপনার কথা শুনছিলুম। আমি আশা করি আমি যতক্ষণ বলব আপনিও সেইরকম নিঃশব্দে শোনবার সংযম শিক্ষা করবেন।

কাজেই সেখানে যখন সেই চুক্তি ভঙ্গ হয়, চুক্তি ভঙ্গ হবার পরে মালিকদের তরফ থেকে তাদের উপর চাপ এসেছিল এবং loyalty bonds সই করবার প্রশ্ন আসে। সেই সই করবার প্রশ্নে প্রথমে তারা স্বীকার করেনি; তারপরে তারা স্বীকার করে সবাই দলে দলে গিয়ে সেই loyalty bonds সই করে। কয়েকজন লোক Labour Commissionerএর মারফৎ এই সমস্ত দরখাস্ত করে; করবার পরে তাদের বিরুদ্ধে insubordination, indiscipline প্রভৃতি নানারকম অভিযোগ হয়। তা সত্বেও বিবেচনা করবার জন্য অনেক চাপ দেওয়া হয়েছিল; কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় যে যখন আমরা চাপ দিয়ে তাদের নিয়োগ করবার চেষ্টায় রত ছিলাম তখন খোদাবক্স সাহেবের হাতে তারা সমস্ত দায়িত্বের ভার দিলেন। আশা করি খোদা বক্স সাহেব সমস্ত দায়িত্ব নিয়ে তাদের সাহায্য করবেন।

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH: হাঁ, হাঁ, আমাকে শ্রম-মন্ত্রী করে দেবেন, আমি ঠিক করে দিচ্ছি, Parkerকে দুরস্ত করে দিচ্ছি।

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: বন্ধুবর শিবনাথ বাবু আক্ষেপ করেছেন; আমাদের সত্যকার শ্রমনীতি বিশ্লেষণ করতে গিয়ে তিনি বলেছেন যে কোন নীতি পেলাম না। সত্যই নীতির যাঁরা ধার ধারেন না তাঁরা যদি নীতি না দেখতে পান তাহ'লে আমাদের দুর্ভাগ্য স্বীকার করতে হবে। একটা কথা আমি তাঁকে স্মরণ করিয়ে দিতে চাই। তিনি বলেছেন যে আমাদের রাষ্ট্রের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীতে সকল unionকেই আমরা সমান অধিকার দিই না, এবং সমান অধিকারের favour দিয়ে তাদের সঙ্গে আলাপ আলোচনা করা হয় না। এ সম্বন্ধে তিনি এমন কি telephone যোগে যে সমস্ত অপর পক্ষের কথাবার্তা হয় সেখানেও eaves-droppingএর উল্লেখ করেছেন। জানি তাঁদের পেশার মধ্যে সকলই সম্ভবপর হতে পারে; কিন্তু তাঁকে আমি স্মরণ করিয়ে দিতে চাই যে তাঁরা যে আজ কলকাতার Tram Unionএতে recognition পেয়েছেন,--তাঁদের দলের যাঁরা বিশিষ্ট কর্মী তাঁরা একাধিকবার আমার বাড়ীতে এসেছেন, একাধিকবার তাঁরা বলেছিলেন যে সেখানে তাঁরা unionকে recognise করেন না,--সেখানে চাপ দিয়ে unionকে recognise করানো হয়েছে। তাঁরা বলেছেন যে তাঁরা I. N. T. U. C.র প্রতিপক্ষ, কিন্তু কেন সেটা দেখাতে পারেননি? সেখানে যে union রয়েছে, অন্যান্য unionও যে সুযোগ সুবিধা পায় তাদেরও unionকে সেই রকম সুযোগ সুবিধা দেওয়া হয়েছে। আর একটি কথা আমি আপনাদের সম্মুখে সভাপতি মহাশয়ের মারফৎ এই বলতে চাই যে এমন কি যে Communist Party অবৈধ বলে ঘোষিত হয়েছে কিন্তু সেই Communist-sponsored Trade Union Organisation যে রয়েছে তারাও সমান অধিকার পাচ্ছে। কাজেই এখানে যে ভেদনীতি দেখাতে গিয়েছিলেন তা দেখাতে পারবেন না। তারপর বন্ধুবর শিবনাথ বাবু বলেছেন যে আপনাদের office নানা যায়গায় ছড়িয়ে রয়েছে। একথা সত্য। তিনিও যেমন এতে অসুবিধা অনুভব করেন আমরাও করি। কিন্তু কলকাতার বুকে এক জায়গায় এত বড় ইমারৎ বা office পাওয়া যায় না যাতে সব কিছু এক সঙ্গে করা যায়। কাজেই এখন বিভিন্ন স্থানে রয়েছে, কিন্তু সুযোগ-সুবিধা পেলে আমরা সেটাকে centralise করবার কাজে আত্মনিয়োগ করবো।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: একটা requisition করে নিন্।

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: সে requisition আপনারা করবেন। এ রকম requisition করতে গেলে আপনারাই আবার এসে বলবেন যে এটা কেন করেছেন। শিবনাথ বাবু বলেছেন যে তিনি বিপ্লবী কর্মী; অন্ততঃপক্ষে বিপ্লববাদ প্রচার করেন। বিপ্লবকে বাদ দিয়ে প্রচার করেন কিনা তা আমি জানি না। তিনি একজন বিপ্লবী কর্মী। তিনি সব সময় বলে থাকেন class struggle. তিনি চান্ যে শ্রেণী-সংঘাত এবং সংঘর্ষের মধ্যে দিয়ে জাতি আত্মপ্রকাশ লাভ করে; কিন্তু আমরা যারা মহাত্মা গান্ধীর আদর্শে অনুপ্রাণিত হয়ে দেশের কাজ করছিলাম (shouts from the opposition benches).

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please.

The Hon'ble Sri KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: বসুন শিবনাথ বাবু। আপনাদের মুখ দিয়ে না আসতে পারে, আপনারা হয়ত করেন নি, কিন্তু বহুকাল ধরে কংগ্রেসের পতাকাতলে বাংলা দেশের বুকে কংগ্রেসকে সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত করবার জন্য কাজে আত্মনিয়োগ করেছিলাম, কাজেই সে অধিকার আমার আছে; অধিকার আমি অর্জন করেছি, আপনার গলাবাজীতে সে অধিকার শান্ত হবে না, শিবনাথ বাবু। কিন্তু আমি আপনাদিগকে বলে দিতে চাই যে শ্রেণী-সংঘর্ষ সংগ্রামকে এড়িয়ে মানুষকে সমান অধিকার-বাদের ভিত্তিতে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করবার জন্য কংগ্রেসের আদর্শকে বিস্তার করার জন্য, ভারতবর্ষের বুকে সত্যকার কৃষক-প্রজা-মজদুর-রাজ কায়েম হবে। আজ আমার বন্ধু খোদাবক্স সাহেব নিজেকে cultivator এবং কিষাণ-মজুর বলেছেন। আপনি তাঁর সঙ্গে মজদুর হয়ে সত্যকার কৃষক-মজুর-রাজ কায়েম করুন। আমি এই কথা বলে আমার এই প্রস্তাব সমর্থনের জন্য সকলের কাছে আবেদন করছি।

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Kalipada Mookerjee that a sum of Rs. 22,92,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "47—Miscellaneous Departments" was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—44.

Bandyopadhaya, Sri Pramatha Nath.
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra.
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prasad
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra
Chatterjee, Sri Haripada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sri Radha Nath
Dass, Sri Kanailal
De, Sri Kanai Lal
Doiui, Sri Harendra Nath
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu.
Ganguli, Sri Bepin Behari
Gayen, Sri Arabinda
Ghosé, Sri A. K.
Ghose, Sri Bimal Comar
Ghosh, Dr. P. C.
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra
Mahtab, Sri Uday Chand, Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan.
Maiti, The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari
Majhi, Sri Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati
Mal, Sri Iswar Chandra
Mallick, Sri Asutosh
Mandal, Sri Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sri Bankubehari
Mookerjee, The Honb'le Sri Kalipada
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan
Naskar, Sri Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath.
Pentony, Mr. L. R.
Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sri Jajneswar
Sarkar, The Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan
Sen, Sri Debendra Nath
Sen, The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra

NOES—8.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab
Banerjee, Sri Sibnath
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab

The Ayes being 44 and the Noes 8, the motion was carried.

"57—Miscellaneous" and "82—Capital Account of other Provincial Works outside the Revenue Account."

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 4,45,33,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "57—Miscellaneous" and "82—capital Account of other Provincial Works outside the Revenue Account".

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall take only a few minutes, and I shall take this opportunity of referring to the incident that took place at Jagarani, *i.e.*, the Jadavpur Refugee Colony, 24-Parganas. I mentioned about it some days ago, and the Hon'ble the Premier told us that my facts did not coincide with the facts that he had in his possession. Today, Sir, I have facts given to us by the Secretary of Jagarani Bastuhara Palli, Jadavpur. It says:

গত [illegible] অনুমান বেলা দশ ঘটিকার সময় জমিদার লায়েলকার ম্যানেজার ২৫০।৩০০ পশ্চিমা [illegible] লইয়া ১৮।১৯ খানা লরী নিয়ে ক্যাম্পের দক্ষিণ-পূর্ব দিকের (যাহা requisitioned জমির উপর নির্মিত হইয়াছিল) দুখানা গৃহের চালি জোর করিয়া লাঠি দ্বারা ভাঙ্গিতে আরম্ভ করে। প্রকাশ যে লায়েলকার জমি ও গভর্ণমেণ্টের requisitioned-এ জমির demarcation লইয়া বহুদিন হইতে দুই পক্ষের মধ্যে মতবিরোধ হয়। পরে টালিগঞ্জ থানার O/Cর মধ্যস্থতায় সীমানা নির্দ্ধারিত হয় এবং সেই সীমানা মানিয়া লইয়া বাস্তহারারা নিজেদের ঘরবাড়ী তৈয়ার করে। এমতাবস্থায় সেদিন requisitioned জমির উপর লরী লইয়া আসিয়া উক্তরূপ আক্রমন চালায়। ঘরে আক্রমন কালে অভ্যন্তরের নারী ও শিশুর আর্ত্ত চীৎকারে

Sir, it can well be imagined that when these ruffians or goondas hired by capitalist Lailka——

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: We have heard these things when people were murdered by Muslim League hooligans.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, when shall we hear the last of the Muslim League and its supposed hooligans? I would like to ask these members not to name the Muslim League. I do not understand why my honourable friend cannot shake off the Muslim League bogey from their mind. Their thinking process and all their thoughts are conditioned and governed by only one factor, namely, that there was at one time the Muslim League, and this Muslim League was in power. I do not know how the Muslim League comes in here when I was talking about the refugees or when I am referring to the *bastuharas*.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: The refugees are here because of the Muslim League.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: There is much interruption, Sir. Shall I be permitted to go on with the subject on the agenda. That is what I want to do, Sir.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: I should say that the Muslim League and the Congress are jointly responsible for the refugee problem.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I do not want to bring in any other party because that will only add to the incrimination and recrimination and it will lead us nowhere, and I would ask the Hon'ble Ministers to take it out of their minds and purify their minds if they want the good of the country. If they still want to harp on these things even in a secular state they are thereby only doing disservice to this country, they are only abusing their position as Members of the Cabinet. As I was saying, পার্শ্ববর্ত্তী গৃহের লোকজন ছুটিয়া আসে এবং ঐসব পশ্চিমা গুণ্ডাদের বাধা প্রদান করে।

Sir, I only refer to this case and thereby I want to disabuse the mind of the Hon'ble Prime Minister as to the facts supplied to him by his agency. I am sure, Sir, that the agency is Government agency and that is the thing that I want to criticise and that I want to call to question because these are the facts. How is it that the Hon'ble the Prime Minister being the Head of the administration comes to possess the facts that are not facts, that have no relation to the incidents as they actually happened?

Another thing, Sir, is this that the Government promised to the professional refugees, the members of the medical and also legal professions——

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: What is meant by "professional refugees"?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am elaborating; I may have slipped. I said "professional" and I was trying to make myself better understood. I do not suppose that that is incorrect English or that did not convey what I want to convey but even so those refugees, Sir, who were professional men, were members of the medical profession, legal profession, and

Government promised that they would be given loans. Now, Sir, the Government have seen it fit to withdraw that concession to the lawyer refugees. I do not know, Sir, why this happened but, Sir, that it is not just will be proved by the fact that the Government officer, himself a refugee, who was in charge of the disbursement of these loans, has tendered his resignation. If he was satisfied that the Government have been able to make out a case being a Government officer himself he would agree with his own Government, but it has not been possible for him to agree with the policy of his Government, and, Sir, he has tendered his resignation which, I understand, has been accepted.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আমার ছোট একটা ব্যাপার বলবার আছে, সেটা হচ্ছে একজন refugeeর ব্যাপার। তার নাম হচ্ছে, মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের হয়ত মনে পড়তে পারে, ইনি মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের বাড়ীতে গিয়ে দেখা করেছিলেন, সুখেন্দু শেখর মুখার্জী। তিনি এখানকার একজন refugee; ৮৯।১, বালীগঞ্জ গার্ডেন লেনের বাড়ী থেকে তাকে ২০।৯।৪৮ তারিখে তাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়। তার বাড়ীতে তার স্ত্রী, তিনটী elderly daughter ও ছোট একটা অসুস্থ ছেলে ছিল। এই অবস্থায় তাদের বের করে দেওয়া হয়। তার সঙ্গে একখানা extra কাপড় পর্য্যন্ত নিতে দেয়নি—খালি হাতে তাদের বেরিয়ে যেতে হয়। যে খাবার তার জন্য রান্না করে রেখেছিল তাও তাকে খেতে দেয়নি, জোর করে বের করে দেয়। তার যে property সেখানে রয়ে গেছে তার list করা হয়েছে প্রায় ১৫ হাজার টাকার জিনিষ। তার formal complaint দুদিন পরে ২২ তারিখে তিনি করেন।

Assistant Commissioner of Police সঙ্গে সঙ্গে order দেন ২৮ তারিখে নিজে enquiry কোরে যে এটার prosecution হওয়া উচিত, এবং Penal Code অনুসারে charge দিয়ে prosecution করতে বলেন। কিন্তু তা করা হয়নি। কারণ অনুমান করা হচ্ছে যে Deputy Commissioner intervene করেছিলেন, সেইজন্য হয়নি। তারপরে সেই অফিসার—

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, has it anything to do with the Hon'ble the Premier, all the things that you are mentioning? I understand that you have put in a question also on the subject.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, as I said the other day there are overlapping cases of refugees being oppressed by the police. Well, they come under both the Ministers and it had been the practice before that the Prime Minister could and would intervene in the matters of any other Minister. Many times I have seen——

Mr. SPEAKER: The Prime Minister can intervene but when a member speaks how can he expect that the Prime Minister will intervene and reply? He can only expect that the Minister who has moved the motion will reply.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, the Prime Minister was seen to get up to reply.

Mr. SPEAKER: He may rise if he likes.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: That is quite right but when the cases are overlapping some latitude should be given to the members. Well, Sir, I have practically finished. That is the fate of one refugee.

এই রকম ভাবে আরও অনেক ব্যাপার refugeeদের সম্বন্ধে তাদের ব্যাপার নিয়ে সেদিন বলেছিলাম। এই refugee যে দামে আগে জমি কিনতে পারত সেই দামে যদি জমি দেওয়া হয় তাহ'লে অনেক refugee জমির ব্যবস্থা করতে পারে। সেটা হয়নি। তারপরে mismanagement সম্বন্ধে অনেক বলার আছে। আজকে সে সম্বন্ধে কথা তুলব না। আজকে একটা দৃষ্টান্ত দিলাম যে refugeeদের উপরে কি রকম অত্যাচার হচ্ছে এইরকম লোকদের সম্বন্ধে। আর একটা জিনিস বলি। Professional men যারা refugee তাদের মধ্যে যাঁরা ডাক্তার তাঁদের সম্বন্ধে কিছু ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে, জানি না প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় ডাক্তার ব'লে কি না। কিন্তু উকীলদের কোন ব্যবস্থা হয়নি। অনেক উকীল আছেন এমন যারা যে অন্ততঃ তাঁদের বিষয় বিবেচনা করা উচিত। আজ সকালে একটা complaint পেলাম যে উকীলদের জন্য কোন রকম

eliefএর ব্যবস্থা কিছুই হয় না। জানি না এটা সত্য কি না। তবে refugeeদের মধ্যে আবার যেন াতিভেদ না হয়। তাদের মধ্যে যার যারা যে রকম ভাবের service পাওয়া যেতে পারে সেই service নওয়া উচিত এবং তার জন্য চেষ্টা করা উচিত। একটা কথা এ সম্পর্কে বলতে চাই যে এই refugeeদের কন burden মনে করা হয় অ বুঝ্‌তে পারি না। Qualified menএর দরকার আমাদের দেশে যথেষ্ট রয়েছে। কালকে অন্য মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলেছেন যে আমাদের sufficient teachers নাই, মাষ্টারের দরকার আছে। আবার ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডকে কিছু বিচারের অধিকার দিলে উকীলদের service নেওয়া যেতে পারে caseএর বিচার করবার জন্য। যারা শিল্পী এবং যারা কৃষক—প্রত্যেকেই producer of wealth—তাদের কাছ থেকে service to society নেওয়া যেতে পারে, সেই view থেকে দেখলে refugeeদের তাড়াতাড়ি rehabilitate করা হবে এবং তাদের উপর এখন যে অত্যাচার হচেছ তা থেকে তাদের বাঁচাবার চেষ্টা করা হবে।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh more by accident than by design had uttered the words "professional refugees" and I think it aptly shows the type of work that these people are doing in Regent Park. You would be surprised to know, Sir, that the bulk of that area which is owned by different parties including Government and some of the requisitioned property is of the Government of India, has been leased out by some person or persons unknown or known at a *salami* of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100, whose property they leased out to whom nobody knows. Sir, if these are not "professional refugees", I do not know who are professional refugees. I happen to know some of them, but it is not necessary for us to discuss this point now. The fact was that these men were there in unauthorised buildings and possessing unauthorised property and it may be that those who are in charge of the property or those who own this property, as in this case, have approached the Magistrate for getting the orders under section 144 or whatever it was, and it was the duty of the police to intervene having the Magistrate's order for the purpose. But the refugees refused to budge.

My information is not derived, as he thinks, from merely either the capitalist or the police but from other sources. I need not say who they are—it is not necessary.

Sir, with regard to the case that Sri Sibnath Banerjee has mentioned, I have personally investigated the case and there is not the slightest truth in what this gentleman—I do not mean Mr. Banerjee—who is a professional refugee as he has called himself, has stated in the Press that he has approached different people and various organisations, etc. Therefore, I took it upon myself to investigate the case, and if Mr. Banerjee chooses to come to my room any morning, I am perfectly sure I shall be able to satisfy him by showing him the complete report.

That is all I have to say with regard to the wrong impression which is in the mind of some people.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker that a sum of Rs. 4,45,33,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "57—Miscellaneous" and "82—Capital Account of other Provincial Works outside the Revenue Account", was then put and agreed to.

"50—Civil Works" and "81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account."

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 4,49,89,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "50—Civil Works" and "81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account."

Sir, I need not make a long speech in moving my motion. I will await the cut motions, if any, and then I will make my points clear and also give the House a summary of the policy followed in my department, after hearing the speeches of various members of the House.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,49,89,000 for expenditure under the heads "50—Civil Works" and "81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of the Government to maintain and improve the roads of the province.

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,49,89,000 for expenditure under the heads "50—Civil Works" and "81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to construct roads and highways and bridge over Damodar River for communication between Arambagh and Hooghly district headquarters.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 4,49,89,000 for expenditure under the heads "50—Civil Works" and "81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this in order to raise a discussion about the failure of Government to implement the development scheme for the district of Malda and to construct roads, highways and the bridge over the river Mahananda.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After Adjournment.)

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the wages of labourers have increased six times, the prices of materials ten times, the wage for cutting earth nearly ten times, and the cost of administration in the shape of dearness allowance, etc., has nearly doubled,——(Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: In Bengal.) Sir, the income of the district boards has remained the same. The maintenance and construction of roads is the responsibility of the district board, but the revenue of the district board remains as it was long before. Therefore they are not in a position to discharge their responsibility properly. The result of this is disastrous to rural people. Excepting a few roads used by rich people no trace of any road remains in the rural area. The reason for this is apparent because the price of road materials and wages of labourers have risen ten times and the district boards are not in a position to discharge their responsibility either in respect of maintenance of roads or maintenance of dispensaries and other useful things. It should have been the duty of the Government, I say, to help the district boards in order to enable them to discharge their responsibility, but they have not done so. I say, Sir, the condition of the roads of this province is hopelessly bad owing to the negligence of Government. Sir, I am an elected member and an elected Vice-Chairman of a district board which was then under an official and nominated Chairman. Just after election as Vice-Chairman I looked into the affairs of the district board and it seemed to me that it was impossible for the district board to discharge their responsibility either in the maintenance of roads or in the maintenance of dispensaries in proper order.

Therefore, Sir, I advised the District Magistrate who was the Chairman of the district board to call a conference of the presidents of union boards. A conference was held and in this conference I proposed that all the roads within the areas of respective union boards should be taken over by the union boards concerned. By fresh taxation or by conscription of labour

or by co-operative methods these roads should be improved. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: What, by *begar* labour?) Conscription of labour. Have you not heard about the German method? When the much-hated Hitler wanted to improve the roads of the country, wanted to improve the houses of the country, what process did he adopt? He adopted the process of conscription of labour throughout the country. (Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: What was the result?) The result was fine roads were built and maintained and fine houses were built. I have said thousand times that it is the German method which can save us. I have said it more than once, but as we are part of the Allies, therefore we say "Oh, you Germans!" But their method is sound and that is the only method by which the country can be improved. They are a scientific people and no people have excelled them in science. That is the method.

I have been a co-operator all through my life and I am of opinion that all the ills which the country is suffering from can be solved by co-operative methods. This is no time for making plans in detail, but if you adopt the co-operative method, you can supplement the income of the district boards. That is the only means of improving the roads and putting them in the right order.

That is all I have to say. As you will apply guillotine, I do not like to say any more.

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Sir, this is not a new proposal. Times without number the question has been raised and has come up for discussion on the floor of this House, ending with an assurance from the Hon'ble Minister in charge that the needful will be done but the project is far from materialising. It is an eternal shame that there is no road worth the name linking up the subdivision town of unfortunate Arambagh with the headquarters station, namely, Chinsura. It is quite beyond the financial capacity and the meagre resources of the Hooghly District Board to undertake a project of such magnitude involving expenditure of several lakhs of rupees. The Government sanctioned the project of constructing a bridge over the river Damodar at Sadar Ghat nearly 3 miles from Burdwan and constructing a road connecting Burdwan with Arambagh, a distance of 26 miles. The project was sanctioned with the usual Government flourish and the unfortunate people of Arambagh whose trouble on the score of want of communications knew no bounds, were led to believe that their sufferings would end within a short time. The then Governor, Sir John Anderson, laid the foundation stone of the bridge, but curiously enough only the other day I noticed a letter appearing in one of the leading dailies that the foundation stone laid by the Governor has disappeared. A few miles of the road in the Burdwan area has been improved and that is all. People from Chinsura going to Arambagh and vice versa are still experiencing hardships as before and they do not know how long they will have to curse their lot in the same way as they are doing now. Even if the Burdwan-Arambagh Road is completed and the bridge over Damodar is constructed, God alone knows when the Arambagh people going to Chinsura will have to go to Burdwan and then to Chinsura, a highly round about way. In the meantime the Government is vegetating and cogitating and we find that replying to a cut motion the Hon'ble Mr. Dwaraknath Barori said on the 19th March, 1947, that the Government had revised their original project and were considering a proposal for constructing a barrage *cum* road bridge for which the final site had not been selected. It is not known whether any progress has since been made in the matter. As I have already observed, people are suffering and nobody knows how long they will continue to suffer. It is time that the Government with the paraphernalia of engineers cast off their lethargy and look to the interest of the people.

With these words, I commend the motion to the acceptance of the House.

Janab MD. SAYEED MIA: আমাদের সংক্ষেপে বলবার জন্য নির্দেশ দেওয়া হয়েছে সুতরাং আমি দু'একটা কথা মালদহের রাস্তাঘাট সম্বন্ধে বলব। এখানে আমাদেরকে Civil worksএর যে লিষ্ট দেয়া হয়েছে তাতে দেখ্‌তে পাচ্ছি মালদহ হইতে গাজোল হইয়া বামনগোলা পর্য্যন্ত একটি রাস্তা, ঘুরিয়া ও হরিপুর রাস্তা এবং মাণিকচক হইতে ইংলিশ বাজার সদরঘাট পর্য্যন্ত রাস্তা—এই তিনটি রাস্তার পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু এখন পর্য্যন্ত কোনটার কাজ আরম্ভ হয় নাই বলে আমি জানি। আর একটা প্রাদেশিক হাইওয়ে রাস্তার কাজ হচ্চে, বালুরঘাট হতে মালদহ পর্য্যন্ত, মাটি তোলা হচ্চে, সম্ভবতঃ এই রাস্তা তৈয়ারীর উপর মহানন্দা bridge নির্ম্মাণ নির্ভর করবে।

আমি আমাদের জনপ্রিয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের নিকট জানতে চাই আমাদের মালদহ জেলার সমস্ত রাস্তাঘাট সম্পর্কে কোন পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে কি না, এবং এই রাস্তাগুলির নির্ম্মাণ কতদিনে শেষ হবে। এ সম্পর্কে তিনি একটা পরিষ্কার জবাব দয়া করে দেবেন। তিনি মালদহ জিলায় গিয়েছেন এবং আমাদের অভাব অভিযোগ সম্পর্কে সহানুভূতি সহকারে শুনে এসেছেন, তাঁর কর্ম্মশক্তির উপর আমাদের আস্থা আছে। আশা করি যে রাস্তাগুলির কাজ আরম্ভ হয়েছে এবং যেগুলি এখনো পড়ে রয়েছে সবগুলির পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করে যতদূর সম্ভব তাড়াতাড়ি তাহা কার্য্যকরী করবেন। এই বলে আমি আমার motion move করছি।

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, একদলের টাকা আছে, কাজ হয় না, যেমন গভর্ণমেন্টের টাকা আছে কিন্তু লোকজনের অভাবে কাজ হতে পারে না। আর একদল যেমন ডিষ্ট্রীক্টবোর্ড বা মিউনিসিপ্যালিটির টাকা নাই সেইজন্য কাজ হয় না। তারা যন্ত্রপাতি নিয়ে বসেই আছে, এহলো একটা অপচয়. এদিকের জিনিষকে কি ক'রে কাজে লাগান যায়, সেই কথা চিন্তা করা উচিত; আবার যেদিকে টাকা আছে কাজ হয় না, সেদিকের টাকাটা যাতে কাজে লাগানো যায়, সে চিন্তাও করা উচিত। দেশে কুলীমজুরের অভাব। গায়ে ধুলো মাটি লাগবে একাজ আজকাল কেউ আর করতে চায় না। আমাদের জেলার আশেপাশের লোকদের সবাই হয়েছে কল্‌কাতা মুখো। সবাই কলকাতার দিকে চলে আসছে। Labour সেখানে নাই। দ্বিতীয় আপদ হলো সিভিল সাপ্লাই; এঁরা কর্ডন করে রেখে দিয়েছেন চাল। লোকেরা এক মণ করে চাল মাথায় করে নিয়ে বেচলে ৪।৫ টাকা পায়। কেন তাহ'লে গায়ে কাদা মাটি মেখে রাস্তা-ঘাট তৈরী করবে? তারা যেখান থেকে চাল বয়ে নিয়ে যে স্থানের লোকদের দেয় তার দূরত্ব খুব বেশী নয়; তিন চার বার যদি চাল বয়ে যেতে আসতে পারে, তাহ'লে ৫।৬৲ টাকা অনায়াসেই উপার্জন করবে। আর এসব কাদা মাটির কাজে সকাল থেকে সন্ধ্যা পর্য্যন্ত মড়া মড়া জল খেয়ে দিনে বড় জোর দেড় টাকা পায়। তারপরে মাটি কাটা শেষ হয়ে গেলতো মাপ হলোনা, সেজন্য বিল পাওয়া যায় না; কন্ট্রাক্টর আসেনি এজন্য টাকা পাওয়া যাবে না; তার উপর দস্তরি ফস্তরি নানারকম আছে, সেইজন্য দেশের বেশীর ভাগ মজুরই সহজে বেশী পয়সা উপায়ের দিকে ঝুঁকে পড়েছে। সেইজন্যই আমি বলছি যে Civil Supply এর আপদ না উঠ্‌লে, মজুর পাওয়া যাবে না। Military আপদ বর্ত্তমানে দূর হয়ে গেছে কিন্তু তার ভায়রা ভাই রয়েছে Civil Supply.

(The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati Mazumdar: Civil Supply উঠ্‌লে তো দেশে famine.)

এ কথা ভুল, এটা matter of opinion. এই Civil Supply বিভাগটা না উঠ্‌লে দেশের সব কিছু সহজ হবে না। তারপরে আর একটা জিনিষ আছে সেটা এই আরনেষ্ট মানি, টেণ্ডার দেবার সময় দশ হাজার পর্য্যন্ত ২ পারসেন্ট একটা লোক ৪।৫টা টেণ্ডার যদি দেয়, তাহলে তাকে টাকার জন্য কত অসুবিধায় পড়তে হয়। তাই জন্যে, টেণ্ডার দেবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে এই যে টাকাগুলি দিতে হয় সেগুলি সঙ্গে সঙ্গে refund দেবার ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। আর একটা অসুবিধার কারণ হচ্চে আমাদের দেশে মাটির কাজ আরম্ভ হয় মাঘ মাস থেকে সুরু করে বৈশাখ মাস পর্য্যন্ত। কিন্তু ইংরাজী Financial year এর শেষ মার্চ্চ মাসে। তার ফলে কাজের বড় কিছু বাধা পড়ে, আবার পুনরায় নতুন করে কাজে হাত দিতে কাজের মরসুম নষ্ট হয়। এই Financial year এর আপদ কি করে কাটান যায় সেজন্য চেষ্টা করা উচিত।

তারপরে রাস্তার একধারে ড্রেন করলে আরও ভাল হয়। দুদিকে ড্রেন করলে লোক বসবাস করতে পারে না, ড্রেনগুলো নষ্ট হয় এবং প্রত্যেক জায়গায় culvert ক'রে যোগাযোগ ক'রে দিতে হয়। এইগুলো করলে রাস্তার পরিকল্পনা হিসাবে ভাল কাজ হয়।

District Board সম্পর্কে বল্‌তে চাই যে District Board ও Municipalityদের Motor Vehicles Tax যেটা দেবার কথা ছিল সেটা কয়েক বৎসর দেওয়া হয় নি। অথচ District Board এর cess বাড়েনি। District Boardএর যে ছোট ছোট স্কীমের—যেমন O. D. R. বা Village Road Improvementএর যে সব scheme রয়েছে সেগুলো District Board এর মারফৎ করলে ওদের যে

লোক আছে, tools, plants, tools ও appliance আছে সেগুলি কাজে লাগান যেতে পারে। (A VOICE: District Board এখন সতীন হয়ে উঠেছে, ওদের কি তা দেওয়া যায়?) সব মন্ত্রীই এখন ঐ ভাবের হয়ে উঠেছেন। আমি বলছিলাম Motor Vehiclesএর টাকা ওদের দেওয়া উচিত। আইনসঙ্গতভাবে যার যা প্রাপ্য তাকে তা দেওয়া উচিত। আর এক কথা L. S.-G. Act এর যে একটা section আছে--86A—সেটা যদি একটু পরিবর্ত্তন করেন তাহ'লে toll বা কিছু কর আদায় কোরে ছোট ছোট ১ মাইল ২ মাইল রাস্তা বা খাল বা পুল তারা করতে পারে। তাতে দেশের সম্পদ বাড়ে।

এই কয়টা আমার suggestion, এই বোলে আমি সংক্ষেপে শেষ করছি।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আমি খুব সংক্ষেপে বলছি। Civil Works সম্বন্ধে—এত টাকার ব্যাপার। ১৯ লক্ষ কি ২২ লক্ষ টাকা নিয়ে সমস্ত দিন বক্তৃতা শোনা গেল অথচ ৪॥ কোটি টাকার ব্যাপারে কিছুই শোনা যাচ্ছে না। অন্যান্য ডিপার্টমেণ্ট আমার মনে হয় বেশী প্রয়োজনীয়। তবু এ ক্ষেত্রে টাকাটা যখন লুট হয়ে যাচ্ছে তখন হাওড়ায়ও কিছু হোক। একটা রাস্তা—হাওড়া থেকে আরম্ভ কোরে উলুবেড়িয়া পর্য্যন্ত জুট মিলগুলো এবং অন্যান্য industrial area পর্য্যন্ত একটা রাস্তা দরকার। অনেক দিন থেকে চেষ্টা করছি, তবু তা হচ্ছে না। আজকে বাউড়িয়া থেকে যদি কলিকাতায় আসতে হয় তবে ওখান থেকে cross কোরে বজবজ এবং সেখানকার রাস্তা দিয়ে কলিকাতায় এলে তাড়াতাড়ি হয়। এই অবস্থা চলছে। আগেও অনেক বলেছি তখনকার ও জেলার ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটকে বলেছিলাম। তিনি বলেছিলেন "দেখন, এটা হচ্ছেনা আপনার জন্য। ঐখানে যদি ভাল রাস্তা হয় তারপরে ঐ সমস্ত মিলে গিয়ে গণ্ডগোল করবেন"। আমি বললাম "আমার যাওয়ার বাধা হচ্ছে না। আপনারই পুলিশ এবং অফিসারেরা ওখানে যায় না"। সেই কথাটা আজকে গভর্ণমেণ্টকে বলছি। তখনকার দিনে যে আপত্তি ছিল আজকে সে আপত্তির কারণ নেই। কাজেই এই রাস্তা যেন হয়।

আর একটা কথা--জানি না এটা irrelevant হবে কিনা--এই ডিপার্টমেণ্টে যাঁরা কাজ করেন তাদের মধ্যে ভূপতি বাবু--আগে যিনি মিনিষ্টার ছিলেন তিনি আমাকে বলেছিলেন "কি ক'রব, fileটা কোথায়, খুঁজে পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না; Finance Minister করছেন না, তার জন্য হচ্ছে না"। সত্য মিথ্যা কিছুই জানি না; Government Secrets আমরা জানি না ত। আপাততঃ যিনি মিনিষ্টার তাঁকে সেই কথা বলি। যতটুকু পারেন এ সম্বন্ধে চিন্তা করবেন।

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, several members have raised several specific points. I would however like to speak in general terms a few words about the policy which this department wants to follow about construction and maintenance of roads in this province. Sir, last year we made an ambitious budget. We programmed for Rs. 1,33,00,000 on road development and we also provided Rs. 45,00,000 for national highways. Sir, if you scrutinise the red book you will find that though we have not been able to reach the target, yet we have been able to spend a lot and I think without any appreciable waste. Sir, I admit that there were various difficulties because of various bottlenecks—bottleneck of transport, bottleneck in obtaining supplies of essential materials such as cement, iron, steel and so on. There were some difficulties in getting coal for brick-burning or getting stones for road-building. These were the various bottlenecks, but in spite of them we have been compelled to supplement our sum; and if you look at the Revised estimate this year you will find that as against the Budget estimate of Rs. 1,33,00,000 the Revised estimate has gone up to Rs. 1,38,00,000.

Sir, in my last year's Budget Speech I tried to give a picture of the three or four categories of roads that are on the books of the Provincial Government. There are the national highways the cost of which is borne by the Government of India. There are provincial highways which are the arterial roads in the different districts in this province. Then there are the major district roads and there are other district roads. Now, Sir, I would make particular mention of another new feature that has been added this year. You will find in this year's budget, Sir, that there has been a lump provision for village roads. It is, for the first time in the history of

Provincial Budgets, that the Provincial Government have taken interest not only in the bigger arterial roads but also in minor village roads. That is an indication of the attitude that this Government has taken up regarding road development in this Province.

Sir, as I was trying to impress upon this House, we have been experiencing difficulties in various directions, specially in the matter of getting labour, contractors and essential materials for road-building. Sir, we have been trying our utmost to remove these bottlenecks and I would like to mention only a few steps that we have taken to remove them. Sir, I would inform this House that this department is purchasing a large number of machine for road construction so that even if there be shortage of labour or of contractor there might be no difficulty in the way of the speedy construction of roads. Sir, as I tried to point out earlier, there are the difficulties of transport. To eliminate the difficulties of railway transport and to obtain full advantage of the great riverways of this province we are trying to create a watercraft division which will consist of two sub-units, one unit of big watercraft for big rivers and another unit of small watercraft for small rivers. We are also trying to eliminate another bottleneck of transport by having our own railway sidings on important junctions and important stations where we can have full rakes of road-building materials unloaded within a few hours and I am glad to inform this House that we have been able to construct railway sidings so far in about five or six railway stations. Sir, the Government of India have also given the highest priority for rolling steel and iron that would be necessary for bridges, culverts and other road-making purposes. Sir, in spite of these, I must say that the shortages are tremendous. I would only mention one figure that will impress upon the House the great shortage we are facing. Sir, if we have to complete our road programme within three years our three-monthly demand for wagons to carry stone and metal comes up to 2,400 wagons. Against this we are actually receiving, in spite of our best efforts, only 315 wagons every three months.

Sir, you will find from this year's Red Book that in addition to the normal road-making programme that we were undertaking we have added to our responsibility by taking up a comprehensive border-road programme. I need not mention here the details of the border-road programmes; the detailed list has been given in the Appendix to the Red Book. I may however mention briefly that in many of these border roads work has already been proceeding fast and if we get adequate supplies we hope that the border roads would be completed within the three-year target. But, Sir, I would like to add that the period within which this programme can be accomplished obviously depends on the supply of materials and on funds. It may be mentioned in this connection that we tried to impress upon the Government of India that this border-road business is not really a provincial responsibility.

Sir, to connect land customs outposts, to connect border outposts and to connect the outlying villages in the borders, well, that is really not a provincial responsibility, at least not the whole of it. But, Sir, I regret to inform the House that, inspite of our best efforts, the Government of India have not yet agreed to shoulder the responsibility of border roads. What they have said is that we may get a sum of Rs. 66 lakhs, our own provincial share of the Central Reserve of the Road Fund, and though we had impressed upon the Government of India that these roads cannot be constructed without the grant of another Rs. 60 lakhs from Central Reserve of the Road Fund Account, Sir, we have not yet obtained a clear decision of the Government of India and the matter is still under their consideration. We had hoped and still feel that the Government of India will make it possible to give us a substantial grant of Rs. 60 lakhs from the Central Reserve of the Road Fund Account.

Sir, I need not elaborate on other points which would be clear from the Red Book and from the details given in the appendix therein. Sir, I would like to mention only two points before I take up the points mentioned by the honourable members opposite. Sir, I understand criticism was made on the floor of this House by our ex-Finance Minister Sri Annada Prosad Chowdhury that funds for roads have really come down this year instead of going up. Sir, I would request him to go through the Red Book carefully once more and he would find that in place of the sum of Rs. 133 lakhs provided for last year we have planned for Rs. 2½ crores this year and that will contradict his statement that funds for road construction have not been increased this year. I would like also to mention that so far as this department is concerned the cost of administration in spite of this tremendous responsibility, has not gone up but has actually come down and has been progressively coming down year by year. I would like to mention that in the year 1946-47 establishment charges were Rs. 30,94,000 and odd which is 12·6 per cent. of the value of total works undertaken. In 1948-49 the ratio was 12·7 whereas in 1949-50 the works have doubled if not more while the ratio has come down to 9·2 per cent. of the total costs of the works undertaken by this department.

We are trying also to weed out all forms of corruption from this department. You know, Sir, that this department had almost a tradition of corruption. It has therefore been the intensive effort of this Government to stamp out all sorts of corruption from this department and you have perhaps seen in the press that ruthless action has been taken against the delinquent officers, high or low. For instance, action was taken even against a Chief Engineer of this Department who was suspended and his case is now pending with the Government of India as he is an all-India service man. Sir, an Executive Engineer has been dismissed from service on charges of dishonesty. An Assistant Engineer is being criminally prosecuted on similar charges and investigation is still going on into the conduct of several subordinate officers. I need not mention the details.

Now, Sir, referring to the points made by the honourable members opposite, I would try to give you some idea about what we propose to do about district board roads. Sir, the honourable member representing the Birbhum constituency was quite right in saying that the roads which are on the books of the district boards have gone into disrepair and that only the roads used by the rich people, are pretty well-maintained and about the other roads he has said that there are no traces of the other roads. Well, Sir, he was the Vice-Chairman of the district board and I think he must thank himself and his organisation for the state of repairs the roads have been kept in by the district board itself.

Sir, I may assure the House that the idea of the Government is to take over progressively all the roads belonging to the district boards. Though the financial condition of Government does not permit the Government at the present moment to take over all those roads, progressively we will take them over—at least the more important ones at any rate. I maintain that this Government have already taken over thirteen hundred miles of roads in these two years from district boards, and this Government proposes to take over another three hundred miles next year. In addition to these, Government are also taking over a few village roads, and still in addition to them Government have taken up several roads for which the Civil Supplies Department have provided funds.

Now I come to the remarks of Janab Jasimuddin Ahmed who has raised several points about the deposit money and the system of borrow-pits. I can tell him that the proposal of having a lump deposit instead of earnest money for each tender is being considered by the Government on which a

decision will be arrived at very soon. He has mentioned about construction of culverts and boring of pins being provided all along this road. I can assure him that all necessary precautions will be taken when the work will be taken in hand.

Mr. Sibnath Banerjee has suggested improvement of the road in Howrah from Mourigram to Uluberia. If he refers to item 3 of the list of provincial highways mentioned in the Red Book, he will find that the road is there and I hope he will have no reason to complain, if the road is taken up this year. I need not go into further details, Sir, as my time is short, but I must say that Government are trying their level best to speed up construction of roads in spite of the handicaps they are facing not only in respect of materials but also in respect of labour. We are forced to buy machineries from abroad. So far as labour is concerned, it is for labour leaders and labour leaders alone of the countryside to assist the Government in finding labour here so that labour has not to be imported from other provinces or machineries from outside, or machineries have to be imported from abroad—our resources are not frittered away in that way.

Then, Sir, I may mention another thing in explaining the position of the Mahananda bridge raised by my friend Janab Sayeed Mia. The position remains unaltered since last year because the Government of India have not let us know their decision. As regards the other roads we have taken up four roads and I can assure my friend that we will be taking up in the Malda area repair and reconstruction of certain roads which have been very much neglected and about which nobody has agitated so long.

Mr. Abdul Wahid Sarkar has mentioned about a road for connecting Howrah with Arambagh. There were two alternative proposals: one was the branch road from Arambagh up to the national highway connecting Calcutta with Delhi. That depends on the Government of India and they are not certain when that work will be taken up. But having regard to the finances of the Government of India we cannot say that the prospect of taking up that road immediately is very bright. So far as the other proposal is concerned, the Burdwan-Arambagh road is being constructed and about four miles of it remain to be done. This will be taken up again with all possible speed. But so far as the bridge over Damodar is concerned the foundation that had been laid before has been engulfed in the great Damodar floods and until the Damodar project is complete the construction of that bridge over the Damodar has to be postponed. At present we are proposing to have a low-level road and a temporary concreate track across the Damodar, if funds permit.

With these words, Sir, I oppose the cut motions and commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 4,49,89,000 for expenditure under the heads "50—Civil Works" and "81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Wahid Sarkar that the demand of Rs. 4,49,89,000 for expenditure under the heads "50—Civil Works" and "81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mahammad Sayeed Mia that the demand of Rs. 4,49,89,000 for expenditure under the heads "50—Civil Works" and "81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account" be reduced by Rs. 100, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha that a sum of Rs. 4,49,89,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "50—Civil Works" and "81—Capital Account of Civil Works outside the Revenue Account", was then put and agreed to.

"54—Famine."

The Hon'ble Sri NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITY: Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 40,90,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "54—Famine".

The motion was put and agreed to.

"55—Superannuation allowances and pensions", "55A—Commutation of pensions financed from ordinary revenues" and "83—Payments of commuted value of pensions".

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 86,75,000 be granted for expenditure under the heads "55—Superannuation allowances and pensions", "55A—Commutation of pensions financed from ordinary revenues" and "83—Payments of commuted value of pensions".

The motion was put and agreed to.

"56—Stationery and Printing and Depreciation Reserve Fund—Government Presses."

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 39,83,720 be granted for expenditure under the head "56—Stationery and Printing and Depreciation Reserve Fund—Government Presses".

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, may I be allowed one minute? I should like to ask the Government the qualifications of the present Superintendent of the Printing Presses of the Government of West Bengal and also if he is any relation of any Minister of this Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Khuda Bukhsh you cannot ask that question whether he is a relation of any Minister.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker that a sum of Rs. 39,83,720 be granted for expenditure under the head "56—Stationery and Printing and Depreciation Reserve Fund—Government Presses" was then put and agreed to.

"85A—Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading."

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 2,18,95,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "85A—Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading".

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the demand of Rs. 2,18,95,000 for expenditure under the head "85A—Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading" be reduced by Rs. 100.

I move this motion, Sir, to raise a discussion about the inefficiency of the department and uselessness or otherwise of maintaining the department.

মাননীয় শ্রীল শ্রীযুক্ত গৌরবান্বিত, মহিমান্বিত পরিষদপাল মহোদয়, এই বিভাগের কার্য্যকলাপ দেখে আমাদের দেশে প্রচলিত সেই সাবেক পুরাতন একটা কথা আমার মনে পড়ে। সে কথা হচ্ছে একজন ঘটিরাম ডেপুটি ছিলেন। তার নামও ঘটিরাম ডেপুটি ছিল (A VOICE: না, না মুচিরাম)। যদি বিরক্ত করেন, তাহ'লে আমার বক্তৃতা হবে না। (SHOUTS: বলুন, বলুন আমরা শুনছি।) ঘটিরাম ডেপুটি তিনি একজন Deputy Magistrate ছিলেন। (Laughter.) তারপর তিনি একদিন কোন গ্রামে agricultural loan আদায় করতে যান, এবং সেখানে গিয়ে কোন একজন

গরীব লোককে ধরে বলেন "বেটা টাকা দে"। সে বললে "হুজুর, আমার টাকাকড়ি নাই আমাকে মাফ করুন"। ঘটিরাম ডেপুটি বললে, "না বেটা, মাফটাফ্ হবে না। তোমার ঘটি-বাটি যা কিছু আছে সব বেচে দিয়ে টাকা দেও"। সে বললে, "হুজুর, আমার ঘটীও নাই বাটীও নাই"। তখন ডেপুটি মহাশয় বললেন, "তুমি ঘটী বাটী কিনে, তারপর বেচে টাকা দাও"। (Prolonged laughter.) আমাদের এঁই বিভাগের কার্যকলাপও তাই হয়েছে, এঁরা প্রত্যেক লোকের কাছে চাচেছন "এই বেটা ধান দে, এই বেটা চাল দে"। তারা বলে, "হুজুর, আমার ধান, চাল কিছুই নেই।" ডেপুটি বললেন "ওরে বেটা, মা আছেত ধান, চাল কিনে, তারপর আমাকে দে"। আমাদের প্রফুল্ল বাবুরও কতকটা তাই হয়েছে। সেই ঘটিরাম ডেপুটীরও যে দশা আমাদের প্রফুল্ল বাবুরও সেই দশা ঘটেছে, তাঁর কেনা বেচায়। (Laughter.) এইত হ'ল অবস্থা, তারপর উনি আবার ব্যবসা করবেন ঠিক করলেন। মজা এমনি ওর (প্রফুল্ল বাবুর) ব্যবসা করবার সখ হ'ল। তারপর দেখেছেন যে এই ঘটারাম যা কিছু ধান, চাল কেনা বেচা করলেন, তার প্রত্যেকটি ক্ষেত্রেই লোকসান করলেন। আমরা চাষী মানুষ, আমাদের একটা প্রচলিত কথা আছে—।

"আদার ব্যাপারই ছিল ভাল,

জাহাজের ব্যাপারে, যা ছিল তাও গেল"।

(Laughter.) আদার ব্যাপার করতেন, কিছু কিছু লাভটাভ করতেন। এই ব্যাপার করতে করতে শেষে জাহাজের ব্যাপারে গেলেন, মস্ত বড় আড়ত করে দুনিয়ায় যত Provinceআছে তাদের সঙ্গে trade করবেন স্থির করলেন। তারপর ration, fashion নানারকম matter কিনে, আবার বেচে লোকসান করলেন। মহাশয়, আপনাদের ব্যাপার হচেছ ঘটারাম ডেপুটী আর জাহাজের ব্যাপার। আপনাদের এই রকম করবার কি আবশ্যক ছিল? আমি চাষী মানুষ, ভাল বুঝি-সুঝি না, তবু আমার মত এই যে, এইসব কারবারের কোন প্রয়োজন নাই। যারা ব্যবসা করে তাদের হাতে সমস্ত ছেড়ে দিন্। তাদের গিয়ে বলুন, "আমার এত মণ--৫০ লক্ষ টন চাল দরকার--বাপু, তোমরা tender দাও। তোমরা tender call করো। Tender call করে তারপর যত মাড়োয়ারী আছে (laughter), আড়তদার আছে, এই সব কাজের খুঁটিওয়ালা যারা আছে তাদের ডেকে, তাদের সঙ্গে সওদা করুন। (A VOICE: সওদা কি?) আমাদের চাষীর ভাষায় হচেছ সওদা, আপনাদের ভাষায় হচেছ tender, render, gender, etc., fender ইত্যাদি (হাস্যধ্বনি)। আপনারা আমার কথা শুনুন, হাসবেন না। আমরা চাষী মানুষ ভাল করে কথা বলতে জানি না, কাজেই আপনারা হেসে অস্থির। আপনারা তারপর tender call করে বলবেন যে ৫০ লক্ষ টন চাল আমাদের প্রয়োজন, তোমরা কে কত দরে দিতে পারবে তাই বল। এই ধরণের প্রথাইত সর্বত্র দেখা যায়। যখন বিগত মহাযুদ্ধ খুব জোরে চলছিল; একেবারে প্রগতিশীল যুদ্ধ (কালীবাবুর ভাষায় প্রগতিশীল মন্থ্রগতিশীল--হাস্যরব)। যুদ্ধ যখন খুব প্রগতিশীল তখন তাঁরা tender call করেছিলেন ঐসব মাড়োয়ারীদের কাছে। আর মাড়োয়ারীরা লাখ লাখ, ক্রোর ক্রোর টন যেখানে যা পেতেন সেটা কিনে supply করে দিত। আপনারাও তাই করুন, তাহ'লে দেখতে পাবেন ওদের ভিতর, মাড়োয়ারী ভায়াদের ভিতর competition লেগে যাবে, কে কত কম দামে দিতে পারে। আর বাজারে যারা উৎপাদক তারা বলবে আমি চাষী ৯৲ টাকার কমে দিতে পারব না। (A VOICE: আপনি ত জমিদার।) আমি চাষী, after all agriculture is my income. আমার মতে এই department রাখবার কিছুমাত্র প্রয়োজন নাই। আপনারা এখানে বসে থাকেন গোটা দশেক কেরাণী নিয়ে, আর আপনাদের যে ডিষ্ট্রিক্ট ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট, সাব্-ডিভিসন্যাল ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট আছে তাদের through দিয়ে কাজ করেন। Tender call for করেন, আপনাদের মাল যেখানে যেখানে supply হওয়া দরকার তা যথাযথভাবে হতে পারবে। This is my concrete suggestion. এই হচেছ আমার উপদেশ, আমার পরামর্শ। (A VOICE: প্রস্তাব।) না, মশায়, আমার প্রস্তাব নয়। স্যার, এরা না থামলে আমি বলবো না। তারপরে আমার প্রস্তাব হচেছ তা হ'লে সমস্ত দিকে বেশ competition লেগে যাবে।

আজকাল আমাদের মত লোকের পক্ষে যারা চাষী, তাদের জমি চাষ করা একটা ভয়ানক কঠিন ব্যাপার। একটু জমি চাষ করতে মান দু টাকার কম মুনীষ পাবেন না। যদি বা পান তাও বহু কষ্টে সেই মুনীষ সংগ্রহ করতে হয়—অনেক ঘোরাঘুরি করে, তোষাঁমোদ করে। তারপর চাই ষাঁড়, তারপরে যাকে organic manure বলেন, তা পাবেন না। জমি জায়গা সব অনুর্বর হয়ে যাচেছ। এই সমস্ত খরচ খরচা করে শেষকালে দেখা যায় যে চাষ করাতে লাভটাভ কিছুই থাকে না।

আপনারা বলছেন ব্যবসায় আমাদের লোকসান হয়েছে। আপনাদিগকে লোকসান করতে বলেছে কে? দেশের লোক কি বলেছে লোকসান করে ব্যবসায় করেন? আমাদের দেশের লোকে এর প্রতিবাদ করছে। আমার মতে আপনারা এ ব্যবসায় অবিলম্বে পরিত্যাগ করুন। এই লোকসানের ব্যবসায় দিয়ে আর আমাদের দরকার নাই। আমি আর এ বিষয়ে বেশী কিছু বলতে চাই না এবং আর বেশী বলে সময়ও নষ্ট করতে চাই না। আমি আমার "গিলোটীন" নিজের উপরই apply করছি।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will you allow me two minutes, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I do not know whether under this scheme of State trading comes in also the transport trade.

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: No, it does not.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I have been told by the Hon'ble Minister for Civil Supplies that it does not come under State trading. I do not understand why this should not come under this head, because that is also another branch of State trading. The Hon'ble Finance Minister is a very clever man——

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Not clever than you!

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: And he juggled with figures. He has provided some money for some form of State trading and also provided another amount of money for some other form of State trading. It is relevant to say, Sir, I submit, that transport trade is also State trading.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Please do not discuss Home transport. It is for the Finance Department to say whether a particular item is to be included within a particular demand or not.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: আমি বিশ্বাস করি Civil Supply যদি না থাকে, তাহ'লে দেশের শান্তি-সুখ হবে। Famine হবার কোন আশঙ্কা নাই। (A VOICE: তবে Civil Supply হ'ল কেন?) হ'ল--উৎপাদন কম বলে--সমানভাবে উৎপন্নটা বেঁটে দেবার জন্য। Civil Supply দ্বারা কোন উৎপাদন হয় না। আমি যেমন বিশ্বাস করি যে Civil Supply দ্বারা যত অনর্থ হচ্ছে, অপর পক্ষে Civil Supply যাঁরা বাহাল রেখেছেন, তাঁরা বিশ্বাস করেন যে, এটা না হ'লে হয় না। ইহা বিশ্বাসের কথা। Civil Supply না থাকলে যে, দেশ থাক্‌বে না এমন যুক্তির কোন অর্থ নাই। সিভিল সাপ্লাই দ্বারা বর্ত্তমানে উৎপাদনের কোন কাজ হয় না। তবে যদি সিভিল সাপ্লাই হ'তে গরীব লোকদের কম দামে জিনিষ দেওয়া সম্ভব হয়, তবে মোট টাকাটা তাদের দান ক'রে দিলেই, সেই একই জিনিষ হবে। সিভিল সাপ্লাই দ্বারা যদি উৎপাদন হ'ত তাহ'লে বুঝতাম সিভিল সাপ্লাই না হলে হবে না। মোট কথা সিভিল সাপ্লাইয়ের বাবদে মোট খরচের টাকা, যদি কৃষিখাতে বরাদ্দ করা হয়, তাহ'লে সত্যিকার উপকার হয়। এর দ্বারা একমাত্র famine হ'তে পারে চাকরীর, কিন্তু কৃষি দিয়ে খাদ্যের famineকে বাঁচাতে পারা সম্ভব। (A VOICE: চাকরীও একরকম খাদ্য।) হাঁ, পোষ্যপালনের।

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, all the points raised by my friend Janab Mudassir Hossain whom I do not find here now, Janab Jasimuddin Ahmed and Janab Khuda Bukhsh were dealt with in my speech on the demand under the head "63—Extraordinary Charges". Sir, all the loss that we incurred is due to imported foodstuff and the House knows very well that we import all the wheat, barley and other wheat products from foreign countries—from Canada, from Australia, from the United States of America, from Argentina and from Brazil. I also explained in detail the reasons why controls have got to be retained and maintained and rationing too, and I need not go into detail at this stage.

Sir, I oppose the cut motion moved and commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the demand of Rs. 2,18,95,000 for expenditure under the head "85A—Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading" was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen that a sum of Rs. 2,18,95,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "85A—Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading", was then put and agreed to.

Interest-free Advances.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 11,89,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Interest-free Advances".

The motion was put and agreed to.

Loans and Advances bearing Interest.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, on the recommendation of the Governor, I beg to move that a sum of Rs. 8,83,03,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Loans and Advances bearing Interest".

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: টাকার অংক দেখে কিছু বলতে ইচ্ছে হচ্ছে--৮ কোটি ৮৩ লক্ষ টাকা। (A VOICE: অংক দেখে লোভ হচ্ছে বুঝি।) হ্যাঁ, অংক দেখে লোভ হচ্ছে। কলকাতা কর্পোরেশন affairs discussion করবার সুযোগ যখন হচ্ছে না, তখন হাওড়া মিউনিসিপ্যালিটি নিয়ে একটু discussion করা যাক্।

হাওড়া মিউনিসিপ্যালিটি বারবার চাচ্ছে আমাদের কিছু টাকা দাও মেথরদের জন্য বাড়ী তৈরী করবো। তাঁরা water improvementএর জন্য টাকা চেয়েছেন এবং আরও অনেকগুলি scheme আছে যার জন্য টাকা চাওয়া হয়েছে। With interest ২৩।২৫ লাখ টাকা তারা চেয়েছে, কিন্তু কিছুই পাচ্ছে না। আর ওদিক থেকে মুস্কিলে পড়েছে মেথররা। তাদের জন্য টাকা চাচ্ছে, আপনারা দিতে পারছেন না। তাই আমি আজ আবেদন জানিয়ে যাচ্ছি on behalf of the municipal labour

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: এটার উত্তর হতে পারে এই যে এটা সম্পূর্ণ irrelevant আমার demandএর মধ্যে হাওড়া মিউনিসিপ্যালিটি সম্বন্ধে কোন কথা নাই।

The motion of the Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker that a sum of Rs. 8,83,03,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Loans and Advances bearing Interest", was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-15 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 30th March, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta on Wednesday, the 30th March, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 50 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Lands and Buildings requisitioned at Sodepur, 24-Parganas.

*35. (SHORT NOTICE). **Sri BIPIN BEHARI GANGULY:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(*i*) that the lands and residential buildings at village Sodepur (24-Parganas) which were requisitioned for military purposes have not yet been restored to the owners though the war is over;

(*ii*) that repeated representations were addressed in the matter to the Government by the owners;

(*iii*) that several houses in the requisitioned areas are still lying unused;

(*iv*) that these vacant houses have become dilapidated for want of repairs;

(*v*) that a part of the village was handed over to Messrs. Allenberry & Co. after termination of the war without the knowledge of the villagers?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) (*ii*) is in the affirmative will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action the Government have taken thereon?

(*c*) If the reply to (*a*) (*v*) is in the affirmative will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the terms and conditions under which the area was handed over to the said firm and what steps the Government have taken to enforce the said terms and conditions?

MINISTER in charge of the LAND and LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha): (*a*) (*i*) Yes. A large number of residential buildings and plots of land at village Sodepur (24-Parganas) was requisitioned during the war for the U. S. Army and many of them are still under requisition.

(*ii*) and (*iii*) Yes.

(*iv*) Information is being obtained from the local officer.

(*v*) Messrs. Allenberry & Co. occupied the requisitioned lands and buildings on the strength of a deed of contract executed between the Company and the Government of India.

(*b*) and (*c*) Details of the terms of the contract between the Government of India and Messrs. Allenberry & Co. are not known to this Government, but it is understood that the Company was to hand back all lands duly cleared before a stipulated date. The company has however

failed to do so, but it is only the Government of India that can enforce th terms and conditions of the contract and force the Company to clear the land.

One receipt of representations the matter was brought to the notice of the Government of India by this Government. As many as seven reminders were sent during the period from September, 1947, to February, 1949. This Government, however, has been informed on the 12th March, 1949, that—

(*i*) the total area requisitioned in 1944 was 158 acres, of which approximately 60 acres have already been released;

(*ii*) of the remaining 98 acres, 76 acres are with Messrs. Allenberry & Co. The question of releasing this land is under consideration of the Government of India;

(*iii*) orders for the release of balance land/houses not occupied by Messrs. Allenberry's are being issued now by the Government of India.

Sri BEPIN BEHARI GANGULY: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell us when the houses on the requisitioned lands and buildings in possession of Messrs. Allenberry Co., which they do not require, will be released?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: As I have made it clear in my answer, whether the houses are still required by them or not it is for the Government of India to enquire. We have already pressed our viewpoint that these lands and houses should be released as early as possible and I have mentioned that seven reminders have been sent during the period from September, 1947, to February, 1949. The honourable member will appreciate that this Government can do nothing more than sending reminders to the Government of India in this matter.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি, তিনি যে (b) (c)র উত্তরে বলেছেন যে এই Messrs. Allenberry & Co. এই জমিটা একটা নির্দিষ্ট তারিখের মধ্যে ফেরত দেবার কথা,--এই তারিখটা কবে ছিল?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: When the date expired is not known to this Government. But so far as I have heard from non-official sources, from the petitions given to this Government by the people concerned, the date has long ago expired, probably about 2 years ago.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি এতদিন তাঁরা যে চুক্তি ভঙ্গ করলেন এর জন্য তাঁরা ক্ষতিপূরণ দেবেন কিনা?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I think the claim for damages is a very reasonable one and the Government of India will consider this question of giving compensation to people who have been adversely affected by the occupation of their land for such a long period, beyond the stipulated date.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানাবেন কি Messrs. Allenberry & Co.র মালিক কে?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Well, that is not for me to inform this House because that is a firm and the ownership of the company is well known; perhaps it is a limited company and the contract is between the Government of India and the company. We do not know the details.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি তিনি বলেছেন 60 acres have already been released. Released to whom? কাদের দেওয়া হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Not to any other company but to the individuals. As to which individuals have got it back, if he wants details he would kindly send fresh notice.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন, স্যার, details চাই না, principleটা চাইছি। যাদের জমি ছিল তাদের ফেরত দেওয়া হয়েছে না অন্য কোন contract অপর লোকের সঙ্গে গভর্ণমেণ্ট করেছেন?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: So far as I know it has been given back to the owners, but I am not sure. If the honourable member wants a more definite answer perhaps he would be better advised to send in a fresh notice.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানাবেন কি এলেনবারী কম্পানীর মালিক প্রধানতঃ Dalmia কিনা?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Well, it is a limited concern with its shareholders.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানাবেন কি আপনার গভর্ণমেণ্ট, এই যে ক্ষতিপূরণ আদায়, তাহাতে কি সাহায্য করতে পারেন?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: So far as I know, the Government of India entered into a contract with the company in question. This Government does not know the details of the contract. In the absence of the details of the contract this Government is not in a position to state how to enforce the terms and conditions or how to force the company to pay compensation, if they have to pay any.

Sri CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: এই Messrs. Allenberry & Co. নির্দ্দিষ্ট তারিখের মধ্যে যে সমস্ত জমি ফেরত দেননি, এর জন্য ক্ষতিপূরণ দিতে তাঁরা বাধ্য। এই ক্ষতিপূরণ আদায়ে কি সাহায্য করতে পারেন গভর্ণমেণ্ট? এই চুক্তির details জানতে পাঠাবেন কিনা বর্ত্তমান গভর্ণমেণ্ট?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I shall note that suggestion.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Arising out of the answer of the Hon'ble Minister that the claim of compensation is very reasonable, will he please tell the House how he will be able to press this very reasonable claim?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: We shall forward the proceedings of the House to the Government of India.

Sri DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister kindly request the Government of India to send a copy of the deed of contract with Messrs. Allenberry & Co.?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I have already noted that suggestion.

Sri DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enquire what made the Government of India make the contract with Messrs Allenberry & Co. instead of handing over the lands to the original occupiers?

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Well, if the House so desires, I shall enquire from the Government of India, so far as the disposal of goods lying in those lands were concerned, as to why the Government of India asked certain companies to sell those disposal goods and also why those disposal goods were not disposed of within the stipulated period and the lands cleared.

Allotment of days for non-official business.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, we have had a very long budget session, but we had no non-official days. I would request you to see that we have non-official days and see that Government grant us in this session also two non-official days after the disposal of Government business.

Mr. SPEAKER: I shall consult the Government.

Authenticated Schedule of Expenditure for 1949-50.

The Hon'ble Sri NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in pursuance of sub-section (*2*) of section 80 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted by the India (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947, I beg to lay before the Assembly the Schedule of Anthenticated Expenditure for 1949-50 as authenticated by His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal under sub-section (*1*) thereof.

Adjournment.

The Assembly was then adjourned at 4-12 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Monday, the 4th April, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 4th April, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present.

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 58 Members.

Oath.

The following gentleman took the oath:—

Sri Sheo Kumar Roy (representing Darjeeling General Constituency).

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Principle of cordoning rice and paddy areas

***38. Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Civil Supplies Department be pleased to state the principle on which rice and paddy areas are cordoned?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(*i*) that the price of rice and paddy in areas not under cordon is higher than that in the adjacent cordoned areas; and

(*ii*) that the sellers in cordoned and buyers in adjacent non-cordoned areas are dissatisfied for this difference in price?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he has taken or proposes to take in the matter?

Minister in charge of the Civil Supplies Department (the Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN): (*a*) Generally surplus areas are cordoned in order to prevent the flow of stocks from such areas to deficit areas in this Province or even beyond to other Provinces within the Indian Dominion or to Pakistan. This keeps down the price within the cordoned area and facilitates Government procurement which enables Government to render the maximum assistance to deficit areas. Some deficit areas have also been cordoned off in order to prevent smuggling and thus to retain within those areas all the marketable surplus for the purpose of distributing it equitably within those areas.

(*b*) (*i*) and (*ii*) Yes.

(*c*) The question of fixing ceiling prices for paddy and rice all over the Province is under consideration. When price in non-cordoned areas goes up very high paddy and rice from Government stocks are supplied to such areas to bring down the price level.

Sri SHYAMAPADA BHATTACHARYYA: In view of the last answer, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has in view the fixing of ceiling prices of other cereals, such as, wheat, gram, etc.?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The question of fixing the ceiling price of wheat does not arise because all the wheat we consume are imported. About the ceiling price of gram, it is also being considered by the Government of India.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: How is an area determined to be a deficit area?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: A deficit area and a surplus area are determined from the reports received from the Agriculture Department and also from the survey made by the Indian Statistical Institute.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Is this Government aware that there may be fluctuations in prices during that period?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes, there are fluctuations in prices.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to see that if an area is once cordoned, there may be occasion for changing it?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Oh Yes.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় ceiling price বেঁধে দেওয়া সম্বন্ধে বলেছেন যে সেটা under consideration আছে। কতদিন থেকে under consideration দয়া করে বলবেন কি?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: কিছুদিন থেকে।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: কিছুদিন থেকে--এটা বোঝা গেল না। কত বৎসর, কত মাস, কত দিন under consideration?

The Hon'ble Sri PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: বেশী দিন নয়।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় Speaker মহোদয়--মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় উত্তর দিন ত ভালভাবে দিন; না হয় না দিন। একটা approximate উত্তর ত দেওয়া উচিত। এরূপ উত্তর দেওয়া না দেওয়ারই সমান।

Mr. SPEAKER: That is the answer. You cannot comment upon the answer.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: You cannot ask them to give a proper reply?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, I cannot. You know quite well. You have been in this House for long.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: When the answer is frivolous, certainly the members on this side have a right to be protected by you. The answer was certainly frivolous and more frivolous was the laughter from the ministerial benches.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, I cannot allow any comment upon the answer. If you are not satisfied, you have got other courses open to you.

Level crossing and electric light arrangement at Agarpara railway station.

***37. Janab SERAJUDDIN AHAMMAD:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Works and Buildings Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(*i*) that no level crossing and electric light arrangement have been provided for at Agarpara railway station within Panihati Municipality;

(*ii*) that such level crossings have been provided for at all other railway stations between Ultadanga and Ichhapur along the main line of East Indian Railway of Sealdah Division;

(*iii*) that all the amenities of the said municipal area, namely, markets, hospitals, schools, temples, mosques, fire station, police-station, etc., lie on the western side of the abovementioned railway line;

(*iv*) that under the existing circumstances any road traffic has to go round about 2 to 3 miles of *katcha* road in order to move from one side to the other of the railway line in the said area;

(*v*) that the population in the eastern side of the above station has increased considerably nowadays and is increasing from day to day; and

(*vi*) that pedestrians with vegetables from the eastern side cross the railway line every day in order to go to the market?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) is in the affirmative, does the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of moving the railway authorities—

(*i*) for provision of a level crossing at the said Agarpara station connecting the Eastern Station Road with the Western Station Road straight up to the Barrackpore Trunk Road; and

(*ii*) for provision of electric light at the said station?

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI on behalf of the Minister-in-charge of the Works and Buildings Department (the Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA): (*a*) (*i*) Yes. But there is a foot over-bridge for movement of pedestrians from one side of the railway station to the other.

(*ii*) This is not a fact. For instance there is no level crossing at Ultadanga Road and Dum Dum Junction stations.

(*iii*) Yes.

(*iv*) This is not correct as there is one level crossing at about 1,350 feet away from the centre of Agarpara station building towards the north. It is, however, not unlikely that from certain portions of the municipal area the road traffic has to go round a considerable distance so as to move from one side to the other of the railway line. But this is more due to the absence of cross roads in the municipal area itself to connect the existing main roads than to the absence of a level crossing at Agarpara railway station.

(*v*) and (*vi*) Yes. The pedestrians use the foot over-bridge.

(*b*) Yes. The Provincial Government will write to the proper authorities.

Mr. SPEAKER: I find that the Parliamentary Secretary has replied. As usual, I have not received the delegation order as yet.

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: It will be sent.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলেছেন যে উল্টাডাঙ্গায় ও দমদমার level crossing নেই। সেখানে tunnel crossing আছে—সেটা তিনি অবগত আছেন কি?

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: Tunnel crossing আছে—level crossing নেই।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: এ রকম উত্তর দেওয়ার সার্থকতা কি? পুরোপুরি উত্তর দিন নইলে এই রকমভাবে উত্তরে কি সত্যের অপলাপ হয় না?

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: পুরোপুরি উত্তর দিলে আপনি কি supplementar করবেন?

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অবগত আছেন কি--তিনি যে foc bridgeএর কথা বলেছেন সেটা মাস তিনেক হল under repair রয়েছে। সেখানে দিয়ে চলা যায় না।

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: সেটা Railwayকে বললেই ভাল হয়। Provincia Governmentএর হাত নেই।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, I may tell you that, after all, th Hon'ble Minister is not in charge of Railways and the answer has bee procured by the courtesy of the Railway Board. Therefore, you have t keep it in mind.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অবগত আছেন কি যে কামাখ্যা মিত্র নাম একজন Principal ওখানে cross করতে গিয়ে train চাপা পড়ে মারা গেছেন কারণ foot bridg under repair; অন্য কোন crossing নেই বলে।

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: সেটা departmentএ খবর না নিয়ে বলা যায় না।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: অনুগ্রহ করে খবর নেবেন কি?

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: চেষ্টা করব।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অবগত আছেন কি যে ওখানকার স্থানী লোকেরা এবং স্থানীয় municipality Railwayর কাছে লিখে কোন উত্তর পায়নি।

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: না--সেটা আমরা অবগত নই।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: তাদের লেখাতে বিশেষ কিছু যে ফল হবে না এ সম্বন্ধে চিন্ত করে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অন্য কোন ব্যবস্থা করবেন কি?

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: তাহলে আমি শিবনাথ বাবুকে অনুরোধ করছি যে আপনি লিখবেন।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আচ্ছা, ভেবে দেখব আপনার অনুরোধ। মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশ --এই level crossing এর খরচটা Provincial Government থেকে বহন করতে রাজী আছেন কি?

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: না--এই Province তা করবে না।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: তিনি বলেছেন যে cross road নাই। Cross road Provincial Governmentরই করা উচিত। অন্তত: সেটা করবেন কি?

Sri HARENDRA NATH DOLUI: সেটা municipal area--municipality যদি দেখেন, তাহলে cross road করা যেতে পারে।

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: আচ্ছা--ধন্যবাদ।

Allotment of days for non-official business.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we would like to ascertain through you whether Government will agree to allot one or two days for discussion of non-official business.

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand that the House is going to be prorogued soon—either today or tomorrow. I hope Government will keep in mind your suggestion till the next session.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have said that the House will be prorogued soon, either today or tomorrow. I understand, Sir, that Government are referring the Bill that they have brought forward in this House to a Select Committee. If the House be prorogued tomorrow, we may be given tomorrow as a non-official day.

Mr. SPEAKER: Let us see what happens today.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The West Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1949.
(Presentation of the final report.)

The Hon'ble Sri Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, with your permission I beg to present the final report of the Select Committee on the West Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1949.

In presenting the report, Sir, I would only like to thank the House at this stage for the repeated kindness that has been shown to us by extending the time for the presentation of the report. But for the extension of time, it would have been impossible for the Select Committee to consult so many persons and bodies interested in Secondary Education and profit by their valuable suggestions. To what extent we have profited by their suggestions will be seen from the body of the report and the changes that have been effected in this Bill. It is a matter of gratification, Sir, that the report is unanimous. (Applause.)

Motions under rule 7(5) of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly Procedure Rules.

Sri D. N. MUKHERJI: Sir, I beg to move that whereas Janab Md. Sharif Khan is absent without permission from all meetings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly from the 11th March, 1948, to 16th March, 1949, *i.e.*, a period of more than sixty days computed in the manner provided in the proviso to sub-section *(4)* of section 68 of the Government of India Act, and whereas the member has not applied for such leave up till now, this Assembly do declare that the seat of Janab Md. Sharif Khan representing Hooghly-cum-Howrah Municipal (Muhammadan) Constituency be declared vacant.

Janab Md. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, can we speak on these motions?

Mr. SPEAKER: No.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sri D. N. MUKHERJI: Sir, I beg to move that whereas Janab Illias Ali Molla is absent without permission from all meetings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly from the 5th March, 1948, to the 16th March, 1949, *i.e.*, a period of more than sixty days computed in the manner provided in the proviso to sub-section *(4)* of section 68 of the Government of India Act, and whereas the member has not applied for such leave up till now, this Assembly do declare that the seat of Janab Illias Ali Molla representing 24-Parganas Central (Muhammadan) Constituency be declared vacant.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The West Bengal Land-Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949.

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Land-Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Land-Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949, be taken into consideration.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a small Bill but I think a most important Bill in the context of large-scale evictions that are taking place under the provision of section 37 of the Revenue Sales Law. Some time ago representations were made to the Government that great hardship was being caused to a large section of the people by the application of section 37 of the Revenue Sales Act which entitles the purchaser of an estate sold for its arrears of revenue to avoid and annul all under-tenures with certain exceptions. This has been the case particularly in the urban area, such as Calcutta and its suburbs where the present phenomenal increase in the land values has supplied the necessary incentive to a number of speculative purchasers and designing proprietors in exploiting the provision of law to enrich themselves by large-scale evictions or threat of eviction of the tenants in occupation. It was accordingly urged upon the Government that Government should immediately protect these interests which are sought to be evicted under the provision of this law. An enquiry was made as to the extent of such evictions and it was found that the evil is rampant mostly in and around Calcutta, though there have been some cases, particularly in the Midnapore district, and instances have also been found in other districts, where this section has been taken advantage of in evicting the under-tenures and the tenancies. Sir, if I may impress upon the House the brief history of the enactment of this provision I may tell you, Sir, that the avowed object of section 37 of the Sales Act was to secure Government revenue. One of the conditions under which the zemindars at the time of Permanent Settlement were declared to be the actual proprietors was that the revenue should be punctually paid and that in the event of any default a sale of the estate should invariably be made. A proprietor might reduce the assets of his estate by granting lease at low rents on payment of high premium and thereby render the punctual discharge of revenue a matter of dfficulty. To prevent this it was considered necessary to provide that all encumbrances and tenures should be made voidable at the sale of the estate for its own arrears, so that the purchaser might not be handicapped in the matter of payment of Government revenue. Thus the Permanent Settlement and the rigours of the Sales Law have become inseparable parts of the system of land-revenue tenure of the country. At the same time it has always been recognised that this particular provision of the Sales Law conferred on the auction-purchaser wide powers of annoyance, of interference and extortion subversive to the rights of tenants. It is indeed true that section 37 of the Act has given protection to certain categories of tenants. If I may mention, Sir, there were five or six categories of interests which were protected under section 37 of the Revenue Sales Law. The first category is the *istimari* or mokarari tenures which have been held at a fixed rent from the time of the Permanent Settlement; secondly, tenures existing at the time of settlement which have not been held at a fixed rent; thirdly, talukdari and other similar tenures created since the time of settlement and held immediately of the proprietors of estates and farms for terms of years so held when such tenures and farms have been duly registered under the provisions of the Act; fourthly, leases of land whereon dwelling houses, manufactories or

ther permanent buildings have been erected or whereon gardens, plantaions, tanks, wells, canals, places of worship or burning or burial grounds iave been made or wherein mines have been sunk and there were two other provisos the last one of which was that "nothing in this section contained hall be construed to entitle any such purchaser as aforesaid to eject any *aiyat* having a right of occupancy at a fixed rent or at a rent assessable ccording to fixed rules under the laws in force or to enhance rent of any uch *raiyat* otherwise than in the manner prescribed by the former propriеor irrespective of the settlement and all the engagements made since the time of settlement may have been entitled to it." Sir, these were the exceptions mentioned in the old section 37 of the Revenue Sales Law. Sir, it would appear at the first reading that these exceptions granted sufficient protection to *raiyats* and to other tenure-holders who deserve protection. But, unfortunately, Sir, a series of case laws gave a different interpretation to section 37 and the protection granted was gradually and gradually cut down and reduced. For instance it was decided by the judicature that house would only mean the plot of land on which the house itself is situated and will not mean holding as a whole on which the house is situated. For instance it was also decided by the judicature that *raiyat* will not mean the *raiyat* in the sense of the Bengal Tenancy Act but would mean the actual cultivator of the soil, a person who cultivates land with his own hand. Sir, in this way the protection that was granted to a few categories of interests, that protection was gradually reduced with the result that only a very few persons enjoyed the protection that was originally intended to be given to a wider category of section 37.

Sir, it is of course true that the rigours of the Revenue Sales Law were modified to a certain extent by the amendments introduced under sections 37A-37D. These sections, provide that where there is default of revenue and the *tauzis* put to sale, any interest affected by the sale may pay the arrears with a certain interest and purchase the right for himself. Sir, this entitled the *patnidars* and other tenure-holders and even the *raiyats* whose interests are affected by such sales, to deposit the arrears of revenue with certain interest and become the proprietor himself. But, Sir, in actual practice it was found that even this protection did not go very far because, Sir, where the *tauzi* question was involved the *tauzis* having a large income, it was impossible for one tenure-holder or a few *raiyats* to collect sufficient money and become the proprietor himself. In this way, Sir, it was found that in actual working, this section 37 led to great hardship to a large category of tenants and evictions were not very infrequent, particularly in and around Calcutta. So, Sir, when the Government found that large-scale evictions are taking place, true to Congress ideals and policy and true to the creed and pledge of giving protection to those who deserve it the Government thought it necessary to bring forward this legislation so that people who are being evicted to-day may not be unnecessarily evicted by speculative purchasers. Sir, there has been a lot of controversy about this question of speculative purchase. It has been urged that if we grant a right to these subsequent tenure-holders, they, instead of the landlord himself, might indulge in speculative purchases and in speculative disposals of the lands they would now be possessing under the provisions of the proposed amending Act. Sir, it is quite true, I do not deny that there might be speculative purchases under the protection that this law proposes to give. But, Sir, one or two cases should not influence our judgment because having regard to the generality of the cases if we find that the persons evicted are small tenures and tenure-holders who have perhaps built one or two houses, or who have built one or two small factories and now the lands on which their factories are situated, lands excluding factory or the house itself, those lands are being taken away by them, they have to pay very large and heavy sums for retaining these lands. Sir, Government feel this to be an obvious

injustice. Therefore, Sir, with this end in view Government have brought this legislation. If I might explain the fundamental principles underlying this legislation I may say that previously the idea was that all the encumbrances created by the landlords after the Permanent Settlement they should go when the landlords go. Now, Sir, the principle that has been enunciated in this Bill is no tenure or no *raiyat* would go, but in case they have fraudulently entered into a compromise or collusion with the other interests and have deliberately reduced the rates of rent so much so as to jeopardise the Government revenue, there should be a provision for re-opening the contracts and for re-assessing rents so that Government revenue may not be jeopardised. Sir, section 2 of the present Bill gives protection to all tenures and under-tenures and other *raiyats* and sections 5 and 6 relate to the question of re-opening the contracts and assessments of fair and equitable rent in cases where there has been collusion or deliberate reduction in the rate of rent. These are the two principles on which the Bill has been framed.

Sir, I do not deny that this is a very thorny question and I am also afraid that any provision that may be made in this regard may cut both ways. There are good landlords, there are bad landlords, there are big landlords, there are small lanlords, there are small tenants, there are also very big tenants, tenants who are richer than the lanlords themselves. So, in giving protection to the tenants there might be cases where one or two big tenants may benefit. Sir, I have no doubt in my mind that if we give protection to the tenants the overwhelming majority would be all those tenants where the tenants are of small capacity or small standing and tenures who eminently deserve our protection. Sir, there has been one contradiction in the Bill which is to be solved if we have to enact a perfect law in this matter and that contradiction is that if we provide for the re-opening of the contracts, re-opening of the terms in which land is held, it might, Sir, lead to the re-opening of contract of rent and other cases, in certain matters where the Bengal Tenancy Act gives the tenants ample protection. Sir, it is a matter for deep concern, whether it would be prudent to re-open those cases where the Bengal Tenancy Act gives ample protection. On the other hand there is the argument, Sir, that unless you give powers under this Act to re-open those cases it is quite possible that Government revenue would be jeopardised, because there might be fraudulent transactions not at the uppermost level but down below where a large number of under-tenures and tenures might be collusively created with the deliberate view of jeopardising Government revenue. Sir, this is a dilemma we have to solve and for that reason, Sir, I shall not oppose any motion for reference to Select Committee if such a motion is made. But I would like to inform the House at the same time that in case this Bill is referred to a Select Committee, Government will have to bring forward measures to put a stop to all suits and proceedings that are now pending in the courts of law so that there might be no further complications. The Select Committee might discuss this Bill and give it such shape as it thinks fit. But, Sir, I think it would be fair to stop all suits and proceedings so that there might not be any additional complications in the meantime. Sir, it is for the House to decide whether the Bill should be referred to Select Committee but if the House decide that the Bill should go to the Select Committee for thrashing out these complicated legal questions, I can tell the House that, in that case, it will be necessary to bring forward another measure by which all pending suits and proceedings will have to be stopped in order that there might be no further complications.

Now, Sir, I would await other motions that might be moved from different parties of the House.

Janab A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I congratulate the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of Land and Land Revenue Department for bringing this most important and long overdue legislation. Sir, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Bill it has been clearly stated why the Government wants to introduce this Bill. It is stated that great hardship is being caused to a large section of the people by the application of section 37 of the Bengal Land Revenue Sales Act, 1859, which entitles the purchaser of an estate sold for its arrears of revenue to avoid and annul all under-tenures. Sir, although protection is given to certain categories of tenants, particularly in Calcutta and in its suburbs, it is not always easy to prove existence of such tenancy as are intended to be protected by this Bill.

Sir, taking advantage of section 37 of the Bengal Land Revenue Sales Act, speculative landlords and particularly contractor landlords have purchased several *tauzis* in auction sale near about Calcutta. Sir, as many as 17 *tauzis* were sold recently for arrears of revenue and names of *tauzi* Nos. 6, 25, 14, 4111, 117, 118, 1084, 1040, 1101, 84, 125, 2562, and 108 deserve special mention. The speculative purchasers of *tauzis* Nos. 6, 25 and 14 have instituted as many as 1,000 ejectment suits in Alipore Court. Sir, certain amendments have been suggested by some of the members and I do not know whether the Government is going to accept any of them. The Bill, as it is, will no doubt give some relief to the tenants from unnecessary harassments from the auction-purchasers but in order to give full relief certain amendments to the Bill are necessary, particularly clause 5, abatement of pending suits and proceedings for ejectment. Sir, instead of leaving the date vague it will be better to fix a target date as to when the Act will be operative. I suggest this because one of the auction-purchasers is trying to take possession of the land by various methods and thus causing great hardship to the people. Besides, our experience is that though the House may pass a legislation hurriedly, the assent of the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, is not received timely. The case of the Non-Agricultural Tenancy Legislation may be cited by way of example. Sir, it is also to be examined whether the tenants affected within the jurisdiction of Calcutta can get relief. Sir, I know various influential reactionary forces are working to sabotage the Bill but the Hon'ble Minister deserves our sincere thanks and also the gratitude of a large section of affected people for bringing this much needed legislation before the House and we hope the House will pass this useful legislation with necessary amendments so that people are protected from unnecessary harassments of the speculative auction-purchasers. I oppose to the reference of the Bill to the Select Committee.

Sri SHYAMAPADA BHATTACHARYYA: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Land-Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department,

(2) Sri J. C. Gupta,

(3) Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman,

(4) Sri Bankubehari Mandal,

(5) Sri Ardhendu Sekhar Naskar,

(6) Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar,

(7) Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari,

(8) Sri Kanai Lal De,

(9) Sri Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji,

(10) Sri Iswar Chandra Mal, and

(11) the mover,

with instructions to submit their report by 15th September, 1949, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at five.

Sir, this is a controversial piece of legislation and therefore it is better that the Bill be referred to the Select Committee and the matter be given due consideration.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to oppose the amendment moved by my honourable friend, Sri Shyamapada Bhattacharyya. The urgency of this piece of legislation has been established beyond any shadow of doubt, and the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Bill has to admit in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that a large number of people have been affected adversely by section 37 of the Land Revenue Sales Act, and that it has to be amended immediately so that protection may be extended to those people, and he has gone on to say that this has been the case in urban areas, particularly in Calcutta and its suburbs where due to phenomenal increase in land values, speculative purchasers got an incentive to exploit this provision of the law for unwarranted large-scale evictions. The Hon'ble Minister himself knows that if this Bill is deferred by any subterfuge, either by referring it to Select Committee or by dropping it, this large-scale eviction will go on. Sir, the Hon'ble Minister has in his speech invoked the name of the Congress and the ideals of the Congress. If he is sincere, he would not betray or exhibit any anxiety that this Bill be deferred at this stage. And I appeal to the House that since this overdue piece of legislation is now before it, let us consider it here and now and pass it. Sir, I oppose the motion that this Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

Sri D. N. MUKHERJI: Sir, with your permission I beg to move a short-notice amendment that the West Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949, be referred to a Select Commiittee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department,

(2) Sri J. C. Gupta,

(3) Janab Jasimuddin Ahmed,

(4) Mr. Daniel Gomes,

(5) Sri Uday Chand Mahtab, Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan,

(6) Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari,

(7) Sri Khagendra Nath Das Gupta,

(8) Sri Banku Behari Mandal,

(9) Sri Iswar Chandra Mal,

(10) Sri Shyamapada Bhattacharyya, and

(11) the mover,

with instructions to submit their report by 15th September, 1949, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at five.

Sri SHYAMAPADA BHATTACHARYYA: Sir, I accept the amendment.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. Can there be an amendment to another amendment?

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the motion moved by Sri Shyamapada Bhattacharyya is concerned, office has not received the consent of the members whose names he has proposed. Therefore that motion goes out, but the motion moved by Sri D. N. Mukherji stands.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. This decision of yours is not understood by us. You have said that the main motion is out of order because there are some legal flaws and because consent has not been obtained of the members proposed by the mover of the motion. In that case how can an amendment to that motion be in order?

Mr. SPEAKER: The motion moved by Mr. Mukherji is not a motion by way of amendment to the motion of Sri Shyamapada Bhattacharyya, but it is an amendment to the main motion of Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha, and, as such, it is in order.

Janab ABUL HASHEM : মাননীয় পরিষদপাল মহাশয়--দেশের দাবী সবপ্রকার খাজনা আদায়ী স্বত্বের শেষ করা, জমিদারীপ্রথা চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত শেষ করা। এমতাবস্থায় মধ্যে যখন এই বিলকে আইন-সভায় উপস্থিত করা হবে জানা গেল, তখন আমরা এই বিলকে তপ্ত মরুভূমিতে এক বিন্দু বারিকণার মত গ্রহণ করেছিলাম এবং অল্প দাবী পূরণের কথা এই বিলে থাকা সত্বেও এই বিলকে সর্বান্তঃকরণে সমর্থন করেছিলাম। কিন্তু যখন আমরা জানতে পারলাম যে এই বিল আজই এই সভায় আলোচনা করে আইনে পরিণত করার চেষ্টা করা হবে না এবং এই বিলকে Select Committeeতে পাঠান হবে, তখন আমরা বাস্তবিকই অত্যন্ত দুঃখিত হ'লাম। এই বিল উত্থাপন করবার সময় মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় তাঁর বক্তৃতার মধ্যে স্পষ্ট করে জানিয়েছেন এবং জনাব আবদুর রহমান সাহেব এই বিলকে সমর্থন করতে উঠে তিনিও জানিয়েছেন যে কতকগুলি ভাগ্যান্বেষী নিলাম খরিদ্দারদের হাত থেকে দরিদ্র প্রজাবৃন্দকে রক্ষা করবার জন্য এই বিলের প্রয়োজন এবং এই বিল উপস্থিত করবার সময় মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় কংগ্রেসের নীতি, আদর্শ ইত্যাদির কথাও আমাদিগকে জানিয়েছেন এবং দম্ভভরে একথাও জানিয়েছেন যে তিনি কংগ্রেসের একজন ভক্ত এবং তাঁদের মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলী এই কংগ্রেসের মন্ত্রীসভা বলে পরিচিত। সেই কংগ্রেসের নীতি ও আদর্শকে কার্যে পরিণত করার উদ্দেশ্যে এই বিল এনেছেন। কথাগুলি শুনতে বেশ ভাল লেগেছিল। কিন্তু যখন এই আইনসভার বাইরে কানাঘুষা শুনলাম এবং যখন এই আইনসভার মধ্যে এসেও প্রত্যক্ষ দেখলাম যে বন্দোবস্ত দ্বারা একটা সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব উপস্থিত করা হ'ল এবং সেই সংশোধনী প্রস্তাবেতে একথা বলা হ'ল যে এই বিলটী Select Committeeতে পাঠান হোক্, আর গভর্ণমেণ্ট পক্ষ থেকে—সরকার পক্ষ থেকে যখন এই প্রস্তাবের সমর্থন পাওয়া যাচ্ছে, তখন একথা মনে হ'চ্ছে যে বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রী-মণ্ডলী তাঁদের নিজেদের ইচ্ছা থাকা সত্বেও বাইরের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শক্তির চাপে আজকে এই বিলটা আইনে পরিণত করতে পারছেন না। অর্থাৎ কংগ্রেসের যে মূল নীতি এবং আদর্শে অনুপ্রাণিত হয়ে এই বিলটী সরকার উপস্থিত করেছিলেন, আজ বাইরের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শক্তির চাপে কংগ্রেসের নীতি ও আদর্শকে এই সভায় তাঁরা বলিদান করতে আপাততঃ বাধ্য হলেন। এটা অত্যন্ত দুঃখের কথা। মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় তাঁর বক্তৃতার মধ্যে একথাও বলেছেন যে Select Committeeতে এই বিলটী পাঠাতে গেলে বিলম্ব ঘটবে এবং সেই বিলম্বের মধ্যে যে সমস্ত অনর্থ ঘটবার সম্ভাবনা, তা যাতে না ঘটতে পারে তার ব্যবস্থা করা উচিৎ। যদি মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলী সেই রকম একটা ব্যবস্থা করেন এবং আমরা যদি বুঝতে পারি যে এই বিলটী Select Committeeতে গেলেও এই অন্তর্বর্তীকালের মধ্যে ভাগ্যান্বেষী জমিদারগণ এবং নিলাম খরিদ্দারগণ প্রজাদের উপর কোন অত্যাচার বা উৎপীড়ন করতে পারবেন না, তাহলে আমরা অনেকটা আশ্বস্ত হই। জনাব আবদুর রহমান সাহেবও এবিষয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্টের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করেছেন যে এই বিলকে যদি তাড়াতাড়ি আইনসভা আইনে পরিণত ক'রতো তা'হলে বর্ত্তমান কাঠামোর মধ্যে পুরাপুরি এটা আইনে পরিণত করবার জন্য গভর্ণর বাহাদুরের অনুমোদন প্রয়োজন। সেই সব অনুমোদন হয়ত সেখানে নানাপ্রকার কারণে তাড়াতাড়ি পাওয়া যায় না। দৃষ্টান্ত স্বরূপ তিনি কয়েকটী বিলের প্রতি মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলীর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করেছেন।

এখন এই সমস্ত বিলম্বের জন্য যে সমস্ত অবিচার এবং অন্যায় হওয়ার সম্ভাবনা প্রজাবৃন্দের উপর--তার যথাবিহিত প্রতিকার করার জন্য যদি এই গভর্ণমেণ্ট মহাশয়দের সঙ্গে এই বিলটী Select Committeeতে

পাঠাবার আগে সেটা কার্য্যে পরিণত করেন, তাহ'লে তাঁদের যে সদুদ্দেশ্য আছে, সে সম্বন্ধে সন্দেহ করবার আমাদের কিছু থাকবে না। যদি সেই ব্যবস্থা পূর্ব্বে না ক'রে এই বিলটা Select Committeeতে পাঠান হয় তাহ'লে আমাদের কোন সন্দেহ নাই যে, যে উদ্দেশ্যে এই বিলটা আনা হয়েছে সেই উদ্দেশ্য অনেক পরিমানে ব্যর্থ হবে এবং আমরা এটা বুঝবো যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাঁদের নিজেদের ইচ্ছা থাকা সত্বেও--আগেই বলেছি, বাইরের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শক্তির চাপে—এই বিলকে কার্য্যে পরিণত করতে পারছেন না। এই গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাঁদের নিজেদের ইচ্ছামত তাঁদের দলের যে আদর্শ ও নীতি, সেই অনুসারে কার্য্য করবার শক্তি তাঁরা অর্জন করেন নাই। আমার যেটা জানা আছে যে এই মন্ত্রীসভা যে দলের অন্তর্ভুক্ত সেই দলের বাইরের জনগণের জনসাধারণের মধ্যে যথেষ্ট প্রভাব প্রতিপত্তি আছে এবং সেখানে আজকে যদি তাঁরা তাদের সাহায্যের উপর ভরসা ক'রে--তাদের শক্তিতে শক্তিমান, এই আকাঙ্ক্ষা ও আশাভরসা নিয়ে যদি—তাঁরা কাজে প্রবৃত্ত হ'ন বা হ'তেন, তাহলে তাঁদের সমর্থক চারিদিকেই আছে। জনগণের যে শক্তি ও সমর্থনের উপর মন্ত্রীসভার দাড়ান উচিৎ, সেই জনগণের স্বার্থকে দূরে সরিয়ে, জানিনা, কোন্ লুক্কায়িত শক্তির চাপে পড়ে আজকে তাঁরা এই বিলকে Select Committeeতে পাঠাতে রাজী হয়েছেন! যদি পূর্ব্বে অনর্থের প্রতিকার ব্যবস্থা না করেই পাঠান হয় তাহ'লে এটা স্পষ্ট হয়ে যাবে যে এই বিলটা উপস্থিত ক'রে আবার তাকে ফিরিয়ে নেওয়াই এই গভর্ণমেণ্টের উদ্দেশ্য এবং এই Select Committeeর কথা তুলে কেবলমাত্র দেশবাসীকে একটা ভাওতা দেবার চেষ্টা হচ্ছে।

আমরা আশা করি যে মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলী আমাদের যে দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী সেটাকে ভাল ক'রে গ্রহণ করবেন এবং মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় এই বিলটা উপস্থিত করবার সময় যে কথা বলেছেন সেই মত কার্য্য করবেন এবং এই বিলটা Select Committeeতে পাঠাবার পূর্ব্বে এই সভাকে ভাল করে জানিয়ে দেবেন যে এই বিল পাস হ'তে যে বিলম্ব হবে সেই বিলম্বের মধ্যে কেমন করে এই দুঃস্থ প্রজাবৃন্দ, যাদের উদ্দেশ্যে এই বিল এনেছেন, তাদের রক্ষা করবেন। সেটা জানতে পারলে আমরা সুখী হই, আগে যা বলেছি--গভর্ণমেণ্টের সদিচ্ছার মধ্যে আমাদের সন্দেহ করবার কোন কারণ থাকে না।

The Hon'ble Sri BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have listened with very great interest to the speeches that have been made from different sides of this House and I have particularly listened with very great interest to the speech given by the honourable Leader of the Opposition, or shall I say, the Parliamentary Opposition Party. Sir, he has been pleased to observe that this Bill has been sent to the Select Committee with some motive. Sir, I do totally repudiate such an insinuation. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Don't send it to the Select Committee.) Sir, he has said that there are people who are influencing the Ministry and the Party to send this Bill to the Select Committee. Sir, this allegation also I deny, because in my opening speech I made it crystal clear that there are legal difficulties involved and there are legal principles which have to be clearly enunciated and for this reason it is better to thrash it out in the Select Committee on which the members of the Opposition will also serve, and, Sir, I also made it crystal clear in my opening speech that in case the House decides to send this Bill to the Select Committee the Government is absolutely determined to take such measures as will put a stop to eviction pending finalisation of this Bill at the hands of the Select Committee.

Sir, in spite of this clear assertion from the Treasury Benches the honourable Leader of the Opposition Party has, perhaps for mere opposition's sake, been pleased to make insinuations and has made the request to accept his vision which he himself a few days ago said was not very good, and, Sir, I do not think it would be prudent for the Government to commend such provision which, according to the testimony of the possessor of the vision himself, is not very clear and not very bright and does not go far enough. For that reason, Sir, I am very sorry that I cannot oblige the honourable Leader of the Parliamentary Opposition Party. I may assure him that the Government and the great party which has the tradition of the Congress organisation on it, that party and the Government that belongs to that party will yield to no one in its solicitude for the interest of the small people and the suffering tenants.

Sir, many assurances used to be made from these Benches two years ago, but we have seen to our bitter cost how those assurances were honoured.

Sir, I may assure this House that the Congress Government will not follow that tradition, and the assurance they will give will be honoured and will be implemented as the honourable members opposite and the people will see. It is no use speaking tall in this House. It is through our action that we want to convince the people. But, Sir, I am really sorry that the honourable member was pleased to make such insinuations which this Government does not deserve. Sir, we refer this Bill to the Select Committee only because a few legal questions are involved and it is perhaps not desirable nor creditable for the Government or for this House to pass a legislation which tomorrow may be declared *ultra vires* or defective, and we shall have to rush in amendments, so that there may not be any legal lacuna. The honourable member has talked of " জনগণ ". It would have been more helpful if he could give us concrete suggestions to the points I raised, but he has not chosen to give concrete suggestions. I can assure him that the Congress has, as its fundamental creed, the welfare of the masses, and it is from the masses and from the people that the Congress derives its strength and will continue to derive its strength, so long as the Congress is true to its creed.

With these words, Sir, I accept the amendment moved by Sri D. N. Mukherji and hope the House will also accept the motion to constitute a Select Committee for discussing this Bill in all its bearings.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, I suggest that you will kindly agree to put the motion to vote tomorrow instead of today.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 4-55 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 5th April, 1949, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 5th April, 1949, at 4 p.m.

Present.

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sri ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 56 members.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The West Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yesterday a motion was moved by Sri Shyama Pada Bhattacharjee for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee, but I understand that the consent of the members was not obtained by him and consequently that motion fell through.

Now, there is a short-notice amendment of Sri D. N. Mukherji in respect of the personnel of the Select Committee. May I know from him whether he has obtained the consent of the gentlemen whose names he is proposing now?

Sri D. N. MUKHERJI: Yes, Sir, and I have also submitted the papers.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, although we are opposed to the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee, still, when such a motion is going to be put to vote, we would like to submit through you to the Government that two more names from this side be added to the personnel of the Select Committee, namely, Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman and Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh.

In this connection, Sir, we would remind you once again of our repeated requests for a non-official day. Now the Select Committee motion, Sir, will be disposed of in 5 minutes and if the Government has no other day in their disposal to spare for non-official business, I suggest that rest of today may be devoted to non-official business.

Mr. SPEAKER: With regard to non-official business days I shall come to it a little later. Now have the Government anything to say with regard to the two additional names proposed by Janab Abul Hashem?

Sri D. N. MUKHERJI: Government has no objection to take another member from the other side, namely, Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman but I propose another name from this side, namely, Sri Radha Nath Das. I hope Mr. Hashem will accept this.

Mr. SPEAKER: There must be formal motions moved by both sides and if the House has no objection they will be passed.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: With your permission, at short notice I formally move that two more names, Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh and Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman, be included in the personnel of the Select Committee.

Sri D. N. MUKHERJI: With your permission, at short notice, I formally move that two more names, Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman and Sri Radha Nath Das, be added to the personnel of the Select Committee.

The motion of Janab Abul Hashem that the names of (1) Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman, and (2) Janab Md. Khuda Buksh be added to the personnel of the Select Committee was then put and lost.

The motion of Sri D. N. Mukherji that the names of (1) Sri Radha Nath Das, and (2) Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman, be added to the personnel of the Select Committee was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sri D. N. Mukherji, as amended, that the West Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949 be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department,

(2) Sri J. C. Gupta,

(3) Mr. Jasimuddin Ahmed,

(4) Mr. D. Gomes,

(5) Maharajadhiraj Sri Uday Chand Mahtab Bahadur, of Burdwan,

(6) Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari,

(7) Sri Khagendra Nath Das Gupta,

(8) Sri Banku Behari Mandal,

(9) Sri Iswar Chandra Mal,

(10) Sri Shyamapada Bhattacharyya,

(11) Sri D. N. Mukherji,

(12) Sri Radha Nath Das, and

(13) Janab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman,

with instructions to submit their report by the 15th September, 1949, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at five, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—41.

Bandopadhaya, Sri Pramatha Nath.
Banerjee, Sri Susil Kumar.
Barman, The Hon'ble Sri Syama Prasad.
Basu, Sri Hemanta Kumar.
Bhandari, Sri Charu Chandra.
Bhattacharyya, Sri Shyamapada.
Bhowmick, Srijukta Bina.
Chakravarty, Sri Satish Chandra.
Chatterjee, Sri Haripada.
Clarke, Mr. C. E.
Das, Sri Radha Nath.
Das Gupta, Sri Khagendra Nath.
De, Sri Kanai Lal.
Dolui, Sri Harendra Nath.
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu.
Ganguli, Sri Bepin Behari.
Gayen, Sri Arabinda.
Ghose, Sri A. K.
Ghose, Sri Bimal Comar.
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sri J. C.
Haldar, Sri Kuber Chand.
Mahanty, Sri Charu Chandra.
Mahtab, Sri Uday Chand, Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan.
Maiti, The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari.
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati.

[illegible], Sri Iswar Chandra.	Poddar, Sri Anandilal.
[illegible], Sri Ashutosh.	Pramanik, Sri Rajani Kanta.
[illegible], Sri Annadaprasad.	Roy, Sri Jajneswar.
[illegible], Sri Krishna Prasad.	Sarker, The Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada.	Sen, Sri Debendra Nath.
Mukherji, Sri Dhirendra Narayan.	Shamsul Huq, Janab.
Murarka, Sri Basantlal.	Sinha, The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra.
Naskar, The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra.	

NOES—8.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab.	Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab.
Abdur Rahman, Janab A. F. M.	Mohamad Rafique, Shaik, J. P.
Abul Hashem, Janab.	Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.	Musharruff Hossain, Janab.

The Ayes being 41 and the Noes 8 the motion was carried.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the main motion of the Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha is concerned, it fails because the motion of reference to Select Committee has been passed.

(When Mr. Speaker was about to read out the message of Prorogation.)

Allotment of days for non-official business.

Janab MD. KHUDA B[illegible]HSH: Sir, we were saying something about the allot[illegible]nt of non-offici[illegible]——.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as non-official business is concerned, we received a previous intimation, but unless and until non-official days are allotted and agenda fixed, nothing can be done. So far no non-official day has been allotted and no papers and agenda are ready.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: We submitted three resolutions to the Secretary.

Mr. SPEAKER: But we have to decide whether it will be a resolution day or a Bill day and then the ballot must be finished and the business circulated.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: But, Sir, first of all I want to know whether we shall get non-official days. Then there will be the question of priority of one thing over the other. We have given notice of three resolutions and there also there will be the question of priority as to which resolution will be taken up first. In the absence of any knowledge whether we shall have a non-official day, we cannot send in any Bill or other motions.

Mr. SPEAKER: Today we have not got any agenda even with regard to non-official business, not to speak of a non-official day. In fairness, I think we should have a non-official day but that is a matter which will be taken into consideration when we meet next.

The Hon'ble Sri NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, when you were on your legs to read out the message, the business of the House was then finished and there was an end of the matter there.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Why do you feel shy of a non-official day?